

Background extracts from the Evaluation report by the Independent evaluators
Evidence Base of the “Reading is Caring programme”



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Reading is Caring – Evaluation Report

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Evidence Base

Summary of the impacts of Reading is Caring

Reading is Caring is based on the notion that shared reading is a tool that can help a person with dementia and their care partner or care staff to maintain their relationship; help the carer to find ways to join their loved one on their unique dementia journey; and also, through personal reading, find some respite from the stress caused by their caring responsibilities.

This evaluation of the pilot phase of Reading is Caring (2019-21) has demonstrated the following:

1. Reading is Caring offers **comfort** to people living with dementia. It promotes relaxation in everyday situations and relieves stress in more challenging circumstances.
2. Reading is Caring supports the **inclusion** of people with dementia in activities as they become more involved and responsive than may usually be the case.
3. Reading is Caring provides people living with dementia a means to share aspects of their **identity** and validates the things that are important to them and that have shaped who they are.
4. Reading is Caring offers an enjoyable, stimulating form of **occupation** for people with dementia. It also provides a focus for further conversation, reflection and discussion – and potentially other activities.
5. Reading is Caring supports **attachment** and feeling close to others as reading can prompt people living with dementia to share memories they have not done previously; play a more equal part in caring relationships; and make connections at a deeper level than is often possible through everyday conversation.
6. Reading is Caring workshops have helped care partners and care staff to feel more **confident in engaging in shared reading**, particularly in reading aloud and slowing down their reading where appropriate (which may feel unnatural at first), but also using different types of text and integrating shared reading with other activities.
7. Reading is Caring impacts on **caring relationships** in a variety of ways, in particular, in bringing together the wider family and support network of the person with dementia in a shared endeavour. Shared reading is seen as a highly positive aspect of caring relationships.
8. Reading is Caring also has an impact on the **mental health and wellbeing of care partners and care staff**. It can be useful, not just to the person with the dementia, but also to the care partner/care staff in stressful situations, and can help care partners/care staff to feel they are making a positive difference.

Delivery of workshops

All 32 completed feedback forms, returned by 22 participants (including taster (5 Phase 1; 1 Phase 2), full-day (1) and half-day (25) sessions), indicated that they were happy with the approach taken to the workshops. In particular, they praised the workshop facilitator for her organisation and clarity, as well as her passion and enthusiasm. They also commented that the sessions were well-paced, relaxed and informal:

...the session was well paced, the leader well prepared and the video items clear and informative. (Phase 2 half-day – part 2 feedback)

... it was relaxed and informal and we had lots of opportunity to feedback (Phase 1 Taster session feedback).

This praise was echoed in informal feedback received via email:

I cannot praise you enough for the way you delivered the workshops - honestly it was an absolute privilege and joy to be involved... (Phase 2 participant)

I've gained a great deal from today more than I'd expected given our current situation, it's been excellent. Thank you (Phase 2 participant).

One of the key strengths of the programme is the workshop facilitator's knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, literature and ability to work with participants to think about possible resources and different ways of reading with the person they care for. This came through strongly in interviews conducted:

[The workshops facilitator's] enthusiasm comes across, way she delivers the training is not boring and she brings life to it (care staff feedback)

I loved her manner and her warmth and her enthusiasm and her understanding of...my situation (care partner feedback)

I think that [discussion with the workshop facilitator] was the big thing about it for me...during the conversation, I thought, "Oh, I could put that in [the life story book box] as well' (care partner feedback).

Participants spoke about the value of this sharing both during the session, but also through follow-up emails or conversations with the workshop facilitator.

Participants also commented on the usefulness of the written materials – slides, handbook and reading diary – to support the workshops:

Reading is Caring handbook is a great resource - one that can be readily drawn upon when needed (Phase 2, half-day feedback)

The video items [were] clear and informative. The handbook and reading diary have left me with a complete aide memoire of the workshops (Phase 2, half-day feedback).

However, as a participant commented, there was added value in attending the training and interacting with the facilitator, which went far beyond the face value of the written materials:

Having read quite a bit of the booklet beforehand, I was amazed how much more was achieved with [the workshop facilitator's] help (Phase 2 half-day feedback).

Furthermore, attendees valued the opportunity to try out shared reading examples during the session:

The example reading was particularly helpful way to get an idea of the practice (Phase 2 Taster session feedback)

One-to-one online delivery meant that workshops were able to be highly tailored to the specific needs of an individual participant as an interviewee described:

...because she'd kind of understood, you know, the situation that I was specifically in...So we'd get to a bit where she'd say, "Well, I'm guessing this isn't really very relevant in your situation?" And I say, "No, probably not". And then we'd move on (care partner interview).

One-to-one workshops may encourage some participants to share more freely than they would do within a larger group as an interviewee commented:

I didn't feel a need to hold back a bit because there's other people that might want to contribute, you know, so from that point of view, it was good (care partner interview).

Workshop content

All the feedback forms (including taster, full-day and half-day sessions), indicated that participants had found the information provided in the Reading is Caring workshops helpful. In particular, taster session participants commented that the workshops had highlighted the potential benefits, both of reading and of adopting a person-centred approach when caring for someone with dementia:

...it reminds you to bring the 'activity' back to being person centred, allowed us to mentally see the benefit for the people we support (Phase 1 Taster session feedback)

I found it really powerful and raising awareness of the benefits that reading can bring to the carer and someone living with dementia – can bring them back together again and help to build a positive relationship. (Phase 1 Taster session feedback).

Additional comments from participants in the full-day/half-day sessions indicated that these provided many ideas and practical tips and examples:

It gave me plenty of ideas for themed shared reading sessions, as well as practical tips on how to approach these in a sensitive, non-challenging way, and some super poems and short stories to use / start off with. (Phase 2 half-day feedback)

...there were very practical examples that could use immediately, lots of good tips and also reasons for why these approaches would work. Made me think about why it would be good to start earlier (planning memory box etc) (Phase 2, 1-day feedback).

Several participants made positive comments about the person-centred nature of Reading is Caring workshops:

Love the idea of facilitating person centred approach especially around reading not aware of this ever being done before, currently using play list for life effectively (care staff feedback)

I like the approach to honour the spirit of the person living with dementia (care staff feedback).

a participant whose husband was at an advanced stage of dementia commented:

I think the entire concept is lovely and just wish I had it in use at an earlier stage of my husband's dementia (Phase 2 half-day feedback).

It was also interesting to note that a community-based member of care staff interviewed had used the Reading is Caring approach with someone at the very early stages of dementia and had found it helpful. Furthermore, as a family care partner participant pointed out, finding time to attend the workshops might be more challenging if she was caring for someone at a later stage of dementia, and a further participant whose husband was also at much earlier stage commented:

...somethings aren't going to apply at the moment, but others are definitely appropriate (care partner interview).

Impact on people with dementia

For people living with dementia, the project aims to evoke memories or imagination and to support better one-to-one relationships with their care partners/care staff, and as result, promote improved feelings of connectedness and personhood, through which they can contribute to their caring relationships in a more meaningful way. The impacts of Reading is Caring for people living with dementia evidenced during the pilot project are discussed below using Kitwood's (1997) model of psychological needs as a framework.

Comfort

Care partners and care staff described how they had witnessed the shared reading process appear to bring comfort to the person they were caring for, often in particularly distressing situations. For example, in a workshop observation, a care partner described how her mother needed an ambulance, so whilst they were waiting she read a few poems from a familiar poetry book and her mother became less agitated:

I found it helpful to have a focus sitting there for that length of time...and I think she did too (care partner workshop observation).

A care partner who was interviewed commented that reading together acted as a form of stress-relief on days when both she and her husband were finding things difficult:

It's more for the days when...somehow it just doesn't seem to be going right. You know, things seemed to be going on. And we're both getting a bit stressed by it. And I think it's a really good de stressor (care partner interview).

Similarly, a member of care staff reported how reading had appeared to help someone suffering from chronic pain by acting as a distraction:

...she just really suffers from chronic pain. It was just the delight that she'd found something to do to take her mind off...and get completely caught up in the story (care staff interview).

Shared reading was also reported to bring comfort and aid relaxation in more everyday situations that were not as noticeably stressful:

I have used [a particular book] more with four patients as an aid to relaxation. One person in particular loves birds so loves pictures with gold finch and some of the poetry and he looks at the pictures and part way through he fell asleep as he was so relaxed (care staff interview)

I do read with our granddaughter, and Malcolm enjoys that. He likes listening to the children's books... So that's quite nice. Sometimes he'll just doze off to sleep. It's like a bedtime story. But he, you know, he enjoys seeing her listening to them (care partner interview).

Often this effect appeared to last long beyond the reading period itself:

And then, you know, he really had a good morning and it just kind of totally changed the mood and changed, you know, how he was... he couldn't cope with even the littlest things to being, you know, feeling much happier and more contented (care partner interview).

Inclusion

Another benefit of Reading is Caring is the way in which it helps people living with dementia to feel more included and able to play a valued part in activities and relationships. For example, in a taster session attended by people with dementia as well as their carers, one of the people with dementia went to the bookshelf and took down a book he was interested in to show the rest of the group onscreen. According to his care partner, and the group organiser, it was very unusual for him to engage with activities in this way.

Through trying out techniques suggested in the Reading is Caring training, care partners and care staff witnessed the people they care for becoming more involved and more responsive than they had been previously:

[Before the workshop] we were reading to people. [The workshop facilitator] said that some people would like to read for themselves. And there was a lady and I said "I'll start the story off". And we paused, so I asked if she would like to carry on with the story and she said, "Yes, yes" and she read the whole lot. It was just fantastic! (care staff interview)

...the thing about, you know, finding the subject that interests them...I see that now. I see that, you know, when a friend comes and speaks to Tom and says something that he's interested in...you can see the connection there...rather than just them rambling about, you know, COVID or something (care partner interview).

Identity

In the workshop observations and interviews, it was clear that care partners and care staff had become increasingly aware of the importance of tailoring the reading materials and approaches they use around the identity of the person they are caring for. For example, some people may respond to things they were interested in the past, but others might be more focused on things that were important to them in the present:

I got out this child's nursery [book] and as she was brought up on a farm, she picked out a story that had all the cows in it. I thought I would read out one line of it, and the reaction of her face, and she knows what she was looking at and what you were talking about. It has really brought home to me, the importance of reading. (care staff interview)

So you have to try and find out what each person remembers now. Which I began to realise lately, because I did things with my mum...but I found out that she wasn't interested. She was like, "No, not that. That's not mine...that's not me". So I've got to get things that she's interested now (care partner interview).

An interviewee described how shared reading might help a person with dementia to share aspects of their identity with a carer – particularly a member of care staff who had not known the person earlier in their life:

...in sharing some reading it's possible that I might find out more about them because it comes from the reading. You know, you might be reading something about gardening and all of a sudden they start telling you about, you know, the things they love to do in the garden and that kind of thing (care staff interview).

It was interesting to note that some materials could work when they chimed with a person's identity in a particular situation, but might not be appropriate in other circumstances. For example, a care partner described how children's books worked when her father was in a situation where his identity as a grandparent was in focus, but not on other occasions:

When I have their great grandchildren, dad would sit and love the picture story. But when I tried to share something with him [he wasn't interested in a children's book] (care partner interview).

This theme also highlighted a potential barrier identified by a member of care staff: whilst people who saw themselves as 'a reader' may be easy to engage with Reading is Caring, those who had struggled with reading or had not had opportunity to read earlier in their life might find it difficult to relate to books and other reading materials as part of their own identity:

...certainly won't be for everybody. Basically, because not everybody reads. Some people don't even like, read the newspaper...It's sort of like embedded in them, that they're not readers...very hard to break through that (care staff interview).

Occupation

Occupation is one of the themes where there is strongest evidence through the pilot that Reading is Caring can make a difference to the everyday lives of people with dementia. It offers people an

enjoyable, stimulating and accessible activity. For some people, this was particularly important during the coronavirus lockdown when many usual activities were closed:

[During lockdown] just to have something is a bit of a relief for me (care partner interview)

...I'll certainly spend time preparing my 'Life Story Book Box' after today.... I feel sorry for him sitting there doing nothing hour after hour. I wish I'd taken part in this course 6 years ago! (care partner feedback).

For those who had enjoyed reading earlier in their lives, in particular, shared reading provides options to allow that activity to continue beyond a time when a person with dementia might be able to read for themselves:

I just think it's opened up a whole world, really...George does read because he loves reading. But I see that he's reading less and less, you know, he'll sit for longer periods without reading. And it takes him longer to get through a book and things like that. So, you know, I think being able to either me or someone else read with him is just, it's just really good (care partner interview).

Shared reading is also an activity that is easy to implement, requiring minimal resources, and able to take place easily alongside other activities, such as cooking or eating. In addition, reading materials can be useful as a focus for conversation and interaction. This can be particularly useful for care staff who may not know all the people they care for well and initially find it difficult to find a connection; the activity of reading could help to stimulate conversation:

...you're not asking them to have a conversation that like just a normal conversation you've got something to focus on that you're sharing together and you can just chat about it (care staff interview).

Even amongst care partners who know a person with dementia well, shared reading – as well as being a stimulating activity in itself – could lead on to further discussions, reflections and other forms of stimulation:

...when you get a connection, and he starts just talking about things it's lovely...And he enjoys reminiscing and various things. And you know, it stimulates thoughts and ideas for him, which is lovely (care partner interview).

Attachment

Reading is Caring also has the potential to support people living with dementia in being able to have relationships based on genuine partnership and to feel close to others. For example, a care partner interviewee described how she and her husband talked about incidents from his childhood he had never previously told her about after a memory was sparked during shared reading:

I was cooking. And I said, "Oh, we could look at one of these [stories from the Reading is Caring handbook]". And George actually started to read a bit of it himself out loud to me, which was nice. And I enjoyed that, because I was cooking, he was reading...And then we chatted because it made him think about when he grew up in the west of Scotland...And it

got to him talking about his cousins and a lot of childhood memories. And it was, it was very relaxing for both of us. And it was it was just nice talking about his childhood and him talking about it (care partner interview).

Another interviewee spoke about how, through poetry, she and her mother were able to become closer:

...she quite often does connect with it especially if it's something that sparks a memory for her, you know. Some poems obviously do and she'll occasionally produce a line, or really wake up, or even the name of a poet that she likes...just that lovely connection when you can see that she's understood and that gives her pleasure that she really looks at me and engages, you know, you get that contact in a way that if I'm just sitting there droning on about my day... (care partner interview).

The same care partner went on to describe how reading had helped to place their relationship on a more equal footing (rather than being based on carer and cared for):

...occasionally I'll say, "Oh I don't know this poem"...and she'll say, "Take the book". And...that's what our life always used to be like in terms of reading so that's a really special thing you know and it gives her the ability to be part of that relationship in an equal way, you know, it's really lovely (care partner interview).

Impact on carers

Reading is Caring also aims to have an impact on care partners and care staff themselves. The following section sets out the main impacts in terms of carers' confidence using shared reading; impact on caring relationships; and ability to manage their own mental health and wellbeing.

Confidence using shared reading as an approach to create and maintain their relationship with a person with dementia

The act of reading aloud can be intimidating at first and several care staff and care partners commented on how taking part in the Reading is Caring workshops had helped them to overcome their initial hesitancy:

...it just gets you over that fear of reading out loud as well when you're when you start doing it you know in a small group like that and everybody's in the same boat (care staff interview).

In particular, several interviewees said that they had found the advice to read more slowly particularly helpful:

I've maybe been more conscious of the speed and perhaps slowing down even more...or at least leaving gaps...leaving a pause for her to absorb the information and that's possibly something that I've noticed I've been doing better I think since the course...I quite often read poems twice with mum...I'll sometimes read it very slowly the first time and then the second time I'll read it with the rhythm...once she's already familiar with what we're talking about (care partner interview).

Another tip from the course that participants said they had started to use was pre-reading material before they shared it:

I'm realising that death is a difficult subject from now, which it didn't used to be. And there's a horrible number of poems that, you know, suddenly lead off into that kind of world...it sounds so obvious when...somebody says, "Check this stuff before you read it". But yeah, I was guilty of not doing that before...I'm better at doing a very quick scan... (care partner interview).

The importance of illustrations was another aspect of the training participants said they found helpful and were starting to make more use of:

...I think probably the idea of...looking for and separating out illustrations and maybe giving mum those to look at while I read...there's a couple of books with pictures or illustrations which she does often enjoy but...I think the idea that I could maybe just photocopy those and have them separate or look for pictures that go along with whatever I'm reading and because I think it works that mum's quite often distracted by trying to read the words and then not being able to and so I think that for me feels like quite a sort of lightbulb moment and that's that feels really quite a strong thing for me (care partner interview).

In another case, an interviewee said they had been prompted to use non-fiction books, such as sport, for shared reading, whereas before they would only have considered using fiction.

Several interviewees said the sessions had acted as a prompt or reminder that had stimulated them to start, or to do more, reading activities:

...several folks have said to me, "I've picked up poetry books again"...the poem that [the workshop facilitator] did was a great kick-off, and for sure. The short story as well...great foundation points for people to start thinking about (taster session group organiser interview).

Although not all participants had started to create a life story book box by the time of the evaluation interviews, a number commented that the course had been useful in giving them an opportunity to think about the different types of resources and themes that might appeal to the person they were caring for. For care staff, the links between the Reading is Caring approach and lifestory work made it easier for them to think about ways of integrating shared reading with the usual approaches they might adopt when working with someone with dementia.

Furthermore, many interviewees described how attending the Reading is Caring workshops had given them increased confidence, or "permission" as one put it, to try different approaches. Indeed, there were several examples of care staff in particular adapting and building on the techniques from the workshops. Examples included:

- creating a box of books that had inspired someone throughout their life
- linking reading into care home theme weeks e.g. Easter, 1950s week

- integrating Reading is Caring with a hospital-based reminiscence and sensory group.

Impact on caring relationships

Workshop participants described how Reading is Caring has the potential to impact on caring relationships as members of the family came together to support the shared reading process. This might involve a person with dementia and their care partner creating a life story book box together, for example, or involving children or grandchildren in the creation of life story book boxes. It could also be an activity a professional carer and person with dementia could do together to help the member of care staff to better understand the person:

...if I could use that course in that way to help get a conversation going so I could talk to them about what they liked and we could maybe make a box together (care staff interview).

Interviewees described how life story book boxes and the reading diary could help to provide continuity of care and also enable a wider range of people to get involved in shared reading. For instance, a life story book box, or favourite books, could be shared with care staff to help them to understand the life and interests of the person with dementia, or to help other relatives to engage more effectively:

...if it came to the point of carers, [a life story book box] would be incredibly useful. Because ...then carers would know something about the person rather than just not knowing a thing. I thought that was incredibly good idea (care partner interview)

I think it might be quite a good idea...to start getting a few boxes, so that, you know, if his son or his daughter in law comes...they can use that...Paul might like to read to his dad, but he doesn't know what he likes...I could suggest it to him. And he may even bring something of his own because they have very similar interests, you know (care partner interview).

She absolutely loves it [poetry book suggested in the Reading is Caring workshop] and has really formed an attachment to it already, which is amazing. Her carers have picked it up and read it with her and so has her art companion (care partner feedback).

The workshops also helped some participants to see new ways of engaging with the person they were caring for that suited their current situation:

...my ambition was every night you'd have a little bit of story and we would recap and move on. And you know we're passed that...but not to panic about what I can't do and just accept things that I can (care partner interview).

Some interviewees spoke about the challenge of fitting shared reading into an already busy caring schedule, but others saw it as a means of finding space to escape from day-to-day difficulties:

... if things are difficult or if you're having a difficult day; if the person's having a difficult day; if you feel you're not coping terribly well actually sit down and read something together. And it will take you right away from the here and now and into some other world. And, you know, that you can share and talk about, and I would say, that's, that's a big thing for me... (care partner interview).

Similarly, another interviewee commented that shared reading felt like one of the more positive aspects of her role as a care partner:

...this is actually one of the more positive elements of my role as a carer you know is that that reading thing and here's a way of making it even more positive and hopefully being able to keep it going for much longer than it otherwise might have been able to...that feels like a lovely experience ...to think about the positive bits and opposed to dealing with problems (care partner interview).

Ability to manage their own mental health and wellbeing by using reading for pleasure.

There was also evidence from the pilot phase that Reading is Caring has positive benefits for care partner and care staff mental health and wellbeing. A number of interviewees spoke about a slight sense of guilt as a carer taking time for themselves, so it helped to be reassured during the course that it was okay for the activity to be enjoyable for them, as well as for the person they were caring for:

...that's really nice just to be kind of reassured that it can be partly for you as well (care partner interview)

They appreciated the suggestion of finding reading materials that were of interest, not only to the person with dementia, but for them too:

Choosing books and magazines that are of interest to both people would be quite important I think (care partner interview).

Interviewees spoke about the shared reading experience being a relaxing one for both parties. This could be true in everyday situations, but also in more distressing circumstances:

George had a fall in the house...he couldn't get up. So I called the ambulance...And so we're sort of just sitting waiting, and I thought I could maybe read to him. He had a book for Christmas...it was about a Tiger Moth flying over the Himalayas. So I started reading that. I didn't get all that far, but I think the thing that was good was that...we were in a difficult situation, we were just waiting for the ambulance, we're both worried about, you know, what was going to happen and him having maybe having to go up to a hospital and so it just kind of took us both to a different world for a while till the ambulance came. So that, you know, that was good...I definitely get taken into another place as well. I mean, certainly, that day, was it waiting for the ambulance, I think it was good for both of us... (care partner interview).

As another interviewee explained, it was not simply the act of reading itself that was relaxing, but also the knowledge that, as a care partner, she was doing something that might help the person with dementia:

...if she's quite anxious so for me it's helpful to have...I mean, it's not just about the pleasure of reading for me - I get that - but it is it is also a pleasure to have a way of thinking this might help because that helps my anxiety too if she's in...a bad way (care partner interview).

A member of care staff echoed this sentiment when describing how she felt shared reading might be helpful for the wellbeing of people caring for a relative with dementia. Shared reading activities could reduce family members' sense of helplessness and allow them to feel they were doing something positive:

...it's something that I think I can share with family members... I have two gentlemen...they both had wives in local care homes who have dementia...both gentlemen are in their 80s. And both come back really quite upset every day when they've sat there and have not been able to have any kind of conversation with the person. And they find it really upsetting and really demoralising...maybe it's something that I can help them with. Maybe we could, you know, do come up with the boxes together for them to take down to the care home... it would be something that they could gather together themselves and work on themselves. So it would give them a focus as well. And they'd really feel like they were helping (care staff interview).

Case study

Although the evaluation team was not able to collect video ethnographies as we would have liked in order to create case studies, a participant in one of the workshop sessions vividly described her experience of reading with her husband who has dementia. Her description from the recorded workshop is presented below to provide a wider contextual view of the potential benefits of Reading is Caring.

It was last week there was a day when Ron was really not good at all and the carer said he wasn't good as well it wasn't just with me and he came through for breakfast and just sat and looked at it and so I put some porridge on a spoon and left it for him and he said your making me do the hard bit so I thought oh right, ok, so I said do you want me to feed you so he did and I said well I could read as well so I got "Sup" out...because [the Reading is Caring handbook] was there it was handy...So I read that whilst I fed him his porridge [because he was] very sleepy and also grumpy. That was very unusual I've never had to do that before so he was really not in a good place, but it was a good experience. But not as I expected; I thought Ron would talk about hill walking, but when I said to him, "What does it remind you of?" he said, "Climbing a pit bing¹".

I should have tried to get him to say a bit more [but] I was just so surprised because he's never ever said anything about climbing pit bings to me before but that was obviously a childhood memory. I've spoken to him about it since and he said he did climb; he wasn't supposed to, but he did once. His mother had said not to. It was about a mile away and he did climb one when he was younger because they lived in a mining area so that was interesting and we did have a bit of a discussion about that.

We did talk about walking and talked about climbing a particular Munro² he's very fond of...he used to go on a walk called the John Smith memorial walk in memory of John Smith, you know, the Labour leader who died...We then talked about politics.

After we finished all this he went and sat in this reclining chair and said he was going to sleep but he didn't and he listened to music, and he was tapping his feet and he was singing along and he actually had a very good morning and by lunchtime was bright and I thought this is amazing because it's just taken him from this mode of being totally down and not happy with the world and in on himself to coming out and for me it was good because it allowed me to focus on the reading and the story whereas if I hadn't had that it would have been focusing on why am I feeding him and what's wrong and a very negative kind of thing where this was a nice thing to do, and we were both...I felt more relaxed and I think Ron did and listened and it obviously triggered, I think that's quite remarkable that he said this about the pit bing that he's never said before because he quite often talks about his childhood and different things from it but not that.

I thought, "This is amazing," because we never would have got to that place without it. It just made me realise how important reading is; it gives you something else to focus on rather than the interaction between you and the kind of mood that's around.

¹ Heap of waste from a coal mine

² A mountain