CONDUCTING A CULTURALLY RESPONSIVE EVALUATION: VALUES ENGAGEMENT, SELF-REFLEXIVITY, AND PHOTO ELICITATION

by

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(Under the Direction of Jori N. Hall)

ABSTRACT

The U.S. population 65 and older is projected to increase in size and diversity (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010). In addition, current mass culture, which prioritizes the visual over other senses, has been described as hyper-visual (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). As culture changes with the rise of and the access to digital visual technologies (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and with the increased diversity of the population, particularly the older adult population (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), research and evaluation need to respond to those trends with frameworks and methods that are tailored to attend not only to the research questions, but also to the values and cultural needs of participants. Responding to this need, I evaluated a community-based Healthy Aging Program (HAP) for older adults using the combination of two frameworks: culturally responsive evaluation (Hood, Hopson, & Kirkhart, 2015) and values engaged, educative framework (VEE) (Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, & Hall, 2006).

This dissertation responds to Hood, Hopson, and Kirkhart's (2015) call for more research on evaluation, including examples of culturally responsive evaluations and the reflection on the articulation of CRE with other evaluation frameworks. This call was addressed in several ways.

For the current study I was able to: (1) provide an example of a culturally responsive evaluation undertaken from the values engaged, educative (VEE) framework designed by Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, and Hall (2006); (2) provide a reflection on the articulation of CRE and the VEE framework; (3) test the transferability of the VEE framework from STEM education to community-based programs and proposed adding organizational capacity a new element of the framework; (4) propose photo elicitation methods as culturally responsive with older adults; (5) propose the use of photo elicitation methods to foster evaluative processes such as self-reflection and self-reflexivity; and (6) examine how photo elicitation methods have been used in the past to suggest the future use of consistent terminology.

INDEX WORDS: Culturally responsive evaluation; Values engaged, educative evaluation; Photo elicitation methods; Systematic literature synthesis; Organizational capacity; Self-reflexivity and self-reflection; Adult development; Generativity; Guardianship

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DEDICATION

To my father. I wish you could have seen me become a doctor and could have met your grandchildren. To my children. May you continue to grow, love, and learn.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

The U.S. population 65 and older is projected to more than double between 2015 and 2060 from 47.8 to 98.2 million, growing from 14.9 to almost 25% of the total population between those two years (Huntley-Hall, 2017). In addition, the country's population is experiencing a rise in the racial and ethnic diversity of its general population and of the older adult population in particular. As Vincent and Velkoff (2010) asserted, "Although the older population is not expected to become majority-minority in the next four decades, it is projected to be 42 percent minority in 2050, up from 20 percent in 2010" (p. 4). Thus, the older adult population in the U.S. is growing to be a larger proportion of the total population and is increasingly diverse.

To address this increasing diversity in age and cultural backgrounds, evaluators and researchers need to find frameworks and methods that are tailored to attend not only to the research questions, but also to the values and cultural needs of participants. Responding to this need, in this study I worked from a culturally responsive evaluation approach (Hood et al., 2015) that guided me to be attentive to the needs and culture of a diverse group of older adults that participated in a healthy aging program (HAP) in a community-based setting. One of the ways I strove to be culturally responsive was through methodological means: the implementation of the values engaged, educative (VEE) framework (Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, & Hall, 2006) for the evaluation of the HAP, and the use of photo elicitation methodologies (J. Collier, 1957; J. Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 2002; Noland, 2006) in the evaluation.

The VEE approach suggests that all evaluations are culturally situated (Hopson, 2009), with culture permeating all aspects of the context of an evaluation, including its demographic characteristics, interpersonal practices, historical features, and political nature (Greene et al., 2006; Hopson, 2009). I recognized my cultural situatedness and sought new ways of thinking that allowed me to access new explanations and understandings of the evaluand and the phenomena, "by privileging notions of lived experiences and especially regarding communities and populations of color or indigenous groups" (Hopson, 2009, p. 431). The VEE framework provided me with a framework to engage cultural differences, by being attentive to how the program and the evaluation responded to them and by guiding my reflection. My evaluation approach for this project sought to prescribe evaluative engagement with the values of equity and social justice, in the particular form of advancing the participation and representation in healthy aging activities of traditionally minoritized individuals and groups, such as the older adults and individuals of color that participated in the HAP I evaluated in this study.

I used photo elicitation methods for their potential to be culturally responsive to older adults. Members of this age group are developmentally primed to be Guardians (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) of their families' histories, and photography is a familiar and valued medium that has the potential of supporting that developmental task. As Van House (2011) noted, "As tactile objects, [photographs] have an emotional and sensory impact beyond that of their content [...]. They carry physical traces of their social lives. Their meaning is constructed by their content but also by their archiving and display as well as the stories told around and with them" (p. 126). Thus, photo elicitation's use of photography has the potential to connect with older adults in several ways, some of which are developmentally relevant, such as their photographs' potential for being carriers of history and their archival value.

Current mass culture, which prioritizes the visual over other senses, has been described as hyper-visual (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). With the emergence of digital photography and social media, image sharing has become an immediate event and the meaning of pictures have changed and expanded: photographs have changed from a formal affair to mark special occasions, to being used to document everyday life; from keepsakes to being consumed on a screen and rarely printed; from being used as ritual of family unity, to being used as communication devices (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011). As culture changes with the rise of and the access to digital visual technologies (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and with the increased diversity of the population, particularly the older adult population (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), research and evaluation need to respond to those trends. This evaluation emerged as an opportunity to examine how evaluators might respond to those trends through methods that are responsive to both older adults and to the cultural changes.

This dissertation responds to these needs by studying how photo elicitation methods have been used in the empirical literature, how they are responsive to older adults, and how they may support evaluative processes. In this study I also set out to learn the VEE evaluation framework's (Greene et al. 2006) cultural responsiveness to programs for older adults and its transferability from its original STEM education program evaluation context to the evaluation of a community-based healthy aging program.

Statement of the Problem

This dissertation responds to the need for evaluations that are culturally responsive (Hood et al., 2015) in their formulation and in their use of methods. As Hood et al. (2015) wrote, culturally responsive evaluation (CRE) will advance "through well documented practice examples with rich detail, […] combined with further reflection on and articulation of alignments

between CRE and other evaluation approaches" (p. 311). This study intends to contribute to the advancement of CRE with (1) the practice example of the evaluation of the HAP, (2) the articulation of CRE and VEE, (3) the transfer of the VEE framework to community-based programs, and (4) the suggestion of photo elicitation as a method that contributes to centering evaluation in culture.

Participants in the HAP were older adults, most of whom were from low socio-economic backgrounds, Black, and/or women. These characteristics identified them as part of a vulnerable and marginalized population, and located them at the intersection of several risk factors that were mostly out of their control, including age (Klesges et al., 2001), gender (Gallant & Dorn, 2001), race (Adler & Rehkopf, 2008), and socioeconomic status (Fiscella & Williams, 2004) that play a role in differential health outcomes in areas such as nutrition (Klesges et al., 2001) and chronic conditions (F. Clark et al., 2012). More culturally responsive evaluations that include the perspectives and interests of populations that have been traditionally excluded from evaluation designs (Greene et al., 2006) are necessary to respond to their needs.

As evaluation theories provide new frameworks for evaluators to be increasingly culturally responsive, it is important to test how they align with CRE and to provide empirical examples. To date, the VEE (Greene et al., 2006) framework has been used for the evaluation of STEM education programs (Boyce, 2017; Hall, Ahn, & Greene, 2012; Johnson, Hall, Greene, & Ahn, 2013; Tillman, 2015). This means that its applicability beyond this field is yet to be tested. Responding to the call by Hood et al. (2015) for more empirical examples and to test the alignment of CRE with other evaluation approaches, I took the evaluation of the HAP as an opportunity to test the alignment of VEE and CRE through an empirical example that also tests the applicability of VEE to the evaluation of a community-based healthy aging program.

Photo elicitation methodologies are promising from the perspective of conducting CRE with older adults, especially given that these methods align with both the developmental stage older adults are in (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), and the increasingly visual culture we live in (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). In an increasingly diverse racial and ethnic environment (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), there is the need to understand how photo elicitation methods can be used in the context of culturally responsive evaluation studies by learning (1) how they have been used in the past, (2) how they function with different populations and under different circumstances so that they may contribute to a cultural responsiveness, and (3) how they can support evaluative processes such as self-reflection and self-reflexivity.

As researchers and evaluators increasingly implement photo elicitation methods in their work, one would expect for methodological knowledge acquired with these implementations to build. However, the proliferation of terminology referring to similar methods makes this knowledge building difficult, creating a patchwork of loosely connected methods (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). It is necessary to develop terminological consistency across photo elicitation methods so that the qualitative research and evaluation field can build a solid base of methodological literature and so that future researchers and evaluators can locate the literature most relevant to their interests (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016).

Purpose of the Research

The overall purpose of this study is to look at culturally responsive methodologies in evaluation for older adults and to respond to the culturally diverse (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010) and changing digital and hyper-visual realities (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) evaluations are immersed in. This purpose is accomplished in three related but distinct ways.

First, the purpose of the study is to learn about the alignment between CRE and VEE and testing the implementation of the VEE framework in a community-based program that did not focus on STEM education; that is, what would translate well and what would need adaptation. The second purpose is to systematically synthesize empirical studies that used photo elicitation methods with older adults in the last 20 years to establish how these methods were used and how their implementation compared to how they were defined in the literature. The goal is to provide a classification of the photo elicitation methods most frequently used in the literature examined and to suggest increased consistency in the use of photo elicitation terminology. The third purpose of this study is to show that photo elicitation methods can be culturally responsive towards older adults and that they can be used to facilitate self-reflexivity on their development as they grow older, and particularly within the context of the evaluation of a program.

Significance of the Study

The proposed study addresses the significant need for more research on culturally responsive evaluation that Hood et al. (2015) identified. In the case of this study, I address cultural responsiveness with the older adult population. Specifically, this study contributes to CRE by analyzing the alignment between VEE and CRE, by testing the applicability of VEE outside STEM education, and by providing an empirical example of an evaluation that has been conducted from a culturally responsive perspective.

In addition, this work makes a significant contribution to CRE because it proposes photo elicitation as a set of methods that are culturally responsive to older adults through the use of photography, which is a familiar and valued medium that has the potential of supporting their developmental drive to be Guardians (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). In this study, we also learn how photo elicitation methods support participants' self-reflexivity and self-

reflection (Nagata, 2004; Riach, 2009), which are processes constitutive of evaluation. This work may inspire other evaluators to use photo elicitation methods to promote participants' self-reflexivity and self-reflection around topics relevant to their evaluation study.

Further, photo elicitation methods are now being used in evaluations and research studies that seek to be culturally responsive and/or participatory (Chouinard & Milley, 2018; Mathison, 2008). However, there is little consistency in the terminology used and how they are being implemented (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). With this study, I contribute in building terminological and implementation consistency in photo elicitation methods to avoid the field's fragmentation and to prevent the loss of trust with stakeholders.

Definition of Key Terms

Auto-Photography

Ziller (1990) developed auto-photography within the field of psychology as a phenomenological approach to studying identity. As described by Ziller, this technique provided participants with a camera that they were to use to answer, "who are you?" with a series of pictures they took. Ziller argued that, "Through the insider's view via photography, the researcher becomes a part of the phenomenon, and a personal knowledge is achieved. The researcher begins to 'see as they see' and 'feel as they feel.' Thus the purpose of observation is not simply description and analysis but understanding" (1990, p. 21). Researchers, then, would analyze the images using content analysis, semiotics, and very limited feedback from participants (e.g., a few notes scribbled behind the picture).

Culturally Responsive Evaluation

Culturally Responsive Evaluation (CRE) has emerged in the last two decades. Hood (1998a) first developed the approach in the context of culturally responsive assessment and soon extended it to the entirety of the evaluation process. According to Hopson (2009),

> CRE is a theoretical, conceptual, and inherently political position that includes the centrality of and attunedness to culture in the theory and practice of evaluation. That is, CRE recognizes that demographic, sociopolitical, and contextual dimensions, locations, perspectives, and characteristics of culture matter fundamentally in evaluation (p. 431).

As such, CRE takes a decolonizing position, which privileges indigenous knowledge and creates spaces of resistance and self-determination.

Generativity

According to Erikson, generativity "is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (1967, p. 267). The adult "nurtures, teaches, leads, and promotes the next generation while generating life products and outcomes that benefit the social system and promote its continuity from one generation to the next" (McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992, p. 1003). This may be expressed in the private and public spheres by, for instance, raising children, through mentoring, teaching, organizing and volunteering.

Guardianship

Vaillant and colleagues (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) defined Guardianship as a new developmental task that comes after Generativity in Erikson's framework for human development. They characterized this new developmental task as that of the wise judge. "The focus of a Keeper of the Meaning [or Guardian] is on conservation and preservation of the collective products of mankind—the culture in which one lives and its institutions—rather than just the development of its children" (Vaillant, 2002, p. 48), thus shifting from the more

immediate and generative spheres of the family and the workplace to the more distant and larger cultural sphere.

Healthy Aging

Theories of aging, such as Erikson's (1967), describe the stages of human development. Healthy aging theories, such as the Selection, Optimization and Compensation model of human development (Baltes, 1997; Freund & Baltes, 1998), continuity theory (Atchley, 1993, 1999), and activity theory (Havighurst, 1948), make recommendations on how to cope with the changes that aging brings, describing different approaches of what is deemed optimal activity. Research has provided general support for the perspective that activity and engagement offer the best outcomes for older adults' well-being, satisfaction with life, and general health compared to the disengagement theory (Cumming & Henry, 1961).

Mixed Methods Research

"The core meaning of mixing methods in social inquiry is to invite multiple mental models into the same inquiry space for purposes of respectful conversation, dialogue, and learning one from the other, toward a collective generation of better understanding of the phenomena being studied" (Greene, 2007, p. 13).

Organizational Capacity

Hall et al. (2003) stated that "the overall capacity of a nonprofit and voluntary organization to produce the outputs and outcomes it desires is a function of its ability to draw on or deploy a variety of types of organizational capital" (p. 4). This overall organizational capacity that Hall and colleagues developed for nonprofit and voluntary organizations pivots around human resources capacity and is influenced by financial capacity, infrastructure and process capacity, planning and development capacity, and relationship and network capacity.

Photo Elicitation

Photo elicitation "is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). This method was originally used by J. Collier (1957), which he simply called "interview with photography" and "photography in anthropology." Harper (2002) suggested that photo elicitation "be regarded as a postmodern dialogue based on the authority of the subject rather than the researcher" (p. 15), which results in decentering the authority of the researcher. Harper pointed out that photo elicitation overcomes difficulties posed by in-depth interviewing by shifting the focus from the interviewee to the photograph, effectively 'breaking frames' and "bridging gaps between the worlds of the researcher and the researched" (p. 20)

Photovoice

C. Wang and Burris (1997) described photovoice as,

> a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. As a practice based in the production of knowledge, photovoice has three main goals: (1) to enable people to record and reflect their community's strengths and concerns, (2) to promote critical dialogue and knowledge about important issues through large and small group discussion of photographs, and (3) to reach policymakers (p. 369).

Self-Reflection

"To be reflective is to sit and think about what took place after it is completed; one's role in it, others' reactions and one's responses to them" (Nagata, 2004, p. 142), so that there is temporal distance between the actions and the thinking and with the goal "to learn from one's experiences with the intention of improving the quality of one's interactions with others in future encounters" (Nagata, 2004, p. 142).

Self-Reflexivity

"Self-reflexivity—having an ongoing conversation with one's whole self about what one is experiencing face-to-face or intellectually as one is experiencing it" (Nagata, 2004, p. 139),

“requires a fundamental re-questioning of what is knowable within a given context, and for this questioning to inform or shape current or subsequent practice” (Riach, 2009, pp. 5-6).

Summary

This dissertation responds to the need for evaluations that are culturally responsive (Hood et al., 2015) in their formulation and in their use of methods. In an increasingly visual culture (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004), there is the need to understand how photo elicitation methods can be used as culturally responsive in the context of evaluation studies by learning about how they have been used in the past and by learning how they can support evaluative processes such as self-reflection and self-reflexivity. In an increasingly diverse cultural environment, there is the need to understand how evaluation frameworks provide evaluators with the necessary tools to meaningfully attend to diversity and to provide suggestions for modification when the tools provided are not sufficient (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010).

Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical background of this evaluation study, reviewing relevant literature in evaluation theory, visual research methodologies, and psychosocial development.

Chapter 3 outlines the methods used in this evaluation study.

Chapter 4 is entitled *Affordances and Limitations of Adapting the Values Engaged, Educative Evaluation Framework to the Evaluation of a Community-Based Healthy Aging Program* and examines the implementation of the values engaged, educative evaluation framework in a community-based program that did not focus on STEM education would work, to see what translated well and what needed adaptation

Chapter 5 is entitled *“I hope that we’ve taught you something about us.” Older Adults’ Self-Reflexivity on their Development Using Photo Elicitation Focus Groups* and shows that photo-interviewing methods can be used with older adults to facilitate self-reflexivity on their

development as they grow older, and particularly within the context of the evaluation of a program.

Chapter 6 is entitled *How Are Photo Elicitation Methods Being Used in Research with Older Adults? A Systematic Synthesis of the Literature* and provides a systematic synthesis of empirical studies that used photo elicitation methods with older adults in the last 20 years to establish how these methods were used and how their implementation compared to how they were defined in the literature.

Chapter 7 concludes the dissertation by presenting an overview of the three previous chapters, describes this work's relation to research and practice in the field of program evaluation, and suggests future research directions.

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CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

Evaluation Theory

Transformative Paradigm

I situated my evaluation work with older adults within the larger umbrella of the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007, 2009, 2014) which privileges commitments to feminism, cultural competency, and redressing differential outcomes. From this perspective, I was compelled to challenge the status quo and to further social justice through evaluation practices that included "the identification of relevant dimensions of diversity and their accompanying relation to discrimination and oppression in the world" (Mertens, 2009, p. 14). This overarching stance informed my application of CRE and VEE.

Transformative research and evaluation as defined by Mertens (2009), spans from the empowerment of those who have been traditionally oppressed, to providing a critique of the status quo in the service of advancing a social justice agenda, to asking questions that decenter taken-for-granted definitions and solutions. Thus, transformative research and evaluation does not prescribe a grassroots effort. It can also consist in asking questions that uncover that which has not been stated explicitly and that may guide future action to promote social justice. In my original approach to the evaluation of the Healthy Aging Program (HAP), I had intended to conduct an evaluation that empowered the program's participants, who were a diverse group of low-income older adults, a group that has been traditionally marginalized and oppressed.

However, my understanding of the program and the population was based on my evaluation of a pilot in 2015, which had the purpose of promoting changes toward healthier lifestyles and had younger, healthier participants. In fact, the program in 2017 was quite different in that it had the purpose of keeping participants engaged in a community through activities that had a healthy aging component, and had older participants with many more health and cognitive difficulties. The types of changes that were realistic to expect from their participation in the program were smaller and fewer than in the pilot. As a result, my initial goals were not coherent with the program's purposes anymore. This context for the evaluation meant that my approach to conducting transformative work switched toward asking questions that decentered taken-for-granted definitions and solutions.

The basic principles that underlined my work stemmed from this transformative paradigm, and, as Mertens (2014) posited, came from the commitments of feminism, cultural competency, the existence of differential achievement patterns. I will later examine each of this commitments in detail and how they articulate with the two evaluation frameworks I engaged for this evaluation: Culturally Responsive Evaluation (CRE) and Values Engaged, Educative (VEE) evaluation. In the following section I summarize the basic tenets of the two frameworks and their articulation.

Culturally Responsive Evaluation

CRE has gained relevance in the last two decades. Hood (1998a) first developed the approach in the context of culturally responsive assessment and soon extended it to the entirety of the evaluation process. According to Hopson (2009),

> CRE is a theoretical, conceptual, and inherently political position that includes the centrality of and attunedness to culture in the theory and practice of evaluation. That is, CRE recognizes that demographic, sociopolitical, and contextual dimensions, locations, perspectives, and characteristics of culture matter fundamentally in evaluation (p. 431).

As such, CRE takes a decolonizing position, which privileges indigenous knowledge and creates spaces of resistance and self-determination. Boyce (2017) argued that, "in too many cases, attention to culture, diversity, and equity is little more than the inclusion of symbolic and politically correct buzzwords… the need for evaluations and research on evaluations that attend meaningfully and respectfully to issues of culture, race, diversity, and equity is not currently met" (p. 34). In this study, I strove to attend meaningfully to issues of culture, particularly the culture of a diverse group of low-income older adults.

Values Engaged, Educative Framework

The VEE framework (J. C. Greene et al., 2006) prescribes evaluative engagement with the values of equity and social justice, and includes a framework to engage with the intersection of content, pedagogy, and diversity. VEE evaluation draws from two preceding evaluation traditions: responsive evaluation (Stake, 1987) and democratic evaluation (House & Howe, 1999), resting on a set of roles, processes, commitments, and purposes, not on designs or methodologies. Its two main commitments are to evaluation as an educative practice, and to evaluation as a forum for engaging with critical values. Evaluation as educative seeks contextual understanding to learn how participants perform in a program and how the program performs in a particular cultural context and for its participants (Greene et al., 2006). Evaluation as values engaged commits to inclusion and to critical engagement with participants' values.

The Articulation of CRE and VEE

I engaged both the CRE and VEE frameworks because of both their areas of convergence and their emphasis on different areas, which aligned with my stance in the transformative paradigm for this study. Let us take a closer look at the particular ways CRE and VEE converge and diverge, which are also visually showing in the figure below.

Role of the evaluator. While CRE emphasizes the evaluator's cultural background and its role in the evaluation relationship, VEE emphasizes the evaluator as educator and the promotion of greater understanding of the program and context among stakeholders.

Role of the context and culture. While both frameworks converge on the need to understand the context, CRE emphasizes cultural understanding and VEE emphasizes context as multilayered, which includes demographic characteristics, historical features of the program, cultural norms, economic characteristics, organizational climate, interpersonal aspects, and political environment.

Inclusion of stakeholders. Both frameworks converge on the need to include the voices of all program stakeholders in the evaluation. CRE's emphasis is on conducting a democratic process, while VEE's emphasis lies on the intent to illuminate diverse stakeholder program assumptions, perspectives, and accompanying values.

Commitment to social justice. Both frameworks converge on their commitment to addressing unequal opportunities and resources to redress past inequities and advance participation and representation of traditionally underserved individuals and groups.

Evaluation design. Both frameworks converge on being holistic frameworks that guide the manner in which an evaluation is planned and executed and that emphasize particular evaluative purposes, commitments, processes, and evaluator roles rather than specific designs and methodologies.

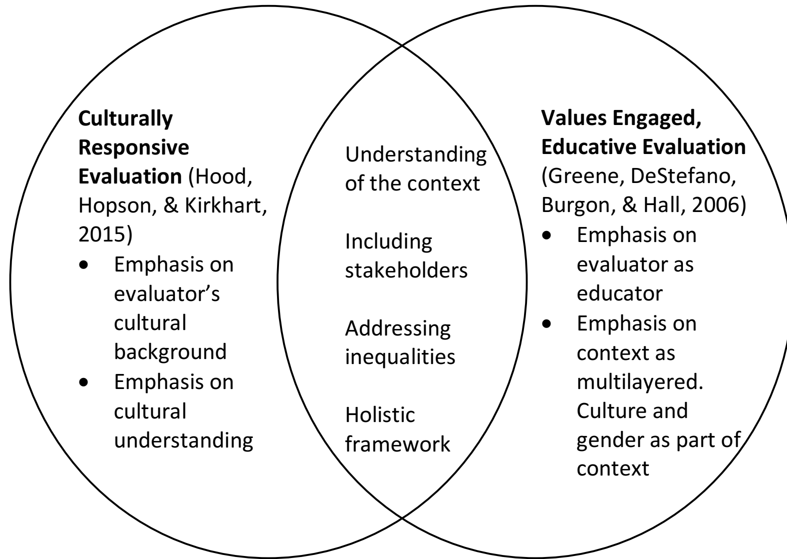


Figure 1

Articulation of CRE and VEE

Addressing the Commitments of the Transformative Paradigm Through CRE and VEE

As I mentioned earlier, the basic principles that underlined my work stemmed from the commitments of feminism, cultural competency, the existence of differential achievement patterns posited in the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2014). I now examine each of these commitments and how they articulate with the CRE and VEE evaluation frameworks.

Cultural competency. The American Evaluation Association in its public statement on cultural competence in evaluation explained that cultural competence,

> is a process of learning, unlearning, and relearning. It is a sensibility cultivated throughout a lifetime. Cultural competence requires awareness of self, reflection on one's own cultural position, awareness of others' positions, and the ability to interact genuinely and respectfully with others. Culturally competent evaluators refrain from assuming they fully understand the perspectives of stakeholders whose backgrounds differ from their own (AEA, 2011b).

This definition of cultural competence was the starting point for this evaluation that I extended by adopting the Culturally Responsive Evaluation (CRE) (Hood et al., 2015) framework. This

was a key element for my being culturally competent toward a diverse group of low-income older adults and the program's director.

This framework guided my cultural humility stance (SooHoo, 2013) toward program stakeholders in conducting the evaluation. Central to the effort to be culturally responsive was employing methods that were culturally appropriate to stakeholders and particularly participants. My previous experience with photo elicitation with autophotography (PE-AP) in the pilot evaluation indicated that photo elicitation methods had the potential to be culturally responsive (Hood et al., 2015) to older adults (see chapter 5 for a definition of PE-AP). Members of this age group are developmentally primed to be in the Generative (Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994) and/or the Guardianship (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) stages. As Guardians, they are the family historians, a role that often involves collecting and sharing photographs. Van House (2011) noted that photographs have a sensory impact that goes beyond their content. They represent aspects of their lives, they can be archived and displayed, they tell and are used to tell stories. Thus, photo elicitation methods' use of photography has the potential to connect with older adults in several ways, some of which are developmentally relevant, such as their photographs' potential for being carriers of history and their archival value, and some of which are culturally relevant for older adults' understanding of photographs as objects that carry history and stories (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011).

I had originally planned to use Photovoice as part of my evaluation work with the participants for its emphasis on empowerment and change promotion. However, as I have explained earlier, I later learned that the population and the program were different from what I had originally understood. To account for these differences and for the time constraints and difficulties participants experienced in the manipulation of the technology I encountered in the

PE-AP session, I changed from photovoice to PE-AP and then to photo elicitation. In spite of the fact that the photographs we used in the last focus group were not participant-generated, participants were very interested in using photographs to talk about their experiences and valued being able to keep a copy for themselves.

Redressing differential outcomes. Health outcomes differ according to age, gender, ethnicity, and class. In this study, I used the Values Engaged, Educative (VEE) (J. C. Greene et al., 2006) framework to support equitable access to resources and equitable health and aging outcomes.

In my approach as an evaluator, I prominently promoted values engagement by ensuring the perspectives and interests of all stakeholders were included, especially from participants who have been traditionally excluded from evaluation designs (Greene et al., 2006). Prior to conducting the evaluation of the HAP, I considered the roles that content, pedagogy, and diversity were going to serve in the design of the evaluation of the HAP. This diagram guided the evaluation design, data collection and analysis, and served as a reminder for me to reflect on the program from perspectives that decentered me as the evaluator and that privileged the perspectives of the program participants. Most elements in the framework translated well, while others required slight modifications. The elements that were not content specific (i.e., examining experiences and outcomes for all program participants individually, the evaluator having access to informants and having authority to educate them) were easily transferred from a STEM education context to the context of the HAP program. I modified other elements, particularly those that were specific to the program, such as content and pedagogy, to fit the evaluation of the HAP. For instance, I operationalized pedagogy as the activity formats that were typical in the program and to assess to what extent these formats were accessible and enjoyed by participants.

Feminism. This principle was relegated to understanding gender as part of the context along with other elements, such as organizational climate and historical features of the program. Thus, it did not receive the same attention as the principles of cultural competency and redressing differential outcomes, which took centrality with the engagement of the CRE and VEE frameworks.

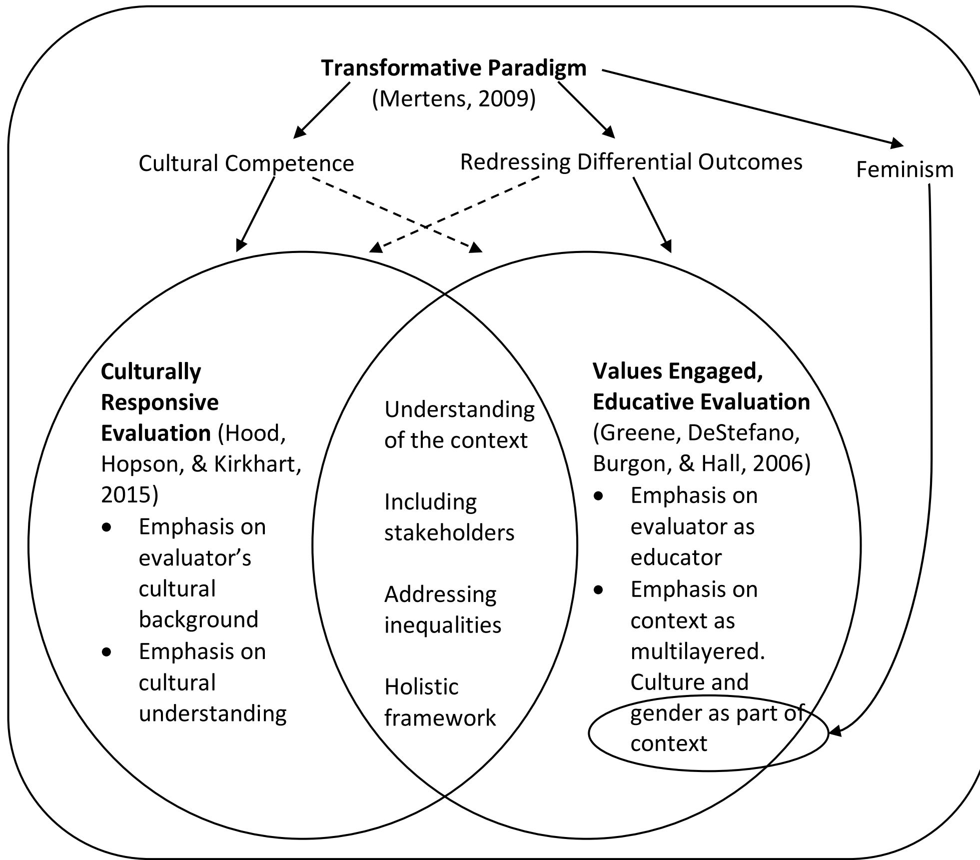


Figure 2

Articulation of the Transformative Paradigm, CRE, and VEE in the Evaluation of the HAP

Figure 2 above visually shows the articulation of the transformative paradigm, CRE, and VEE in the context of the evaluation of the HAP. The figure shows how CRE mainly addresses the transformative paradigm's commitment to cultural competence. The broken line from

cultural competence towards VEE indicates that this framework also addresses cultural competence, but that my main referent for this commitment was CRE. The lines that go from redressing differential outcomes to VEE show the same relationship: VEE mainly addresses the transformative paradigm's commitment to redressing differential outcomes, and the broken line shows that CRE also addresses this commitment, though VEE was my main referent for it. As I mentioned earlier, the transformative commitment of feminism was not addressed fully in this evaluation, and was only accounted for by having gender as one of the elements necessary to understand context.

Visual Research Methods

Gregory C. Stanczak started the introduction to his book *Visual Research Methods* (2007) with the following sentences:

> Images convey. This simple and perhaps unequivocal statement becomes much more complex with the addition of a few short words. How do images convey? What do images convey? To whom? In answering these questions, what was originally a simple declarative statement becomes a position; a stance concerning the ways to think about and thing with images (p. 1).

This quote highlights the complexities of using visual research methods, from its undeniable power to convey and communicate meaning to the difficulties of using the visual for research in terms of their origin and authorship, context, interpretation, intent, and the many other possible circumstances surrounding the images. He later wondered, "How is it that visual representations convey, and how might be appropriate this in ways that construct knowledge and meaning in the social and academic world?" (p. 2). Maybe it is precisely this complexity that attracts researchers to visual methods.

A Brief History

The use of photography in research goes hand-in-hand with the popularization of photography in the last two decades of the 19th century. Initially, photography in anthropology was used to create a visual record to document and study de diversity of humankind by categorizing human races, striving for objective evidence (Harper, 1998; Schnettler, 2013). Such was August Sander's intention with his 1925 *People of the Twentieth Century* collection of photographs. Initially, photography was understood very much as a mirror of reality. Later, authors strove to liberate photographs from their merely illustrative function. Such was the intention of Evans and Agee's (1939) book *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*, where the images' purpose is tell the story of three tenant families in the Deep South.

Early issues of the *American Journal of Sociology* (AJS) (1896-1916) included photographs (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004, p. 3), which were used as illustrations and evidence. However, a change of editor meant that photographs were banished from the journal in favor of quantitative approaches to research (Chaplin, 2002, p. 198). Photography quickly became another ancillary tool for the fieldworker. A quarter century after the AJS stopped publishing photographs, Bateson and Mead (1942) engaged visual methods and showed their potential in anthropology with their book *Balinese Character*, though it did not inspire new generation of researchers to take these methods on (Harper, 1998). Fifteen years later, John Collier started a different approach for the use of photography in research. He started using the photographs he took as an anthropological data collection method to elicit responses from interviewees in his early work with immigrant farmer communities in Canada (J. Collier, 1957). He later formalized photo elicitation as a research method with his son Malcolm Collier (J. Collier & Collier, 1986). I will expand on photo elicitation in the following sections, as it is the method I used in this dissertation.

With what has been termed a "crisis of representation" (Schwandt, 2001), the 1990s marked an inflection point where visual methods proliferated with new approaches such as autophotography (Ziller, 1990), photovoice (C. Wang & Burris, 1997), and arts-based visual research (Holm, Sahlström, & Zilliacus, 2017). As Holm et al. (2017) stated, "arts-based visual research represents a broad and diverse field, and an emerging set of methods that challenge the line between 'science' and 'art'" (p. 311). These methodologies utilize visual arts to study the complexity of human experience through methods that mirror that complexity. This complexity means that arts-based visual methods are in a constant process of creation and redefinition, encompassing a wide range of visual forms in the collection, analysis, and representation of data. As Dewey said, "Every great advance in science has issued from a new audacity of imagination." The fluid nature of these methods keep the audacity of imagination as a constant that will continue to push the boundaries and nature of science for years to come.

Types of Visual Methods

With the proliferation of visual methods, it is useful to find frameworks that help understanding the different strands. Banks (2008) described three strands in visual methodologies: (1) the creation of images as an aid to studying society, such as the use of images in ethnography to study a specific cultural group. The images produced in this strand are often part of a larger, multi-methods project that may not be specifically visual; (2) the sociological study of images, such as the study of the images used in public announcements to promote smoking cessation. Most of these images are produced for purposes very different from those of research, such as family memories, product marketing, or art; and (3) the creation and study of the collaborative image, such as in those resulting from photovoice. This third strand is the newest one, and one that is still being defined in terms of photograph analysis. Visual

methodologies also differ along other variables, such as their focus on the individual image vs. an image collection, the degree of structure of the analysis process, the focus on the image in isolation from other data vs. on the image as part of a dataset, and who does the analysis.

Pauwels (2010) created and *integrated framework* for social visual research that accounted for the great variety of existing visual methods and the different elements involved in visual methods, such as those listed by Banks. According to the author, “The framework is an attempt to offer an integrated overview of the wide variety of interconnected options and opportunities researchers have when considering using visual input and/or output in the study of society and culture” (p. 548). The framework is built around three themes: origin and nature of visuals, research focus and design, and format and purpose.

Origin and nature of visuals. This category refers to the researcher’s decision of using preexisting visuals or instigating the creation of visuals for the purpose of the research, whether researcher- or participant-generated. These decisions have an impact on the nature and amount of control over the production of, access to, and knowledge of the context of the visuals. This category includes: (1) Origin/production context of visuals (found materials, researcher-initiated production of visual data and meanings, and secondary research used and respondent-generated material); (2) Referent/subject (material culture, naturally occurring behavior, elicited behavior, rituals and other prescribed activities, staged or reenacted behavior, concepts/relations/abstractions); and (3) Visual medium/technique (direct observation transcribed in writing, non-algorithmic techniques such as drawings, algorithmic/automated techniques such as photography).

Research focus and design. This category refers to the researcher’s decisions around what will be analyzed, such as the visual product, the process, or the feedback, and how they will be

analyzed. These will be determined by the research questions being addressed in the study. This category includes: (1) Analytical focus (the visual product, the production process, the respondents' verbal feedback, practices such as using and displaying); (2) Theoretical Foundation (selection of theories such as semiotics and iconography, choice of theories related to themes of the field of study such as gentrification); and (3) Methodological issues (visual competencies, sampling and data production strategies, controlling unintentional and intentional modifications, assessment of research conditions, degree if field involvement, provision of necessary context, ethical and legal aspects).

Format and purpose. This category refers to the researcher's decisions around how the research will be represented at its conclusion and the representation's purpose. This category includes: (1) Output/presentation format (article with no visuals, article with graphical representations, visuals and words, self-contained visual film, interactive multimedia product); (2) Status of the visual (role of the visual, mimetic or expressive tools, interplay with other expressive systems); and (3) Intended and secondary uses (fundamental research output, peer communications, education, institutional support, community empowerment/social change).

Following the logic of this integrated framework, photovoice would be described as follows:

Origin and nature of visuals

- Origin/production context: the visuals are researcher-instigated and respondent-generated.
- Referent/subject: the subject of the visuals depends on the question asked by the researcher and the decisions made by participants when taking photographs.
- Visual medium/technique: the visuals are produced through photography, which is an automated technique.

Research focus and design

- Analytical focus: the researcher analyzes the participants' verbal feedback to the participant-generated photographs. Photographs are typically not analyzed.
- Theoretical foundation: because the images are used for photo elicitation and what is analyzed is the participants' verbal feedback, the theoretical foundation relates to participants' experiences, identification of community needs, and other topics brought up by participants.
- Methodological issues: photovoice does not require specialized visual competencies; photographs are produced when participants deem that something answers the researcher's question; there is no control of modifications because they are in the participants' hands; the researcher gets involved in the field at a participatory level; and ethical concerns are addressed with participants by training them on issues of consent and representation.

Format and purpose

- Output/presentation format: photovoice typically has two main outputs, an article for academic peers that includes visuals to support the text and a presentation (e.g., photo exhibit with captions, report with images) directed to decision-makers.
- Status of the visual: the status of the visual depends on the format. In articles, visuals are typically relegated to support the text. In presentations, visuals tend to have a more central role to emphasize their emotional impact.
- Intended and secondary users: articles have an academic audience, while presentations have the purpose of empowering the community and promoting change.

Other visual methodologies can be described in similar ways using this framework, so that the differences and similarities are described across the three main axes of origin and nature of the visuals, research focus and design, and format and purpose.

Approaches to Visual Analysis

Since the turn of the 21st century, there has been a proliferation of books on visual analysis methodologies, some trying to be more or less exhaustive (Rose, 2016; Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001), some embracing specific perspectives (Gubrium & Harper, 2016; Pink, 2009), and others taking more of a manual format (Emmison, Smith, & Mayall, 2012). The visual analysis approaches present in the literature vary in terms of the focus of attention, the purpose, the layers, and who conducts the analysis, to name a few.

The purpose of Rose's (2016) *compositional interpretation* is to describe and focuses on compositional elements such as content, color, spatial organization, light, and expressive content. This is a useful first approach to an image for its descriptive power and for its focus on its visual impact. However, it lacks engagement with broader cultural meanings.

The purpose of *content analysis* is producing statistically representative work with the use of large data sets. Content analysis analyzes the symbolic qualities of the images referring them to the wider cultural context of which they are a part in a replicable manner (Rose, 2016, p. 55).

Analysis conducted from a *psychoanalysis* perspective usually focuses on one or two psychoanalytic concepts, "exploring their articulation – or rearticulation – through a particular image" (Rose, 2016, p. 101). Photographs are not seen as independent from people; rather, they are part of the subjectivity, and the social and historical fabrics they stem from.

Semiotics and *semiology* seek to answer, "questions of representation (what do images represent and how?) and the question of the 'hidden meanings' of images (what ideas and values

do the people, places and things represented in images stand for)" (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001, p. 92). The key is the layering of meaning. The first layer is denotation, the recognition of what is in the picture, its literal message. The second layer of meaning is connotation, "the layer of the broader concepts, ideas and values which the represented people, places and things 'stand for', 'are signs of'" (Van Leeuwen & Jewitt, 2001, p. 96). *Iconography* has many parallels with semiotics, with the main difference that it uses documentary research and intertextual comparison to find out about the circumstances around the creation of an image.

The *social semiotic* approach, "involves the description of semiotic resources, what can be said and done with images (and other visual means of communication) and how the things people say and do with images can be interpreted" (Jewitt & Oyama, 2001, p. 134).

Anthropological approaches to visual analysis is a broad umbrella covering quite different theoretical positions, that go from Collier's (2001) highly structured 4-step process, which includes the creation of a classified inventory of images and the extraction of statistical information such as distance and counts, to Pink's (2013) visual ethnography, which is an iterative process that integrates different data sources.

According to Rose (2016),

> anthropologists … are rather less concerned with processes of interpretation. What interests them most is what happens when something is done with visual materials. They are interested in tracing the social practices within which photographs, for example, are embedded, and they are interested in the effects of such practices (p. 217).

She talked about "the social life of things" (p. 217), with its core concepts: materiality (how they look and feel, their shape and volume, weight and texture, and their materialization or how these qualities intervene in the world), recontextualization (their mobility and how their meaning changes through different cultural contexts, their biographies), and visual economy (how the image world produces various subjectivities constituted in relation to each other). As Rose

(2016) pointed out, there is little concern with the analysis of the images themselves, the focus being on the changes of the image's interpretation with the changes in the contexts where it is viewed.

In addition, the literature also presents other approaches to analyzing visual data that don't neatly fall into any of the previous categories or that are not specific to visual methodologies, such as ethnomethodological approaches (Goodwin, 2001), cultural studies (Lister & Wells, 2001), discourse analysis (Rose, 2016), narrative approach (Harrison, 2002), and even the recommendation by (Mitchell, 2011) to use of visual methodologies in education, and engage in the interpretive process by "taking it personally" (p. 11). Finally, Pink's (2009) sensory ethnography is an intriguing approach that includes the visual among the other senses.

All the visual analysis approaches described so far are researcher-driven, where the researcher interprets the images. There is also the possibility of conducting *participant-driven analysis*. In this type of analysis, participants interpret the images. The researcher contributes to the analysis with the participants but her role is mainly that of facilitating the participants' process. A typical context for participant-driven analysis is that of photo elicitation methods, where the researcher uses the photographs to prompt a response from participants, such as in Photovoice (C. Wang & Burris, 1997; C. C. Wang, 1999). Wang (1999) encouraged researchers to tailor photovoice to specific participatory objectives, but advised that, "any application of photovoice should be characterized by participatory analysis using the three-stage process of (1) selecting, (2) contextualizing, and (3) codifying" (p. 191). This methodology precludes researcher-driven analysis because, "Photographs alone, considered outside the context of women's own voices and stories, would contradict the essence of photovoice" (p. 381), which has the purpose of empowering participants and promote positive change in communities. Drew

and Guillemin (2014) proposed a hybrid framework to analyze photographs resulting from photovoice studies that combined meaning-making through participant engagement and researcher-driven meaning-making.

In this dissertation, I worked from a transformative paradigm stance, which privileges participants' perspectives. In my use of photo elicitation methods, I facilitated participant-driven analysis of the photographs used in the focus groups to learn participants' experiences with and thoughts about the program that I evaluated.

Photo Elicitation Methods

Photo elicitation methods are a collection of methods that use photographs to prompt a response from a study's participants. The photographs used in these methods may be preexisting (such as from participants' personal photo collections or from archives) or created for the purpose of the study by the participants themselves or others. John Collier started using photo elicitation with pictures he took as an anthropological data collection method in his early work with immigrant farmer communities in Canada (J. Collier, 1957), and later formalized it with his son Malcolm Collier (J. Collier & Collier, 1986).

As Jenkings, Woodward, and Winter (2008) pointed out, "The Colliers realized that photographs can be used to elicit information from the informants that the research may not have been able to access otherwise" (p. 5 of 16). They were able to generate information both more factually specific and more connected to emotions, in addition to keeping participants' attention for longer periods of time. According to Noland (2006), this intensification occurs because the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than those that process verbal information. Consequently, images use more of the brain's capacity, eliciting deeper elements of human consciousness. In addition to accessing more and different information, photo

elicitation has the potential to support self-reflexivity. As Jenkings et al. (2008) said, “They [the Colliers] also realized that one of the results of their involvement [in photo elicitation] could be a ‘development’ of the informant’s self-awareness, which the researcher can utilize for new insights and improved data” (p. 5 of 16). Harper (2002) refers to the phenomenon of photographs leading to a reflective stance vis-à-vis the taken-for-granted aspects of life as *breaking the frame*. In his experience with farmers in his neighborhood, he found that his photographs of their work did not elicit deep reflections and thus did not break the frame. However, using different perspectives such as aerial and historical photographs broke the frame by evoking reflections on the patterns of changes occurred in farming practices. Authors such as Harris and Guillemin (2012) and Padgett, Smith, Derejko, Henwood, and Tiderington (2013) have found that photographs create intimacy between participants and researcher and help participants critically reflect on meaningful aspects of their lives due to photographs’ potential for the expansion of sensory awareness and increased self-reflexivity.

Researchers have also found that focus groups can serve as a site for group self-reflexivity. As Goss and Leinbach (1996) stated, “Focus groups give participants an opportunity to narrate their personal experiences and to test their interpretations of events and processes with others, and whether confirmed or disputed, the result is a polyvocal production, a multiplicity of voices speaking from a variety of subject positions” (p. 118). Thus, participants have an opportunity to be reflexive about their own experiences and thoughts and contrast them with others, providing them with the opportunity to learn something from the exchange. In photo elicitation used in the context of focus groups, researchers can capitalize and reinforce their potential to promote self-reflexivity and self-reflection.

In the systematic synthesis I conducted as part of this dissertation, I found studies where researchers had similar experiences of *development of the informant's self-awareness* or *breaking the frame*. Let us look at a few examples. Rosen, Goodkind, and Smith (2011) conducted a photovoice study to identify service needs of older African American methadone clients. In this study, they noted that participants described being in the project as one of the first opportunities in their lives to discuss and address in a meaningful way important issues in their lives. They indicated that, "Participants spoke about how using cameras to document their lives helped to sharpen their senses and brought clarity to issues they were addressing in their lives" (Rosen et al., 2011, p. 536). Focus groups proved to be key in promoting reflexivity, and participants even described their involvement in this photovoice project as therapeutic. Discussing photographs that participants generated in the context of a focus group helped them be reflexive about their own experiences. Genoe and Dupuis (2013) conducted a photo elicitation study to understand the experience of leisure and dementia. They found that in addition to aiding memory, "the use of the participants' photographs in the interview allowed for reflection on both frustrations and joys of a particular leisure activity" (Genoe & Dupuis, 2013, p. 11). Using photographs encouraged storytelling and provided participants with opportunities to both show and tell, and to capture multilayered meaning that spanned from their abilities and determination to their struggles. In their study of positive adjustment to aging through physical activity participation among older adults, Kelley, Little, Lee, Birendra, and Henderson (2014) found that photo elicitation provided opportunities for older adults to reflect on their identity changes due to aging. Participants used what they pictured in their photographs as metaphors of their identities. For instance, one participant captured the locker room where he changed for his swimming competition. He stated that, " participants entered the locker room where they shed their

everyday clothes and street identities, and emerged as competitors" (Kelley et al., 2014, p. 70). This participant used the locker room as a metaphor for the changes in identity that he experienced through his participation in competitive sports as he aged.

As an evaluator working from CRE and VEE stances, I agree with Freeman and Hall (2012) that "evaluators have the responsibility to help stakeholders critically reflect on the goals and outcomes of their practices, especially when it is perceived that a lack of critical reflection might impede developmental efforts" (p. 10). In the case of this evaluation study and from my stance of evaluator as educator, it was my responsibility to help stakeholders to critically reflect on the program and particularly help participants reflect on how the program supported their psychosocial development. I used the potential to promote self-reflexivity and self-reflection of photo elicitation in the context of focus groups as part of the evaluation process to promote participants' self-awareness and to gather data that, as Jenkings et al. (2008) pointed out, was more specific and connected to emotions. I was also interested in the focus group process that Goss and Leinbach (1996) described, where participants are able to test explanations, contrast their ideas with others', and learn from the experience. I considered promoting self-reflexivity and self-reflection to be educative processes that were part of my role as an educative evaluator in the context of VEE.

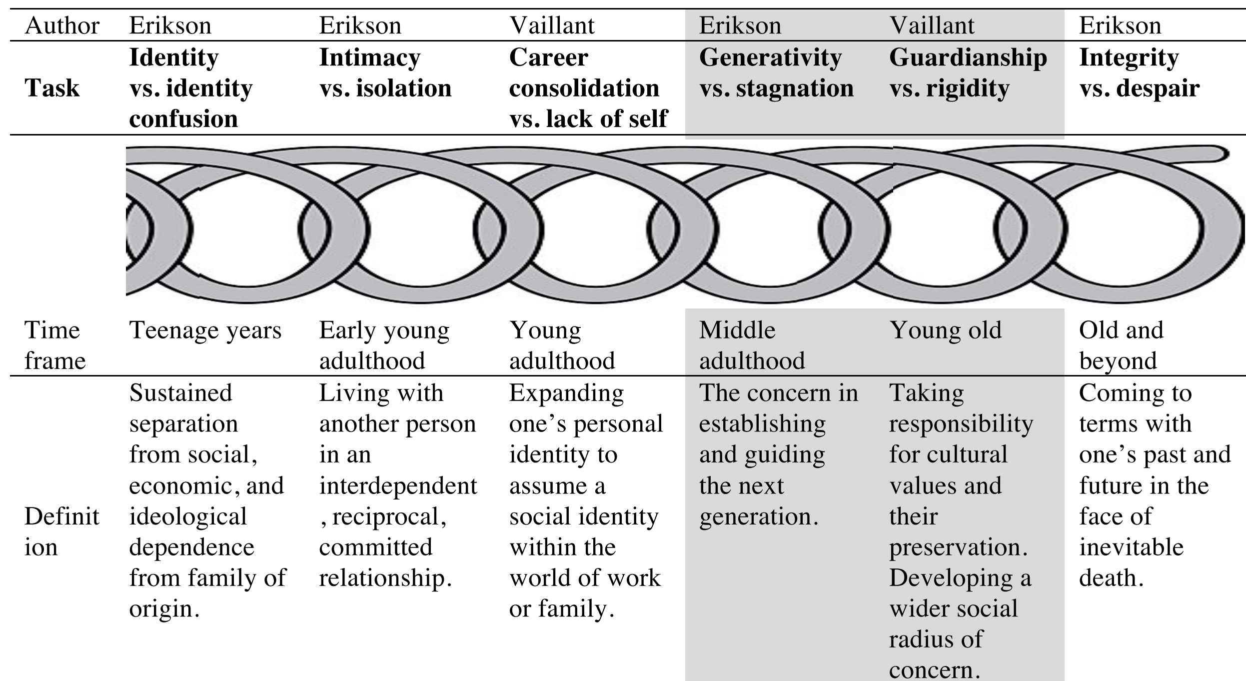
Psychosocial Development

Erikson and colleagues (Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994) developed a framework for human development that went beyond classical biological and cognitive perspective by encompassing the effects of experience, psychological growth, and brain development. As Vaillant and Milofsky (1980) stated, "Erikson's psychosocial model reflects the individual's increasing capacity to relate to an ever-expanding life space of people and institutions" (p. 1349).

It included eight developmental tasks. Four of these tasks focused on the development of the adult: Identity, Intimacy, Generativity, and Integrity. Traditional developmental psychology theories that focused on cognitive development, such as Piaget's, stopped after adolescence, so Erikson's introduction of differentiated developmental tasks in adulthood and of the role of experience was considered a novel approach (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). Vaillant and colleagues used their work in "The Grant Study" (a study of male development that started in the late 1930s and has followed its participants for 80 years) and three longitudinal data sets (Harvard Study of Adult Development; see Vaillant, 2002) to build onto Erikson and colleagues' framework by adding two new developmental tasks: Career Consolidation (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), and Guardianship (which they first called Keeper of the Meaning) (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). The following table summarizes the combined adult developmental tasks developed by Erikson and Vaillant. The spiral coil indicates Erikson's caveat that the tasks are not necessarily sequential; thus, they may occur simultaneously or they may be revisited at a later time.

Table 1

Erikson and Vaillant's Tasks of Adult Development



Author	Erikson	Erikson	Vaillant	Erikson	Vaillant	Erikson
Task	**Identity vs. identity confusion**	**Intimacy vs. isolation**	**Career consolidation vs. lack of self**	**Generativity vs. stagnation**	**Guardianship vs. rigidity**	**Integrity vs. despair**
Time frame	Teenage years	Early young adulthood	Young adulthood	Middle adulthood	Young old	Old and beyond
Definition	Sustained separation from social, economic, and ideological dependence from family of origin.	Living with another person in an interdependent, reciprocal, committed relationship.	Expanding one's personal identity to assume a social identity within the world of work or family.	The concern in establishing and guiding the next generation.	Taking responsibility for cultural values and their preservation. Developing a wider social radius of concern.	Coming to terms with one's past and future in the face of inevitable death.

According to Erikson, generativity (the first shaded section in table 1) "is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (1967, p. 267). The adult "nurtures, teaches, leads, and promotes the next generation while generating life products and outcomes that benefit the social system and promote its continuity from one generation to the next" (McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992, p. 1003). This may be expressed in the private and public spheres by, for instance, raising children, through mentoring, teaching, organizing and volunteering. There has been a consistent group of authors that studied and systematized Generativity, such as Kotre (1995 & 1999), and McAdams, de St Aubin and colleagues (de St Aubin, McAdams, & Kim, 2004; McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992, 1998), and Kleiber and Nimrod (2008) in the leisure sciences field. McAdams and de St Aubin (1992) defined seven features of Generativity:

(1) Cultural demand that adults take responsibility.

(2) Inner desire for symbolic immortality.

(3) Conscious concern for the next generation.

(4) Belief in the fundamental goodness of the species.

(5) Commitment to act on behalf of the young of the species.

(6) Generative actions stemming from the commitment.

(7) Themes of generativity in narrative accounts of important autobiographical episodes

As illustrated by these seven features, the developmental task of generativity tends to lead to more altruistic perspectives on life. For a full understanding of Generativity, it is necessary to examine all of the features, as they are interconnected. Kotre (1999) also studied generativity and defined four different kinds: biological, which refers to the begetting, bearing and nursing of children; parental, which refers to the rearing of children and the passing down the family's traditions; technical, which refers to the teaching skills and procedures; and cultural, which refers to the conservation, renovation or creation of a meaning system and passing it on to others.

Kotre's cultural generativity is equivalent to what Erikson called "Grand-Generativity," and was included as part of generativity as a whole. Vaillant and colleagues then defined it as a separate developmental task, which they called "Keeper of the Meaning" and later "Guardianship." They characterized this new developmental task as that of the wise judge. "The focus of a Keeper of the Meaning [or Guardian] is on conservation and preservation of the collective products of mankind—the culture in which one lives and its institutions—rather than just the development of its children" (Vaillant, 2002, p. 48), thus shifting from the more immediate and generative spheres of the family and the workplace to the more distant and larger cultural sphere. This developmental task is characterized by:

(1) Increased wisdom. As Vaillant (2002) pointed out, scholars do not seem to agree on a definition of wisdom. However, in his work he found that individuals in the Guardian developmental task gained the ability of seeing both sides of a situation and of staying impartial, continuing to learn and take people in, and with more mature coping strategies.

(2) Awareness of the fragility of human life. With age, the loss of those close to one reminds individuals that their own end may not be that far away.

(3) An impartial concern for a wider social sphere, which moves individuals' concern from the immediacy of the family and workplace realms, outward toward social and cultural preservation.

(4) Preservation of culture and memory. Guardians' interests move toward the preservation of the products of their social group with endeavors such as writing memories, genealogy, and environmental preservation.

All these elements may be hastened by crises or losses that put their lives in perspective and emphasized what is important for them (Martin & Kleiber, 2005; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). As we will see, participants' self-reflexivity in the focus groups situated them in the developmental stages of Generativity and Guardianship.

Having an understanding of Erikson and Vaillant's tasks of adult development was key to consider what contributes to culturally responsive evaluation with older adults. In the case of this evaluation study, I chose photo elicitation methods that connect with their generative drive to be teachers and with their guardianship drive to be historians. Through their explanations of their experiences in the HAP, participants (as generative teachers) taught me that what was important about growing old was humor and continue learning, and that what was important about the program was to be engaged in meaningful activities and in a community. Through their talk

around photographs and photography, participants (as guardians) reflected on their own development as older adults and photography's role in it.

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CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

This study had two sets of research questions. One set guided the evaluation with the goal to produce an evaluation report for the organization, and the second set guided my data analysis and interpretation to produce this dissertation.

Evaluation Questions

The six main goals for the evaluation developed with the program director were to assess:

Formative questions

1. whether the activity formats offered by the program were the most appropriate for its participants and content,
2. the clients' motivations and value for engaging in the HAP,
3. how the HealthyU program influenced participant's sense of connection with their lives, aging well, and being part of a community,

Summative questions

4. how the HAP influenced participants' attitudes and behaviors around healthy aging,
5. the program's ripple effect beyond the program's participants, and
6. participants' satisfaction with the program

Dissertation Questions

1. What are the affordances and limitation of the values engaged, educative framework (Greene et al., 2006) for the evaluation of a community-based healthy aging program?
2. How does the values engaged, educative framework transfer from the evaluation of STEM education programs to the evaluation of community-based healthy aging programs?
3. How can photo elicitation methods be culturally responsive to older adults?
4. How do photo elicitation methods support participant-situated reflexivity in the evaluation process of a healthy aging program?
5. What are the implications of using photo elicitation methods with older adults?
6. How have photo elicitation methods been used with older adults in the last 20 years?
7. How does their implementation compare to how they are defined in the literature?
8. What are the implications of a lack of consistency in the photo elicitation literature?

Paradigm

I situated my evaluation work with older adults within the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007, 2009, 2014) which privileges commitments to feminism, cultural competency, and redressing differential outcomes. From this perspective, I am compelled to challenge the status quo and to further social justice through evaluation practices that included "the identification of relevant dimensions of diversity and their accompanying relation to discrimination and oppression in the world" (Mertens, 2009, p. 14). This overarching stance informed my application of the CRE and VEE evaluation approaches.

Evaluation Theory

The evaluation of the HAP was conceived from an approach in the intersection of values engaged, educative (VEE) evaluation and culturally responsive evaluation (CRE). The VEE was developed by Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, and Hall (2006) and emerged in the context of the evaluation of science, math, technology, and engineering (STEM) education programs and, thus far, it has mostly been used to evaluate this kind of programs (Boyce, 2017; J. N. Hall, Ahn, & Greene, 2012; Johnson, Hall, Greene, & Ahn, 2013; Tillman, 2015). In this study, I adapted the approach to the evaluation of a healthy aging program. To use this approach in the evaluation of a HAP for older adults, I adapted those elements that are specific to the program, such as content and pedagogy. Other elements that are not content specific (i.e., examining experiences and outcomes for all program participants individually, the evaluator having access to informants and having authority to educate them) did not need modification.

Hood (1998a) first developed the CRE approach in the context of culturally responsive assessment and soon extended it to the entirety of the evaluation process. This approach, primes the evaluator's attunedness to culture in the practice of evaluation. In this study, I strove to attend meaningfully to issues of culture, particularly the culture of a diverse group of low-income older adults.

Evaluation Design

The commitments of conducting a study under the transformative paradigm implied the use of methodologies that: (1) took into account the existence of different realities, (2) ensured an interactive link between the researcher and the participants, (3) situated knowledge in its complex cultural context, and (4) included methodologies that were culturally responsive. This evaluation study was conceived as a qualitatively driven, transformative parallel mixed methods

design (Mertens, 2014) that used mixed methods to promote change, work with underrepresented populations, and give primacy to value-based and action-oriented dimensions. The combination of qualitative and quantitative instruments allowed for triangulation and complementarity (Greene, Caracelli, & Graham, 1989).

The evaluation study took place during the planning month prior to the program and throughout its 6-month duration. All data collection activities were conducted with Institutional Review Board approval at University of Georgia. A description of each data collection method is included below.

Description of the Program

The Healthy Aging Program (HAP) was a 6-month program (April-June) within an active living center of an organization serving older adults in the Southeastern U. S. This program's purpose was to enhance older adults' quality of life by helping them maintain their health, stay active, remain connected to their communities, and reduce food waste. The HAP was an effort to systematize the educational classes and activities offered by the center that dealt with the topics of healthy living, environmental responsibility, and community involvement. The program was organized in a points system where participants got points stamped on a monthly passport for the activities they participated in. For instance, core activities earned eight points and electives four. Points were tracked in each participant's passport, and counted monthly and at the end of the program to recognize participation. Examples of activities were cooking demonstrations, various types of physical activity, garden club, presentations, and volunteering. The second iteration of the program took place in 2017, and had a total of 31 participants.

The center where the HAP took place had a fulltime director plus two assistants. The assistants' responsibilities were to run the center and had little to do with the HAP program. One

of them oversaw the kitchen and the other was in charge of administrative and case management duties. The director's focus was on the coordinating the program's calendar with community partners and volunteers, training and supervising interns, and managing the center as a whole. The program mostly relied on volunteers, interns, and community partners to facilitate activities and deliver content. Interns from different departments at the local university helped run the HAP by handling the stamping of the activity passports and running occasional activities. Community partners periodically facilitated activities in the program, so that every month there was some activity scheduled by each. For instance, the local farmers' market provided presentations about food waste and seasonal foods; the local hospital provided occasional health monitoring sessions and facilitated health prevention presentations; students in the nutrition education program at the local university run several cooking demonstrations each semester; and the local university's garden provided hands-on gardening activities and demonstrations. Although these were ongoing partnerships, the individuals that facilitated activities in the HAP changed constantly, rarely having the same person unless it was a structured series, such as the Food Talks series offered by the local university's Extension Office.

Sampling

All 31 participants in the program were verbally encouraged to participate in the evaluation before each evaluation activity and were offered healthy snacks for their participation in each data collection activity. Most of the program's 31 participants were female (84%), and Black (68%). The vast majority (97%) of participants lived in low to extremely low income households ($25,000 or less for a household of one), 76 years old on average, and 74% had mobility/health impairments and/or cognitive decline that impacted their participation. The literature shows that lower income older Black women are at the intersection of several risk factors that are mostly out

of their control, including age (Klesges et al., 2001), gender (Gallant & Dorn, 2001), race (Adler & Rehkopf, 2008), and socioeconomic status (Fiscella & Williams, 2004). These same factors play a role in differential health outcomes in areas such as nutrition (Klesges et al., 2001) and chronic conditions (F. Clark et al., 2012). Most HAP participants belonged to at least three of the four risk factor groups (age, income level, gender, and/or race/ethnicity), which situated them in the crossroads for greater risk of poor health and nutrition status. My commitment to working from a transformative paradigm and my positioning as a VEE evaluator motivated me to include and emphasize participants' voices, which are the voices of those traditionally excluded.

Table 2:

HAP Participants' Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Gender & Ethnicity	Female	Male
Black	21 (68%)	3 (10%)
White	4 (13%)	1 (3%)
Asian	1 (3%)	0 (0%)

Impairments Affecting Participation	Number (%)
Mobility & Health Impairments	15 (48%)
Cognitive Decline	12 (39%)
Mobility, Health, and/or Cognitive Impairments	23 (74%)

Age	Number (%)
55-70	10 (32%)
71-85	15 (48%)
Over 85	6 (19%)

Income Level	Number (%)
Extremely Low to Low *	30 (97%)
Medium-High **	1 (3%)

* $24,999or less.

** $50,000 to $74,999.

Data Collection

With the goal of triangulating the findings from each instrument (Greene et al., 1989), the study included a combination of qualitative and quantitative instruments: a survey, participant observation, participation data, document analysis, photo elicitation focus groups, a picture sort activity, and an interview with the program director. A description of each data collection method is provided below.

Survey. The survey was based on the instrument that the program used to collect data on the

program's implementation the previous year and it included 26 true/false items, 9 Likert scale items, and 4 open-ended questions. Keeping in mind the fact that a significant number of participants were experiencing cognitive decline, I made the survey as easy to answer as possible with the use of true/false statements.

The true/false items and Likert scale survey items included questions about: (1) the changes in attitudes and awareness around topics of healthy aging, (2) participants' satisfaction with the program, (3) their enjoyment of the different types of activities offered in the program, (4) participants' sense of involvement in the community, and (5) the program's influence beyond its participants. The four open-ended questions also offered an opportunity for more extensive feedback to those with the interest and ability to do so and to share ideas not included in the previous questions, such as the things they would have liked to do in the HAP. The survey was administered in person by the evaluator, program director, and interns. Participants who filled the survey received a healthy snack. See appendix C for complete survey.

Twenty-five of the 31 participants filled out the survey. Of the six participants who did not fill out the survey, five were among those with the lowest participation; four had impairments that affected their participation, including one who was receiving chemotherapy treatment; and one had a long absence from the program.

Participation data. The program regularly collected participation data through its monthly passport stamp system. Each participant had a passport (i.e., booklet listing activities) where they received a stamp after participating in each program activity. Participation in core activities received 8 points, and participation in electives received 4 points. Points were recorded monthly and those with the most points were recognized with a prize. At the end of the program, participants received a certificate according to the total points received throughout the 6 months.

The certificates were divided in: platinum (300 points and over), gold (200-299 points), silver (100-199 points), and bronze (under 100 points). Participation data also included the number of days per week each participant attended the center. I had participation data from all program participants.

Photo elicitation focus groups. Photo elicitation is a type of interview where the evaluator or researcher uses photographs to initiate the conversation with participants usually to elicit responses related to their experiences (J. Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 2002). In this study, the questions focused on the motivations to participate in the HAP, the appropriateness of the activity formats, the most relevant aspects of the program, and the changes promoted by the program. I run three photo elicitation focus groups with a total of 8 program participants. In the first one-hour focus group, three participants shared why they joined the HAP, did a picture sort activity, and either took pictures or selected pictures from the picture sort that represented their experiences in the HAP. In the second one-hour focus group, with the same participants as in the first, we used the photographs from the previous session in a photo elicitation focus group to talk about their experiences in the program (e.g., the meaning of the program for them, what participants changed in their lives since participating in the program, and the program's influence beyond its participants). The three participants of the first two focus groups were in the high participation group (i.e., platinum certificate participants). In order to hear a broader diversity of voices, I conducted another focus group that included people other than high participation individuals (i.e., gold, silver, and bronze certificate participants). The third focus group included five participants, four of which were average and low participation, and lasted 45 minutes. This was a condensed version of the first two where we did the picture sort activity and photo elicitation with the pre-existing pictures that participants selected. All focus group participants

chose and captioned a picture that represented the HAP best from their point of view. The three focus groups were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Participants who attended the focus groups received a healthy snack, copies of their pictures, and a framed copy of the image they captioned. Of the eight that participated in the focus groups, five were from the high participation group, and three had impairments that affected their participation.

Interview with program director. I conducted a 90-minute semi-structured interview with the program director. The main topics covered were: changes noticed in the clients (knowledge, behavior, and motivation), what motivated change, the program's contribution to clients' health, most important aspects of the work with the clients, most impactful activities, and what they would change if there were starting the program again. The interview lasted 90 minutes, was recorded and transcribed verbatim. See appendix B for interview protocol.

Participant observation. I was a constant presence in the program for its duration through the observation of regular program activities, by helping out with regular program functioning tasks (e.g., logging points into the passports, helping run special events), occasional drop-in meetings with the director to plan activities and to reflect, and running occasional activities. The activities I run consisted in 6 monthly peer group meetings where participants talked about their experiences in the program and how it was impacting their lives and four sessions of memory-boosting card and board games. I was present in the program on an approximately weekly basis and kept an observation journal throughout the six months. During my participant observation, I also took pictures of the sessions. This resulted in about 30 hours of participant observation, 79 photographs, and 53 pages of field notes.

Documents. I had access to a variety of program documents, such as monthly calendars that included scheduled program activities and that the director created, activity handouts from facilitators, and socio-demographic data.

Data Analysis

Surveys and participation data. The number of participants who contributed quantitative data (31 individuals with participation data and 25 completed surveys) did not reach the minimum 30 recommended in order to be able to calculate significance or make inferences beyond the sample (Field, 2013). Thus, my analysis of the surveys and participation data included descriptive statistics (e.g., percentages, averages).

For the analysis of participation data, I took into account other information about each participant, including how many days per week they attended the center and demographic data such as whether they had impairments to participation. This lead to my use of a different categorization of participants from the one the program used to grant its certificates at the end.

Focus groups, interviews, and participant observation. I used hypothesis coding (Saldaña, 2015) to analyze all textual data from the study (i.e., field notes, focus group and interview transcripts, survey open ended responses). Photographs from photo elicitation focus groups were not coded. However, the transcriptions of participants' comments related to the pictures were coded. I manually coded textual data with two sets of predetermined codes: a code for each of the evaluation goals, and codes for the three main areas of the VEE approach (i.e., content, pedagogy, and equity). I read the data aggregated under each code looking for patterns, and I then wrote summaries for each code that detailed patterns and contradictions.

Documents. Although I had access to a variety of documents, only the most relevant documents were analyzed. These included the monthly calendars and socio-demographic data.

The calendars were useful to understand the distribution of activities throughout the program. I analyzed the calendars using content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Krippendorff, 1989), which involves distilling words into fewer content-related categories to make “replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action” (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 108). In the calendars case, it involved categorizing calendar activities according to type (e.g., physical activity, food demo, hands-on), who lead them (e.g., community volunteers, interns, co-lead with director), and looking at how often they occurred. I analyzed socio-demographic data using descriptive statistics (e.g., averages and percentages). As mentioned, these data were also used in the analysis of participation.

Mixed methods analysis. I triangulated the different data sources to gain a more complete understanding of the phenomena (Greene et al., 1989). For instance, when looking at the preferred activity formats preferred by participants, I was able to compare the results of the picture sort and the survey, and then use the focus group data to gain a better understanding of the differences of the results from the two other methods.

Data Quality

I used Howe and Eisenhart (1990)’s framework for data quality in research by doing the following:

- I ensured that the data collection techniques coherently linked up with the research questions.
- I competently applied the data collection and analysis techniques.
- I conducted a thorough literature review that sustained and guided the study.
- I make warranted conclusions by triangulating my findings by theory.

- My study adhered to both external and internal value constraints. For external value constraints, throughout the study I kept in mind and was ready to communicate what value my research had for practice. For internal value constraints, I adhered to all practices for ethical conduct, such as collecting informed consent from participants, communicating with them that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time and without penalty, maintaining confidentiality, and doing no harm.

In addition, I followed Patton (1997)'s overall evaluation validity. I strove for all stakeholders to perceive me and the evaluation study as trustworthy. I began building this trust, believability, and credibility with the organization's staff and participants through my previous evaluation of a healthy aging pilot, by showing respect for all involved and providing a useful service to the organization. I also strove to achieve face validity of the instruments I used so that "stakeholders [could] look at the items and understand what [was] being measured" (Patton, 1997, p. 253). I checked face validity of instruments with the program director. In the case of the survey, I closely collaborated with the program director to ensure that the data was useful to the organization and I incorporated all relevant feedback that increased face validity and credibility of the evaluation as a whole. I maximized the precision and utility of the data by collecting data throughout the duration of the program and by utilizing different data collection instruments.

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CHAPTER 4

AFFORDANCES AND LIMITATION OF ADAPTING THE VALUES ENGAGED, EDUCATIVE EVALUATION FRAMEWORK TO THE EVALUATION OF A COMMUNITY-BASED HEALTHY AGING PROGRAM [1]

[1] Jaumot-Pascual, Nuria. To be submitted to the *American Journal of Evaluation*.

Abstract

The values engaged, educative (VEE) evaluation framework (Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, & Hall, 2006) was originally conceived for, and implemented in, STEM educational contexts. Its emphasis on responsive engagement with the values of equity and social justice, makes it adaptive to other contexts. This article reports on the extent to which the VEE approach was culturally responsive when applied to an evaluation of a community-based healthy aging program for older adults, a minoritized and underserved population. Findings suggest affordances of using VEE in the context of the healthy aging program include engaging stakeholders in the evaluation and addressing content, pedagogy, and equity. Key limitations include lack of attention to organizational capacity. To facilitate the transferability of VEE beyond STEM settings to other context, a new element, organizational capacity, is proposed.

Key words: Values Engaged, Educative Evaluation; Culturally Responsive Evaluation; Evaluation Theory; Organizational Capacity

Introduction

In this mixed methods evaluation study, I test the applicability of the values engaged, educative (VEE) evaluation approach (Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, & Hall, 2006) from STEM education to community-based, healthy aging programs. I examine the areas where the original framework was applicable and the areas where it needs modification. Working from data collected in the context of a program serving a minoritized and underserved population, I situate myself as a culturally responsive evaluator working within the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007, 2009, 2014) which privileges commitments to feminism, cultural competency, and redressing differential outcomes. From this perspective, I am compelled to challenge the status quo and to further social justice through evaluation practices that include "the identification of relevant dimensions of diversity and their accompanying relation to discrimination and oppression in the world" (Mertens, 2009, p. 14). This stance informs my analysis and guided my application of the VEE evaluation approach.

In the spring of 2017, I set out to conduct an evaluation of a healthy aging program for older adults as a culturally responsive evaluator using the VEE evaluation framework. This approach suggests all evaluations are culturally situated (Hopson, 2009), with culture permeating all aspects of the context of an evaluation, including its demographic characteristics, interpersonal practices, historical features, and political nature (Greene et al., 2006; Hopson, 2009). I intended to be culturally responsive by taking on a culturally humble stance (Aponte-Soto et al., 2014; SooHoo, 2013) and "being reflective and understanding of [my] own cultural values, adapting to each unique community, and tailoring methodology at each step of the way to establish new ways of thinking that are inclusive of all cultures" (Aponte-Soto et al., 2014, p. 45). Thus, I recognized my cultural situatedness and sought new ways of thinking that allowed me to access

new understandings. I also sought new explanations and understandings of the evaluand and the phenomena, "by privileging notions of lived experiences and especially regarding communities and populations of color or indigenous groups" (Hopson, 2009, p. 431).

By privileging these lived experiences, I opened the possibility for different perspectives of a program beyond those offered by the institution. From this perspective, and as stated in the American Evaluation Association's (AEA) Public Statement on Cultural Competence (AEA (2011a), "Cultural competence is a stance taken toward culture, not a discrete status or simple mastery of particular knowledge and skills" (p. 1). So, though not culturally responsive as originally defined by Hood (1998b), which emphasized the importance of shared lived experience between the evaluator and the evaluand, I set out to maintain a receptive and reflective stance towards culture throughout my work. The VEE framework provided me with a framework to engage cultural differences, by being attentive to how the program and the evaluation responded to them and by guiding my reflection. My evaluation approach for this project sought to prescribe evaluative engagement with the values of equity and social justice, in the particular form of advancing the participation and representation in healthy aging activities of traditionally minoritized individuals and groups, such as, within the Healthy Aging Program (HAP) context, low income older adults.

This paper provides an empirical example of how a values engaged, educative evaluation approach fosters a culturally responsive lens that allows for a deeper understanding of the program being evaluated. First, it describes the evaluation approach taken in the context of the healthy aging program, then, it reflects on the similarities and differences between the VEE evaluation approach when applied to STEM and HAP, and finally it concludes with suggestions for modification.

Description of the HAP program

The HAP was a 6-month program (April-June) within an active living Center of an organization serving older adults in the Southeastern U. S. This program's purpose was to enhance older adults' quality of life by helping them maintain their health, stay active, remain connected to their communities, and reduce food waste. HAP was an effort to systematize the educational classes and activities offered by the Center that dealt with the topics of healthy living, environmental responsibility, and community involvement. The program was organized using a points system where participants got points stamped on a monthly passport for the activities they participated in. For instance, core activities earned eight points and electives four. Points were tracked in each participant's passport, and counted monthly, and at the end of the program the points were used to recognize participants' participation. Examples of activities were cooking demonstrations, various types of physical activity (e.g., chair yoga, walking), garden club, presentations on nutrition, sustainability, and other relevant topics, and volunteering both inside and outside the program. 2017 was the second iteration of the program, and had a total of 31 participants, most of whom were from low to very low socioeconomic backgrounds.

The Center where the HAP took place had a fulltime director plus two assistants. The assistants' responsibilities were to run the Center and had little to do with the HAP program. One of them oversaw the kitchen and the other was in charge of administrative and case management duties. The director's focus was on coordinating the program's calendar with community partners and volunteers, training and supervising interns, and managing the Center as a whole. The program mostly relied on volunteers, interns, and community partners to facilitate activities and deliver content. Interns from different departments at the local university helped run the HAP by handling the stamping of the activity passports and running occasional activities.

Community partners periodically facilitated activities in the program, so that every month there was some activity scheduled by each. For instance, the local farmers' market provided presentations about food waste and seasonal foods; the local hospital provided health monitoring sessions and facilitated health prevention presentations; students in a local university's nutrition education program conducted several cooking demonstrations each semester; and the university's garden provided hands-on gardening activities. Although these were ongoing partnerships, the individuals that facilitated activities from each community organization changed constantly, rarely having the same person unless it was a structured series, such as the Food Talks offered by the local university's Extension Office.

Methodology

Evaluation Design

I conducted the evaluation of HAP from a values engaged, educative (VEE) evaluation approach (Greene et al., 2006). This approach prescribes evaluative engagement with the values of equity and social justice, and includes a framework to engage with the intersection of content, pedagogy, and diversity. VEE evaluation draws from two preceding evaluation traditions: responsive evaluation (Stake, 1987) and democratic evaluation (House & Howe, 1999), resting on a set of roles, processes, commitments, and purposes, not on designs or methodologies. Its two main commitments are to evaluation as an educative practice, and to evaluation as a forum for engaging with critical values. Evaluation as educative seeks contextual understanding to learn how participants perform in a program and how the program performs in a particular cultural context and for its participants (Greene et al., 2006). Evaluation as values engaged commits to inclusion and to critical engagement with participants' values. In addition, Culturally Responsive Evaluation (CRE) has emerged in the last two decades. Hood (1998a) first developed the

approach in the context of culturally responsive assessment and soon extended it to the entirety of the evaluation process. According to Hopson (2009),

> CRE is a theoretical, conceptual, and inherently political position that includes the centrality of and attunedness to culture in the theory and practice of evaluation. That is, CRE recognizes that demographic, sociopolitical, and contextual dimensions, locations, perspectives, and characteristics of culture matter fundamentally in evaluation (p. 431).

As such, CRE takes a decolonizing position, which privileges indigenous knowledge and creates spaces of resistance and self-determination. Boyce (2017) argued that, "in too many cases, attention to culture, diversity, and equity is little more than the inclusion of symbolic and politically correct buzzwords… the need for evaluations and research on evaluations that attend meaningfully and respectfully to issues of culture, race, diversity, and equity is not currently met" (p. 34).

The evaluation of the HAP was conceived from a VEE evaluation approach. The VEE was developed by Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, and Hall (2006) in the context of the evaluation of a science, math, technology, and engineering (STEM) education program and, thus far, it has mostly been used to evaluate this kind of program (Boyce, 2017; J. N. Hall et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2013; Tillman, 2015). In this study, I both adopted and adapted the approach to the evaluation of a healthy aging program in the ways I describe below.

In my approach as an evaluator, I prominently promoted values engagement by ensuring the perspectives and interests of all stakeholders were included, especially from participants who have been traditionally excluded from evaluation designs (Greene et al., 2006). Prior to conducting the evaluation of the HAP, I developed a Venn diagram (see figure 3) to consider the roles that content, pedagogy, and diversity were going to serve in the design of the evaluation of the HAP. This diagram guided the evaluation design, data collection and analysis, and served as

a reminder for me to reflect on the program from perspectives that decentered me and that privileged the perspectives of the program participants.

I found that when using this approach in the evaluation of the HAP for older adults, some elements translated well, while others required modifications. The elements that were not content specific (i.e., examining experiences and outcomes for all program participants individually, the evaluator having access to informants and having authority to educate them) were easily transferred from a STEM education context to the context of the HAP program. Other elements, particularly those that were specific to the program, such as content and pedagogy, needed to be modified to fit the evaluation of the HAP. I implemented these modifications as shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Adapted STEM VEE evaluation approach for a healthy aging program evaluation

Components	**STEM VEE Evaluation (Greene et al., 2006)**	**HAP VEE Evaluation**
High quality content	STEM knowledge, techniques, and procedures involved in conducting science	Healthy aging content, especially around health and engagement
Effective pedagogy	STEM curricula, and STEM teaching and learning (such as teacher-directed instruction, problem-based learning)	Types and formats of activities that are suitable to the content to be delivered and to the population they are aimed at
Sensitivity to equity concerns	Advancing the STEM participation and representation of traditionally underserved individuals and groups	Access to healthy aging activities, resources, and knowledge that are culturally sensitive to traditionally underserved individuals and groups

These modifications change Greene et al.'s (2006) figure 4.1. (p. 55), which illustrates the interweaving of science, pedagogy, and equity. Figure 1 illustrates the modifications made for the context of evaluating the HAP in regards to content (healthy aging), pedagogy (activity

formats and types), and equity (diversity and access).

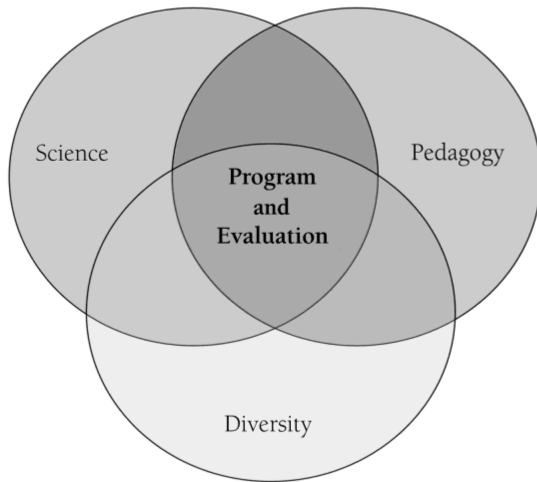

Figure 4.1. Greene et al. (2006, p. 55)

Engaging with the Intersection of STEM Science, Pedagogy, and Equity

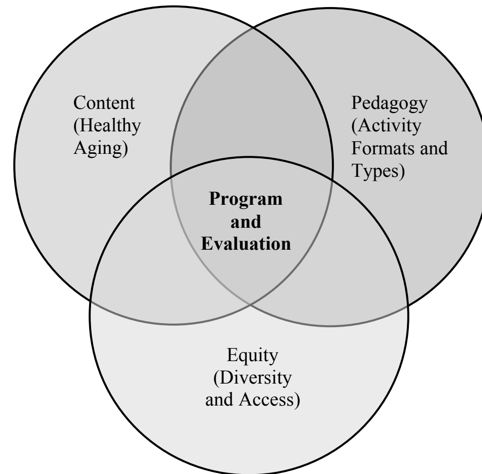

Figure 3

Engaging with the Intersection of Content, Pedagogy, and Equity

The first component, healthy aging content, refers to information, activities, and resources around health and engagement for older adults. The second component, formats and types of activities, refers to the most suitable ways to deliver the content to the population they are aimed at. The third component, equity, refers to the cultural sensitivity of the program in relation to traditionally underserved individuals and groups. I use the word *equity* instead of *diversity* because it is a better description of the need to redress historical inequities, which are compounded in the HAP due to the participants' age, income level, gender, and ethnicity. Using the word *equity* better reflects this intention and makes it apparent to those involved in the program and in the evaluation.

My Role as Evaluator

I initially accessed the HAP program because two years prior to this evaluation, I conducted an evaluation of a pilot program in the same organization, and I had developed a positive relationship with the organization's president. She had been pleased with the learning process that the team engaged in through the evaluation of the pilot, and trusted me to conduct another evaluation.

Once I met the HAP director and we established the basic components of the evaluation, I was a regular presence in the program and followed Greene, Boyce, & Ahn (2011) recommendations of being a "teacher, critical friend, and co-learner sharing information and insights about the program, promoting discussion and deliberation among various stakeholders, and supporting the use of evaluation findings for learning and program improvement" (p. 14). In order to do that, I spent "extra time onsite adopting a 'membership role,' doing small tasks and participating in the life of the site" (p. 14), which meant being part of everyday activities, helping out with tasks and special events, and occasionally conducting program activities. For example, I conducted the program's monthly peer group, where I facilitated conversations about what they learned in the program and how they were using what they learned. I was "explicit about the value commitments of the approach upfront and throughout the process, and [made] the evaluation a visible, open and transparent activity" (p. 15). I talked about the three elements of a program and of the evaluation (i.e., content, pedagogy, and equity) with the program director in an ongoing basis through formal and informal meetings. As a result, the director requested the incorporation of an evaluation question in the plan that addressed the program's content, pedagogy, and equity (see evaluation questions below). I "promote[d], and also engage[d] in, ongoing communication and critical reflection on practice" (p. 15) through formal and informal

means with the program director and participants. For instance, the monthly peer group that I facilitated became a means for reflecting on the program with participants. Programs and their evaluation are complex social and relational practices (Abma, 2006; Greene, 2015; Hall et al., 2012), so being a regular presence allowed me to have better access to these practices, such as the most effective strategies to motivate participants to engage in activities (e.g., offering healthy snack to boost participation in data collection activities).

Evaluation Design and Questions

The commitments of conducting a study under the transformative paradigm implied the use of methodologies that: (1) took into account the existence of different realities, (2) ensured an interactive link between the researcher and the participants, (3) situated knowledge in its complex cultural context, and (4) included methodologies that were culturally responsive. This evaluation study was conceived as a qualitatively driven, transformative parallel mixed methods design (Mertens, 2014) that used mixed methods to promote change, work with underrepresented populations, and give primacy to value-based and action-oriented dimensions. The combination of qualitative and quantitative instruments allowed for triangulation and complementarity (Greene et al., 1989). The six main goals for the evaluation developed with the program director were to assess:

Formative:

- whether the activity formats offered by the program are the most appropriate for its participants and content,
- the clients' motivations for and value of engaging in the HAP,
- how the HAP influenced participant's sense of connection with their lives, aging well, and being part of a community,

Summative:

- how the HAP influenced participants' attitudes and behaviors around healthy aging,
- the program's ripple effect beyond the program's participants, and
- participants' satisfaction with the program

In addition, I had the goal of learning about how implementing the VEE evaluation framework in a community-based program that did not focus on STEM education would work, what would translate well and what would need adaptation.

All data collection activities were conducted with Institutional Review Board approval at University of Georgia. A description of each data collection method is included below.

Participant Selection Process

I used two main strategies to encourage participation in evaluation activities. My first strategy was to individually encourage those I had developed closer relationships with through my regular presence in the program to participate in evaluation activities. My second strategy was to use the main communication channel used in the program, which involved the announcement of the daily activities to the group after morning prayer and the pledge of allegiance. I verbally encouraged all 31 participants in the program to participate in the evaluation before each evaluation activity by explaining its nature and length. In my participant observation of program activities, I learned that offering snacks was an effective way of recruiting activity participants. Thus, I also offered a healthy snack for participation in each evaluation activities. Most of the program's 31 participants were female (84%), and Black (68%). The vast majority (97%) of participants lived in low to extremely low income households ($25,000 or less for a household of one), 76 years old on average, and 74% had mobility impairments and/or cognitive decline that impacted their participation. The literature shows that

lower income older adults are at the intersection of several risk factors that are mostly out of their control, including age (Klesges et al., 2001), gender (Gallant & Dorn, 2001), race (Adler & Rehkopf, 2008), and socioeconomic status (Fiscella & Williams, 2004). These same factors play a role in differential health outcomes in areas such as nutrition (Klesges et al., 2001) and chronic conditions (F. Clark et al., 2012). All HAP participants belonged to at least three of the four risk factor groups (age, income level, gender, and/or race/ethnicity), which situated them in the crossroads for greater risk of poor health and nutrition status. My commitment to working from a transformative paradigm and my positioning as a VEE evaluator motivated me to include and emphasize participants' voices, which are the voices of those traditionally excluded.

Table 4

HAP Participants' Socio-Demographic Characteristics

Gender & Ethnicity	Female	Male
Black	21 (68%)	3 (10%)
White	4 (13%)	1 (3%)
Asian	1 (3%)	0 (0%)

Impairments Affecting Participation	Number (%)
Mobility & Health Impairments	15 (48%)
Cognitive Decline	12 (39%)
Mobility, Health, and/or Cognitive Impairments	23 (74%)

Age	Number (%)
55-70	10 (32%)
71-85	15 (48%)
Over 85	6 (19%)

Income Level	Number (%)
Extremely Low to Low *	30 (97%)
Medium-High **	1 (3%)

* $24,999 or less.

** $50,000 to $74,999.

Data Collection

With the goal of triangulating the findings from each instrument (Greene et al., 1989), the study included a combination of qualitative and quantitative instruments: a survey, participant observation, participant data, document analysis, photo elicitation focus groups, a picture sort activity, and an interview with the program director. A description of each data collection method is provided below.

Survey. The survey was based on the instrument that the program used to collect data on the program's implementation the previous year and it included 26 true/false items, 9 Likert scale items, and 4 open-ended questions. Keeping in mind the fact that a significant number of participants were experiencing cognitive decline, I made the survey as easy to answer as possible with the use of true/false statements.

The true/false items and Likert scale survey items included questions about: (1) the changes in attitudes and awareness around topics of healthy aging, (2) participants' satisfaction with the program, (3) their enjoyment of the different types of activities offered in the program, (4) participants' sense of involvement in the community, and (5) the program's influence beyond its participants. The four open-ended questions also offered an opportunity for more extensive feedback to those with the interest and ability to do so and to share ideas not included in the previous questions, such as the things they would have liked to do in the HAP. The survey was administered in person by the evaluator, program director, and interns. Participants who filled the survey received a healthy snack. See appendix A for complete survey.

Participation data. The program regularly collected participation data through its monthly passport stamp system. Each participant had a passport (i.e., booklet listing activities) where they received a stamp after participating in each program activity. Participation in core activities received 8 points, and participation in electives received 4 points. Points were recorded monthly and those with the most points were recognized with a prize. At the end of the program, participants received a certificate according to the total points received throughout the 6 months. The certificates were divided in: platinum (300 points and over), gold (200-299 points), silver (100-199 points), and bronze (under 100 points). Participation data also included the number of days per week each participant attended the center.

Photo elicitation focus groups. Photo elicitation is a type of interview where the evaluator or researcher uses photographs to initiate the conversation with participants usually to elicit responses related to their experiences (J. Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 2002). In this study, the questions focused on the motivations to participate in the HAP, the appropriateness of the activity formats, the most relevant aspects of the program, and the changes promoted by the program. I ran three photo elicitation focus groups with a total of 8 program participants. In the first one-hour focus group, three participants shared why they joined the HAP, did a picture sort activity, and either took pictures or selected pictures from the picture sort that represented their experiences in the HAP. In the second one-hour focus group, with the same participants as in the first, we used the photographs from the previous session in a photo elicitation focus group to talk about their experiences in the program (e.g., the meaning of the program for them, what participants changed in their lives since participating in the program, and the program's influence beyond its participants). The three participants of the first two focus groups were in the high participation group (i.e., platinum certificate participants). In order to hear a broader diversity of voices, I conducted another focus group that included people other than high participation individuals (i.e., gold, silver, and bronze certificate participants). The third focus group included five participants, four of which were average and low participation, and lasted 45 minutes. This was a condensed version of the first two where we did the picture sort activity and photo elicitation with the pre-existing pictures that participants selected. All focus group participants chose and captioned a picture that represented the HAP best from their point of view. The three focus groups were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Participants who attended the focus groups received a healthy snack, copies of their pictures, and a framed copy of the image they captioned.

Interview with program director. I conducted a 90-minute semi-structured interview with the program director. The main topics covered were: changes noticed in the clients (knowledge, behavior, and motivation), what motivated change, the program's contribution to clients' health, most important aspects of the work with the clients, most impactful activities, and what they would change if there were starting the program again. The interview lasted 90 minutes, was recorded and transcribed verbatim. See appendix B for interview protocol.

Participant observation. I was a constant presence in the program for its duration through the observation of regular program activities, by helping out with regular program functioning tasks (e.g., logging points into the passports, helping run special events), occasional drop-in meetings with the director to plan activities and to reflect, and running occasional activities. The activities I run consisted in 6 monthly peer group meetings and four sessions of card and board games. I was present in the program on an approximately weekly basis and kept an observation journal throughout the six months. During my participant observation, I also took pictures of the sessions. This resulted in about 30 hours of participant observation, 79 photographs, and 53 pages of field notes.

Documents. I had access to a variety of program documents, such as monthly calendars that included scheduled program activities and that the director created, activity handouts from facilitators, and socio-demographic data.

Twenty-five participants filled out the survey and eight participated in photo elicitation focus groups. Of the six participants who did not fill out the survey, five were among those with the lowest participation; four had impairments that affected their participation, including one who was receiving chemotherapy treatment; and one had a long absence from the program. Of the

eight that participated in the focus groups, five were from the high participation group, and three had impairments that affected their participation.

Table 5

Summary of Questions, Indicators, and Methods

Question	Indicators	Centrality *	Data collection	Data analysis
Activity formats	Descriptions of engaging / motivating / useful activity formats	**X**	Photo elicitation focus groups	Hypothesis coding (Saldaña, 2015)
	Participants' responses to survey	**X**	Survey	Descriptive statistics (Field, 2013)
	Order of photographs in picture sort during focus groups	**X**	Picture sort	Descriptive statistics
	Observation of participants' engagement in the different activities	x	Participant observation	Hypothesis coding
	Percentages of participation in the different activities	x	Participation data	Descriptive statistics
	Schedule of activities	x	Program calendars	Content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Krippendorff, 1989)
Motivations for and value of HAP	Descriptions of motivations for and value of involvement in the HAP	**X**	Photo elicitation focus groups	Hypothesis coding
	Informal conversations with participants about their motivations and HAP value	x	Participant observation	Hypothesis coding
	Report of observed motivations and value	x	Interview with director	Hypothesis coding
Sense of connection with self and community	Description of sense of connection with self and community	**X**	Photo elicitation focus groups	Hypothesis coding
	Self-reported sense of connection with self and community	x	Survey	Descriptive statistics
	Report of observed connections	x	Interview with director	Hypothesis coding
Attitudes and behaviors around healthy aging	Self-reported changes in attitudes and behaviors around healthy aging	**X**	Survey	Descriptive statistics
	Observed changes and informal conversations around attitudes and behaviors around healthy aging	x	Participant observation	Hypothesis coding
	Report of observed changes	x	Interview with director	Hypothesis coding
Ripple effect	Self-reported sharing of information with others around healthy aging	**X**	Survey	Descriptive statistics

	Description of opportunities participants have shared healthy aging information	**X**	Photo elicitation focus groups	Hypothesis coding
Satisfaction	Self-reported satisfaction	**X**	Survey	Descriptive statistics
	Description of satisfaction with program	x	Photo elicitation focus groups	Hypothesis coding

* **X** (upper case, bold font) indicates a central data collection methodology; x (lower case, regular font) indicates a supplemental data collection methodology.

Data Analysis

Surveys and participation data. The number of participants who contributed quantitative data (31 individuals with participation data and 25 completed surveys) did not reach the minimum 30 recommended in order to be able to calculate significance or make inferences beyond the sample (Field, 2013). Thus, my analysis of the surveys and participation data included descriptive statistics (e.g., percentages, averages).

For the analysis of participation data, I took into account other information about each participant, including how many days per week they attended the center and demographic data such as whether they had impairments to participation. This lead to my use of a different categorization of participants from the one the program used to grant its certificates at the end.

Focus groups, interviews, and participant observation. I used hypothesis coding (Saldaña, 2015) to analyze all textual data from the study (i.e., field notes, focus group and interview transcripts, survey open ended responses). Photographs from photo elicitation focus groups were not coded. However, the transcriptions of participants' comments related to the pictures were coded. I manually coded textual data with two sets of predetermined codes: a code for each of the evaluation goals, and codes for the three main areas of the VEE approach (i.e., content,

pedagogy, and equity). I read the data aggregated under each code looking for patterns, and I then wrote summaries for each code that detailed patterns and contradictions.

Documents. Although I had access to a variety of documents, only the most relevant documents were analyzed. These included the monthly calendars and socio-demographic data. The calendars were useful to understand the distribution of activities throughout the program. I analyzed the calendars using content analysis (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008; Krippendorff, 1989), which involves distilling words into fewer content-related categories to make "replicable and valid inferences from data to their context, with the purpose of providing knowledge, new insights, a representation of facts and a practical guide to action" (Elo & Kyngäs, 2008, p. 108). In the calendars case, it involved categorizing calendar activities according to type (e.g., physical activity, food demo, hands-n), who lead them (e.g., community volunteers, interns, co-lead with director), and looking at how often they occurred. I analyzed socio-demographic data using descriptive statistics (e.g., averages and percentages). As mentioned, these data were also used in the analysis of participation.

Mixed methods analysis. I triangulated the different data sources to gain a more complete understanding of the phenomena (Greene et al., 1989). For instance, when looking at the preferred activity formats preferred by participants, I was able to compare the results of the picture sort and the survey, and then use the focus group data to gain a better understanding of the differences of the results from the two other methods.

Applying the VEE Approach: Key Issues, Affordances, and Limitations

The implementation of the VEE approach to the evaluation of a community-based healthy aging program highlighted its affordances and limitations, and underscored some adaptations that would make it more relevant for such evaluations.

Key Issues

Diversity among participants. During observations of program activities, I noticed vast differences in who participated and in how people participated. I got to know about a third of participants quite well because they would attend most activities and would interact with me, while I knew the other two thirds less well. This is because they rarely left their regular seats in the Center's main room, and interacted mostly with those seating around them. These participants only took part in HAP activities that did not require them to move. These observations led me to understand that differences among participation went beyond simple involvement to one that pointed to the existence of differentiated program participant subgroups, which could be roughly defined as high, average, and low participation. Table 6 shows these three subgroups, detailing the range of total points earned, the number of participants, the average numbers of days they attend the Center each week, the average monthly points, and the average daily points.

Table 6

HAP Participants Subgroups According to Participation

Group	Total points earned	Number of participants	% with participation impairments *	Average days-per-week attendance at the center	Monthly average points	Daily average points
High participation	301-450	6	33%	4.7	63	3.4
Average participation	151-300	13	100%	4.4	35	2.0
Low participation	1-150	12	67%	2.5	21	2.2

* Mobility and health impairments, and/or cognitive decline that impacted their program participation

This classification differs from that used by the program to grant certificates. While the high participation group in this table is the same as the Platinum group, the average participation group includes the Gold and half of the Silver groups, and the low participation group includes

half of the Silver and all the Bronze groups. Table 6 portrays patterns found during data analysis which point to differences in participation which go beyond those indicated by the points system. This differences include: (1) the number of days-per-week they attended the center, (2) whether they made the decision to participate in activities that happened outside of the main room, and (3) the extent to which participants had impairments that limited their participation in activities. Understanding participation differences provided key insights into the program and its ability to respond to its diversity.

Differences by attendance. The differences between the groups by attendance were derived by looking at the number of days participants typically attended the center and the average daily points participants earned. Table 6 shows that there was little difference between the high and the average participation groups in terms of average attendance across days-per-week, with both groups attending 4 to 5 days a week. However, there was a large difference in the average daily points. The high attendance group earned 3.4 points each day they attended the center, while the average attendance group earned 2 points each day they attended the center, meaning that the high attendance group earned 70% more points each day than the average attendance group. There was less difference in terms of average daily points between the average and the low participation groups, with both groups earning about 2 points per day. Differences between these two groups can be attributed to differences in weekly attendance with one group attending almost every day, and the other group attending about half of the days. With 88% more opportunities to accumulate points, it is not surprising that the average participation group had more points than the low participation group. More important is to consider reasons for the differences in the points earned per day between low and average and high point earning groups.

Differences by location of activities. My observations uncovered further practices that shed some light on the reasons for these differences. In general, the Center offered two main types of activities: those that happened in the main room of the Center and involved everyone present whether they had decided to attend or not, and those that pulled participants into a different room or outside, and thus required participants to take the initiative to walk over to a different space. What differentiated the high participation group from the others was their willingness and interest to attend activities that required them to move to a different space.

Differences by impairments. Another differentiating factor between the high participation group and the average and low groups was the presence or absence of health, mobility, or cognitive impairments. In contrast to the high participation group with only 33% impairments, participants in the average group and low participation group each had 100% and 67% levels of impairment respectively. It is likely that the general better health, mobility, and cognitive status of the members of the high participation group allowed them to be more motivated to stay active and maintain a learning attitude than those in the other two groups.

The differences between the two groups were also apparent in the focus groups, as the following conversation between John and Alice, two members without impairments from the high participation group, exemplified.

> John: This group of people, like Peter could tell you, we have a men's group. It's hard to get the men to do anything. I want to -- you know, we went bowling one time. We got all the men, and got a bowling group.
>
> Alice: I heard you guys were supposed to go fishing, and all kinds of things.
>
> John: Yea, but I can't get the guys to do that. […] Won't nobody do nothing. […] But now these guys, I can't get them to come out of their chair. I mean, they get over there, get done with a puzzle and stuff, and that's it. They're content.

This quote shows that, while those in the average and low participation group were content with the program and their involvement in it, those in the high participation group such as John were

frustrated with the low engagement and even resistance to engagement of the rest of the group because it affected their own ability to engage in activities.

Thus, those in the high participation group attended the program more days, chose to participate in activities that required them to move, and had fewer impairments. Those in the average attendance group attended the program more days and had the most impairments of all groups. Thus, members of this group tended to earn points simply by staying in the Center's main room. Those in the low attendance group attended the program fewer days per week and had more impairments than the high attendance group and less than the average, so although they had fewer opportunities to accumulate points, they took advantage of them slightly more than the average group. However, the average and low attendance groups were very similar, which effectively created two groups: the 6-individuals highly involved high-participation group, and the majority of the group that was content with passive participation in the program.

The differences between these two distinct groups of people within the program influenced all aspects of its implementation, including the three elements of content, pedagogy, and equity that VEE evaluation framework focuses on.

Affordances and Limitations Using the VEE approach

Affordances.

Engaging stakeholders in the evaluation. As an evaluator working from a VEE perspective, I engaged the program director in the design of the evaluation as one of the key educative moments during the evaluation to help her develop an evaluative attitude that would be useful beyond the scope of this evaluation. Early on in the process, I engaged the program director in the generation of a program theory (Weiss, 2000) by asking questions about the program to develop its logic model to help surface the values and assumptions the program rests on. The

logic model we developed indicated that the HAP was a health promotion and education program as defined by Casteel, Nocera, and Runyan (2013) that had as the ultimate goal to change behaviors beyond the program.

During the first three months of participant observation, the existence of the different participation groups and the lack of control over the content and delivery of the curriculum became apparent. This meant that the original assumption that the HAP could influence behavior beyond the program was misaligned with its implementation. The goal of changing behaviors might have been feasible for the high participation group, but was not realistic for the rest of participants, most of whom had participation impairments and a lack of control on their living arrangements, which preempted changes. In addition, to promote change, the program would have needed to have control over the content and delivery of the curriculum. For instance, early in the process, I had suggested to the director to ask activity facilitators to include a few minutes at the end of sessions for participants to reflect on how they could implement what they had learned to help make the content "stick." However, the reliance on occasional volunteers made this impossible because it would have meant the director's coordination with each volunteer before each session. The nature of the community partnerships where partners had control over the content and its delivery and the HAP's lack of staff made what seemed an easy to implement suggestion an impossible proposition.

My participant observation allowed me to understand that, as implemented, the program's purpose was to promote individual and community engagement through participation in activities around health maintenance, nutrition, physical activity, sustainability, and community involvement. I then engaged with the program's director in an activity to outline the program's theory of change, which made evident the extent of the disconnect between the initial

conceptualization of the program and its implementation. She first resisted re-conceptualizing the program because she had seen some participants make considerable changes toward healthier lives, so she did not want to exclude that possibility from the program. We talked about how making the goals more accessible to all participants did not exclude these larger changes, but made the expectations more realistic according to the available resources and to participants' needs and possibilities. We then redrew the program's logic model to fit its reality and to redirect the evaluation activities so that they would be in line with the newly reformulated program purposes.

Engaging stakeholders in evaluation design was educational for both the program director and myself because it showed us that how we conceptualized the program was key to ensure its success with participants and the success of the evaluation to provide useful information. This process was educational for me as well because it helped me learn that, as Boyce (2017) stated, to conduct VEE evaluation that is truly respectful of the implicit and explicit values and cultures in the program requires time to develop an understanding of these values and cultures and to develop relationships.

Addressing content, pedagogy, and equity. Being attentive to the three intersecting elements in the VEE framework and their intersections was a significant focus for the conception and implementation of the evaluation. This served the purpose of assessing not only how participants were performing in the program, but mainly how the program was performing in the context of the Center and for participants.

Content. The content of the sessions was determined by the program director and by the community partners. The program director cultivated the community partnerships and coordinated the program schedule, which was largely determined by the nature of the work that

partners did. For instance, the local hospital agreed to do monthly sessions with the expectation that they would revolve around health prevention with activities such as health checks and medication management; the local farmers market also agreed to monthly sessions that were to focus on nutrition and food waste prevention.

Participants in the low participation group expressed satisfaction with the content and the variety of the activities in the program both in the survey and in the focus group, as Beatrice's (an 85-year-old Black woman) quote shows:

> [The HAP] makes you think of, gives you a choice of activities, and hobbies, and things that you can do to make yourself useful, and help you. It makes your brain to function better. And also the exercises help your body function better. And the food demos and things make you be able to plan your diets, and things that you eat, better.

However, individuals in the high participation group voiced that they wanted fun, interesting content that was not repetitive and provided them with practical strategies they could use. They also voiced their dissatisfaction with the fact that they were not consulted about the content of the activities in the program, as John (a 66-year old Black man) and Alice (a 73-year-old White woman) explained:

> John: You got to have stuff that people are interested in, you know.
> Nuria: So how can [the program] find out what you're interested in?
> John: Ask.
> Alice: Ask. But they don't do that. They never ask for input.

The centrality of the program director and the community partners in determining the content of the program activities indicated that the HAP was conceived from a liberal-egalitarian perspective (House & Howe, 1999, p. 107), which strived to eliminate disadvantages by implementing compensatory social programs and required little input from those that were to be the recipients of the program. Thus, the program was designed by the director and community partners to provide participants with services and content that they foresaw would have a

generally positive impact on them, but without the program participants' input. For HAP to truly work to eliminate disadvantages, it should incorporate program participants beyond being the recipients of services.

Pedagogy. I spent a considerable amount of resources in surveys, picture sorts, and focus groups trying to understand the activity formats (pedagogy) that participants enjoyed the best. However, each instrument showed different results. While the survey indicated that volunteering and screenings were the most enjoyed formats and garden club and peer group were the least enjoyed, the picture sort indicated that garden club and volunteering were the most enjoyed and peer group and screenings the least. These differences are likely due to the fact that those that participated in the focus groups were mostly from the high participation group (5 out of 8) and tended to have fewer cognitive and health issues that affected their participation (37% among focus group participants vs. 52% among all program participants). One example where the composition of the focus groups may have affected how they responded to the picture sort may have been that, because of the focus group participants' overall better health, they did not value screenings as much as the program participants in general. A similar thing may have happened with garden club but in the opposite direction. Program participants in general were not as active and had more impairments to participation, so they were not able to engage in and enjoy garden club to the extent that focus group participants, who were mostly from the high participation group, could.

The focus groups showed that although individuals had preferences for one type of activity over another, individuals in both the high and low participation groups also valued the diversity of formats offered and generally enjoyed all of them, as Ursula (a 75-year-old Black woman with cognitive decline) and Beatrice (an 85-year-old Black woman) explained:

> I look at it like this. If I'm busy, I feel better. I like staying busy. I like doing things. I like communicating. […] But you know, I try to participate in a lot of different things. [...] I do have to say I like staying busy. I like volunteering. I like helping people, so that's about it. (Ursula)

> I go to anything. Any time I'm here, and they're having something, I go. I'll go and see what it's like. I enjoy all of them. (Beatrice)

More than participating in one type of activity, participants wanted to stay busy, be part of the community, and be engaged in a variety of activities and contents. The diversity of formats was positive for the program because it allowed participants' engagement according to their needs and possibilities. For instance, the fact that participants did not have to move from the center's main area to participate in some of the activities provided opportunities to feel engaged and relevant for those who had limited mobility; while others who had more mobility could participate in activities that demanded mobility, such as gardening.

Equity. The VEE evaluation framework directed my attention toward different dimensions of equity (Greene et al., 2011) in: pedagogy, content, opportunity, infrastructure, and outcomes for students. To address equity, the program needed to address the existence of the two distinct groups in the HAP. The director was aware of the differences among the program participants, and spent a considerable amount of time and effort trying to schedule sessions in ways that would ensure balance, access, and meaningfulness. Some of the variables that she had to keep in mind were: (a) the activities themselves (avoiding repetition of content, congruence with the monthly topic, interest in the topic, variety of formats); (b) the facilitators (their availability and popularity); (c) scheduling (scheduling popular activities on days of high attendance, avoiding double-scheduling); and (d) preexisting commitments with community partners. In addition to these efforts, the HAP director tried other approaches to engage individuals in the high participation group with the goal of empowering them. One of the strategies was engaging them

in co-leading activities for the group. During the 6 months of the program, four participants co-lead activities with the HAP director. Another strategy was offering volunteering opportunities within the Center where those motivated and able helped with everyday activities as additional chances to earn points in the HAP.

The HAP's director strived to implement strategies that were geared toward the different dimensions of equity, such as providing a variety of content and formats, being strategic in her scheduling efforts to reach the most participants possible, and finding new ways to engage participants. However, some of these strategies were staff-intensive, such as co-leading activities with participant. Thus, despite programming efforts and participant empowerment strategies, the lack of staff to support the program and the lack of reliability of community volunteers were not sufficient to address the difficulties of satisfying a highly diverse group. In addition, there was another program within the organization that participants considered to be of higher quality because it required higher membership dues than the Center and the HAP, and had regular, paid facilitators. Not being able to afford the other program made some feel relegated to second class citizenship within the organization, as these field notes from a peer group session indicated:

> We looked over the September calendar. […] They point out that they're going to be doing sprouting again. They did it last month. They said that there's nothing exciting on the calendar for September. 'We're below [expensive membership program]. It's a money thing.' […] They complained about: people offering the classes not staying with the dates; people simply not showing up – 'they just need to do it and stick to what they say;' some activities start late because presenters come late, and then they have to rush through because of lunch. […] There are all these things programmed, but then they don't happen.

Those in the higher participation group considered that their inability to pay the higher dues membership relegated them to a program that they regarded as of lesser quality, where they repeated content and facilitators were unreliable. As a result, this group expressed lack of satisfaction or at least mixed feelings about the program. The HAP's director worked to provide

equitable experiences in pedagogy, content, opportunity, infrastructure, and outcomes for those in the program, and the majority of participants were satisfied with their experiences with it, as they expressed through the focus groups and through the survey indicating that the HAP was fun (91%), interesting (96%), and a place to learn (100%). However, the existence of another program that some participants considered of higher quality and reserved to those with the economic means to pay for it, meant that individuals in the high participation group did not think the HAP was equitable.

Limitations. As a result of conducting a VEE evaluation, I identified a key issue as needing adaptation, which is the lack of organizational capacity. This framework directed my focus toward the three intersecting circles in the framework, which are key components of STEM education programs: content, pedagogy, and equity. I tried to interpret the three circles of the Venn diagram as broadly as possible to approach my understanding of the program. However, issues of organizational capacity did not fit in any of the three elements or any of their combinations. This made me conclude that the VEE framework needed to be modified for it to be applicable beyond STEM.

*Lack of organizational capacity***.** Hall et al. (2003) stated that "the overall capacity of a nonprofit and voluntary organization to produce the outputs and outcomes it desires is a function of its ability to draw on or deploy a variety of types of organizational capital" (p. 4). This overall organizational capacity that Hall and colleagues developed for nonprofit and voluntary organizations pivots around human resources capacity and is influenced by financial capacity, infrastructure and process capacity, planning and development capacity, and relationship and network capacity. As we have seen in the program description section, the program heavily relied on interns for running the everyday program activities and volunteers from community

partnerships for the facilitation of sessions. The educational and professional experience background of volunteers was often unknown, and interns, by definition, were in training.

In STEM education programs in formal schooling environments such as those in the VEE literature (Boyce, 2017; Greene, Boyce, & Ahn, 2011; Greene et al., 2006; Hall et al., 2012; Tillman, 2015), educators have the appropriate training to teach the content and their job is to teach in the program that is being evaluated. For instance, in terms of training, middle and high school teachers are required to be state-licensed, which involves a minimum of a bachelor's degree in the subject area and a student teaching experience (Bureau of Labor Statistics, October 24, 2017), and postsecondary teachers typically have a PhD (Bureau of Labor Statistics, January 30, 2018). In a community-based program such as the HAP, paid staff typically have training in a variety of disciplines, such as social work and psychology, to name a few. Interns are, by definition, in training in a discipline such as those mentioned above. However, in the HAP, there was no consistency or control over the training or experience of volunteers that facilitated sessions and that were sent by community partners.

STEM education programs typically occur in school or school-like environments, with a set periodicity, and with is a State mandated curriculum, such as the Math and Science Georgia Standards of Excellence (GADoE, 2015a, 2015b) where the content builds up on what has been previously learned. There are also certification (GAPSC, 2017) and professional development (GAPSC, 2018) requirements for STEM teachers. Typical concerns of STEM programs revolve around whether students are ready for level appropriate work and whether they need additional instruction to prepare them, as was the case at Hillside High in Hall et al. (2012) and at the Mentored Undergraduate Research program in Greene et al. (2006). However, this was not the case for the HAP's content. Although the HAP had some general topics that activities focused on

(i.e., nutrition, environmental sustainability, physical activity, community engagement), there was no set curriculum that established skills sequences. Activities were usually one-time events or short series that did not build on previous learning. The goal of the program was not to build knowledge and skills in an area or to graduate, but to keep participants engaged, so the content of the activities was not necessarily of concern as long as it revolved around the very general topic of healthy aging. As we have seen, those facilitating HAP activities were mostly unreliable volunteers with unknown preparation and interns in training.

This lack of stable or trained human resources to attend to the ongoing needs of the program other than the director and the lack of a set curriculum had consequences that were felt throughout the program, including:

(1) the lack of reliability of community volunteers, which impacted whether program activities happened and their quality. This had the effect of creating feelings of frustration and a sense of being disrespected among program participants when volunteers were late, did not attend, or were insufficiently prepared;

(2) the periodical change of interns, which meant a constant rotation of new people working with the older adults, often severing relationships just as they were starting to develop. This also resulted in the ongoing need for the director to train new interns to support the program, pulling resources away from other areas;

(3) the unbalanced coverage of the program's needs due to the lack of staffing and the uneven skills and motivation of interns and volunteers; and

(4) the difficulty of coordinating the content of sessions beyond their general theme due to the lack of consistency of the volunteers. This meant that, even when volunteers had the necessary training, their lack of consistency translated into a lack of continuity of the content

presented to program participants. This often resulted in the repetition of basic content by different volunteers who were unaware of what had been covered previously. This was not perceived as a problem by most of the group and particularly those experiencing cognitive decline, but the high participation group expressed frustration with this repetition.

Though the community and university partnerships themselves were stable, there was little continuity among the particular individuals that volunteered or interned. The theoretical model for volunteer reliability in nonprofit organizations developed by Vantilborgh and Van Puyvelde (2017) helps understanding the reasons behind the lack of reliability of volunteers and interns. In the case of volunteers from community partners, they often facilitated one-time sessions. Thus, both their contribution to the program and their incentive to contribute were low, creating a relationship that had the lowest possible commitment and reliability. Interns, on the other hand, had what was closer to a transactional relationship with the program, where they provided their contributions and they obtained professional experience in return. Thus, when the internship ended, the transaction ended as well.

The VEE framework was designed to evaluate STEM education programs, such as those in Boyce (2017), Greene et al. (2011), Greene et al. (2006), Hall et al. (2012), and Tillman (2015). As we have seen, these STEM education programs typically occur in the context of or very closely linked to formal education, such as a middle school or a college, include staff training requirements in STEM disciplines and in teaching, and a pre-established curriculum. STEM education programs have as their purpose to train and graduate individuals who are skilled in a specific area, which implies progressive skill-building and have an "all or nothing" prerogative where students either graduate or not. In this context, equity in pedagogy, content, opportunity, infrastructure, and outcomes for students relies on the evaluation team helping the program team

develop an awareness and sensitivity towards equity issues that may not have been part of their disciplinary training, such as the years-long process described by Boyce (2017).

In the HAP that occupies us here, the reality was almost the opposite. Being a community program, staff training revolved around the provision of services, not around the delivery of content, and included professionals such as social workers and psychologists. At the same time, because of the human focus of these professions, staff training included attention to diversity and inclusion issues. The HAP did not involve such formal training requirements for their staff or organizational structures, such as class schedules and grades, as in STEM education programs. Though the HAP had an end date and a graduation, it main goal was not to train individuals who were skilled in the healthy aging area. The goal of the program was to keep older adults engaged in meaningful activities that supported their healthy aging, which is a lifelong pursuit. Thus, there was no progressive skill-building where students became more and more adept at aging healthily, or a real end of the program where people could say that they were qualified to age healthily. Thus, there was a mismatch between the assumptions of the VEE framework and the realities of the HAP because of the nature of the program.

The VEE framework directed my attention to the three elements in the framework: pedagogy, content, and equity. Thus, I collected data on these through three different instruments. Throughout my analysis, I knew that there was something missing, that some of the participants' lack of satisfaction with certain elements of the program was not due to a lack of sensitivity towards diversity from program staff, but something else. I then realized that the difficulties that the program encountered were mainly due to the organization's lack of capacity to be responsive to the two different groups existing within the program. This lack of capacity derived from its reliance on volunteers and interns instead of permanent staff that could not be adequately

supervised or trained, and that came to the program with professional preparation that was unknown or under development. Thus, for the VEE framework to be a better fit for the evaluation of the HAP, and possibly to evaluate other community programs, it also needed to include a focus on organizational capacity to implement the program and to respond to its diverse participants.

Additionally, for the evaluation process to be educative, as the name of the VEE framework suggests, the organization needs to have the organizational capacity to learn from the evaluation process and to utilize the evaluation (Cousins, Goh, Clark, & Lee, 2004). For instance, in the HAP case, even if the evaluation had an influence on the evaluative capacity of the program director, the lack of human resources supporting her would make it very difficult to capitalize on the learning and have program effects. If the VEE framework had included an organizational capacity dimension, the reasons for the HAP's difficulties to adequately respond to the diversity of its participants would have been more easily pinpointed. Thus, organizational capacity is key for both being attentive to content, pedagogy, and equity, and for the evaluation process to be educative and utilized.

Implications and Conclusions

The implementation of a VEE evaluation provided a lens to the degree to which the HAP program was culturally responsive. The analysis of how the program implemented content, pedagogy, and equity issues pointed at the complexities of being responsive to a program's participants that were divided in two groups according to participation levels and impairments to participation. The program depended on highly unreliable sort-term community volunteers and interns for the facilitation of the sessions. This meant that the program did not have control over

the program's core activities and did not have the capacity to be responsive to the diversity of its population, in spite of the director's efforts.

Though the VEE framework helped me analyze the extent to which the program responded to equity concerns around content and pedagogy, it did not help me understand the organizational capacity origins of those concerns. I argue that the STEM education evaluation origin of the VEE framework limits its applicability to community-based programs due to the organizational differences between the two types of programs.

I propose modifying the VEE framework to make it transferable beyond STEM education programs by adding organizational capacity as defined by Hall et al. (2003). As we have seen earlier, this definition refers to the overall capacity of an organization to accomplish its purposes through the deployment of human resources, finances, infrastructure and processes, relationships and networks, planning and development. This new element in the VEE framework would not be an intersecting circle, but would underlie the framework indicating its fundamental role for an organization to adequately address a program's content, pedagogy, and equity at the program level. It would also guide the evaluator's eye towards understanding how organizational capacity sustains the intersection of the three elements in the framework at the evaluation level.

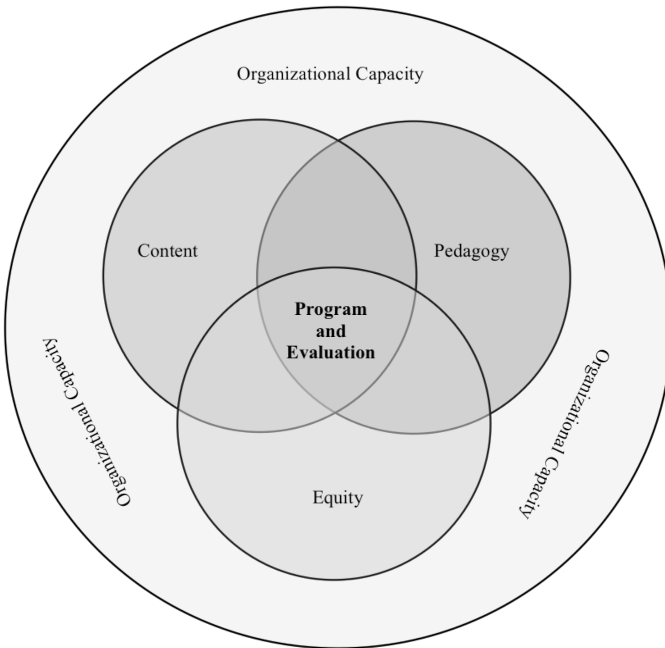

Figure 4

Proposed Modification of the VEE Framework

The evaluation literature has looked at the role of organizational capacity in evaluation use and the development of evaluation capacity. Cousins et al. (2004) developed a conceptual framework of evaluative inquiry as an organizational learning system, where they showed the relationships between organizational and evaluation dimensions. Their organizational dimensions built on each other from organizational support structures to organizational learning capacity to organizational consequences. In a parallel way, evaluation dimensions build on each other from evaluative inquiry to evaluation capacity to evaluation consequences. Thus, for evaluation consequences (knowledge production, process use, and use of findings) to be possible, the organization needs to have evaluation capacity and organizational readiness for evaluation. Cousins et al.'s model sits on the organizational support structures (reward systems, communications structures, professional development) that provide the basis for the other

organizational and evaluation dimensions. I would argue that Hall et al.'s (2003) definition of organizational capacity should be an additional level that underlies Cousins et al.'s model . As we saw in the HAP program, the need to rely on volunteers and interns reverts back to the lack of finances and human resources to support the implementation of the program, which goes beyond the organizational support structures defined by Cousins et al.

From an evaluation perspective and using Cousins et al.'s (2004) conceptual framework of evaluative inquiry as an organizational learning system, including organizational capacity in the VEE framework would contribute a better understanding of how programs develop evaluative capacity, and how they utilize the evaluation in a way that has program effects.

Like in Green et al.'s (2006) original definition of the VEE framework, the application of the modified framework does not prescribe the use of particular methods or the asking of particular questions. As such, the evaluator may use the modified framework according to the needs of each evaluation project. For example, if early information about the program indicates that organizational capacity may be an issue for the program, the evaluator may want to ask evaluation questions or have instruments that address it. In other cases, the evaluator may use the framework as general guidance for the evaluation, without having questions or instruments geared toward this area. In the case of the current study, it would have been useful to include an evaluation question and interview questions for both participants and program director to identify the areas where the an improvement of organizational capacity would have been the most beneficial.

The modification of the VEE framework contributes a framework that is more culturally responsive and more adaptable to different typologies of programs beyond STEM education programs by bringing awareness to the organizational capacity to accomplish its purposes and

utilize its resources, and provides an additional lens to approach evaluation as educative. Future research may consider applying this modified VEE framework in the evaluation of other non-STEM programs to see to what extent it is more culturally responsive, and promotes evaluative capacity and evaluation utilization.

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CHAPTER 5

"I HOPE THAT WE'VE TAUGHT YOU SOMETHING ABOUT US." OLDER ADULTS' SELF-REFLEXIVITY ON THEIR DEVELOPMENT USING PHOTO ELICITATION FOCUS GROUPS[2]

[2] Jaumot-Pascual, Nuria. To be submitted to the *Qualitative Report*.

Abstract

Photo elicitation focus groups have been used as part of program evaluations to elicit participants' experiences. In this paper, I show that these type of focus groups can also be a culturally responsive method for older adults that can be used to promote participants' self-reflexivity. In the study, twelve older adults participating in healthy aging programs engaged in photo elicitation focus groups where they reflected on their aging process and showed how they fulfilled their *Generative* and *Guardianship* roles. This study suggests the need to reconsider how programs that provide services to promote healthy aging are conceptualized and implemented so that they may empower their participants. It also suggests how changes in digital culture may influence photo elicitation methods.

Key words: Generativity, Guardianship, Self-Reflexivity, Self-Reflection, Photo Elicitation, Focus Groups, Program Evaluation

Introduction

I would like to start by sharing an exchange that occurred in one of the focus groups that I conducted as part of the evaluation of a healthy aging program (HAP). We were in a quiet conference room, which was a welcome change from our first focus group in a noisy room adjacent to the center's gym. This was the second focus group with three participants: Alice, John, and Peter. Alice was a 72-year-old White woman with a chronic condition, John was a 66-year-old Black man with a chronic condition, and Peter was as 72-year-old Black man with a chronic condition and a mobility impairment, all of whom participated in the HAP I evaluated. I was the evaluator of the HAP, and identify as a Latina immigrant.

Nuria: Well, are there any other things you want to tell me? Otherwise, we're done. […]
John: **I hope that we've taught you something about us**.
Nuria: Yeah.
Alice: About how to be old. [laughs]
Nuria: Well, you know one thing I've learned for sure?
John: What's that?
Nuria: Is that humor is so important.
Alice: It's the best.
Nuria: You've got to laugh.
John: Yeah. Laughing's --
Alice: Humor and hugs will keep you going for a long time.
John: But anyway, anyway, so **what did you get out of us**? […]
Nuria: Like, what did I learn?
John: Yeah. I mean, even though you were the presenter, you know, as the group got smaller, you know, because we started out with eight or 10 people pretty much.
Nuria: There were 22 the first day. [laughs]
John: Oh, there was? Okay. But even that day, even that day, how do you feel about what you…
Nuria: Yeah, definitely. So my main goal for me being here was learning. So learning about how an active living program for seniors works, how people take in the activities and what you learn from them. So I learned about that. I learned about the types of activities and the format of activities that you like best. Clearly things like gardening and doing things that you can do --
John: **Being involved**.
Nuria: -- with your hands, and **being involved and being in a community**. And one thing that I think I learned is that sometimes it doesn't matter so much the content of the activity, that the community, the people that you're with, is a big part.
John: **Associating** --

Nuria: Like your pictures, they were all of people. Absolutely **all your pictures were about people**.
John: [laughs] And I didn't just have a few --
Nuria: I know. I know.
John: But it was just the idea of just **being involved with different people**.
Nuria: **Exactly. Exactly.**
John: Like I said to Peter, I have a whole room of people to talk to and to help [in the program].
Nuria: Yeah. So I learned that: that **people are key**.
John: And **they are important**.
Nuria: Yeah. I mean, that's **the most important**.
John: That **association**.
Nuria: **That's for sure**. And the other thing was definitely giving back to the community, that we get so much [from].

Figure 5

Participants Potting

This interaction occurred at what I thought was the end of a focus group. However, John was not ready to have our conversation come to an end and indicated it by asking me more questions, effectively switching the roles that had been established at the beginning of the focus group. In

this interaction, John took the lead in our collective reflexive process, assuming the role of the teacher by ensuring that the evaluator learned what he considered was the most important thing he could teach: the importance of *being involved* and of *associating*, which was the language he used to refer to being active and interacting with others.

In this evaluation and research study, I used photo elicitation methods for their potential to be culturally responsive (Hood et al., 2015) to older adults. Members of this age group are developmentally primed to be in the Generative (Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994) and/or the Guardianship (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) stages. As Guardians, they are the family historians, a role that often involves collecting and sharing photographs. Van House (2011) noted that photographs have a sensory impact that goes beyond their content. They represent aspects of their lives, they can be archived and displayed, they tell and are used to tell stories. Thus, photo elicitation's use of photography has the potential to connect with older adults in several ways, some of which are developmentally relevant, such as their photographs' potential for being carriers of history and their archival value.

Current mass culture, which prioritizes the visual over other senses, has been described as hyper-visual (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). With the emergence of digital photography and social media, image sharing has become an immediate event and the meaning of pictures have changed and expanded. Photographs have changed from a formal affair to mark special occasions, to being used to document everyday life; from keepsakes to being consumed on a screen and rarely printed; from being used as ritual of family unity, to being used as communication devices (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011). As culture changes with the rise of and the access to digital visual technologies (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and with the increased diversity of the population, particularly the older adult population (Huntley-Hall,

2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), research and evaluation need to respond to those trends. I identified this evaluation as an opportunity to examine how evaluators might respond to those trends through methods that are responsive to both older adults and to the cultural changes.

I was also interested in engaging participants in reflexive practices in order "to gain access to participant beliefs and values, and to highlight participant voices through their choices of words and visuals" (Richard & Lahman, 2015) around their development as older adults. In this process, I, as the evaluator, and the participants co-constructed the data and its analysis in the interview process (Jenkings et al., 2008). In other words, the study supported participants in thinking about their participation in the HAP and their development as older adults with the support of the evaluator and photo elicitation in a focus group context. We will hear the voices of the participants, their reflections about aging, and we will see how photo elicitation methods supported their self-reflexivity.

Literature Review

Self-Reflectivity

Riach (2009) and Nagata (2004) distinguish between self-reflexivity and self-reflection. "To be reflective is to sit and think about what took place after it is completed; one's role in it, others' reactions and one's responses to them" (Nagata, 2004, p. 142), so that there is temporal distance between the actions and the thinking. It has the goal "to learn from one's experiences with the intention of improving the quality of one's interactions with others in future encounters" (Nagata, 2004, p. 142). On the other hand, "Self-reflexivity—having an ongoing conversation with one's whole self about what one is experiencing face-to-face or intellectually as one is experiencing it" (Nagata, 2004, p. 139), "requires a fundamental re-questioning of what is knowable within a given context, and for this questioning to inform or shape current or

subsequent practice" (Riach, 2009, pp. 5-6). These definitions nest reflection within reflexivity, both having the goal of optimizing human interaction.

Riach (2009) pointed out methodological concerns about reflexivity are "often limited to the dynamics between the interviewer and the interviewee [...] or warnings of biases caused by the disposition of the researcher" (p. 357), thus making the researcher's reflexivity the focal point of attention. Consequently, suggestions to manage these concerns include infusing reflexivity into the interview through different types of questions, exploring strategies that support the development of a reflexive analysis, and studying the ways people engage in reflexivity. However, Riach reminded the reader that reflexivity is not exclusive to the domain of researchers and that participants also have the ability to engage in reflexive practices in the context of evaluation and research projects.

Photo-Interviewing Methods and Focus Groups

Photo-interviewing methods are a collection of methods that use photographs to elicit a response from a study's participants. The photographs used in these methods may be preexisting or created for the purpose of the study by the participants themselves or others. John Collier started using photo elicitation with pictures he took as an anthropological data collection method in his early work with immigrant farmer communities in Canada (J. Collier, 1957), and later formalized it with his son Malcolm Collier (J. Collier & Collier, 1986). As Jenkings et al. (2008) pointed out, "The Colliers realized that photographs can be used to elicit information from the informants that the research may not have been able to access otherwise" (p. 5 of 16). They were able to generate information both more factually specific and more connected to emotions, in addition to keeping participants' attention for longer periods of time. According to Noland (2006), this intensification occurs because the parts of the brain that process visual information

are evolutionarily older than those that process verbal information. Consequently, images use more of the brain's capacity, eliciting deeper elements of human consciousness.

In addition to accessing more and different information, photo elicitation has the potential to support self-reflexivity. As Jenkings et al. (2008) said, "They [the Colliers] also realized that one of the results of their involvement [in photo elicitation] could be a 'development' of the informant's self-awareness, which the researcher can utilize for new insights and improved data" (p. 5 of 16). Other authors have utilized photographs' potential for the expansion of sensory awareness and increased self-reflexivity, such as Harris and Guillemin (2012) and Padgett et al. (2013). They have found that photographs create intimacy between participants and researcher and help participants critically reflect on meaningful aspects of their lives.

Researchers have also found that focus groups can serve as a site for group self-reflexivity. As Goss and Leinbach (1996) stated, "Focus groups give participants an opportunity to narrate their personal experiences and to test their interpretations of events and processes with others, and whether confirmed or disputed, the result is a polyvocal production, a multiplicity of voices speaking from a variety of subject positions" (p. 118). Thus, participants have an opportunity to be reflexive about their own experiences and thoughts and contrast them with others, providing them with the opportunity to learn something from the exchange. In this project, I used photo elicitation and focus groups together with the goal of capitalizing and reinforcing their potential to promote self-reflexivity and self-reflection.

Psychosocial Development

Erikson and colleagues (Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994) developed a framework for human development that went beyond classical biological and cognitive perspective by encompassing the effects of experience, psychological growth, and brain development. It

included eight developmental tasks. Four of these tasks focused on the development of the adult: Identity, Intimacy, Generativity, and Integrity. Traditional developmental psychology theories that focused on cognitive development, such as Piaget's, stopped after adolescence, so Erikson's introduction of differentiated developmental tasks in adulthood and of the role of experience was considered a novel approach (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). Vaillant and colleagues used their work in "The Grant Study" (a study of male development that started in the late 1930s and has followed its participants for 80 years) and three longitudinal data sets (Harvard Study of Adult Development; see Vaillant, 2002) to build onto Erikson and colleagues' framework by adding two new developmental tasks: Career Consolidation (Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980), and Guardianship (which they first called Keeper of the Meaning) (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). Erikson indicated that these tasks are not necessarily sequential; thus, they may occur simultaneously or they may be revisited at a later time.

According to Erikson, generativity, "is primarily the concern in establishing and guiding the next generation" (1967, p. 267). The adult "nurtures, teaches, leads, and promotes the next generation while generating life products and outcomes that benefit the social system and promote its continuity from one generation to the next" (McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992, p. 1003). This may be expressed in the private and public spheres by, for instance, raising children, through mentoring, teaching, organizing and volunteering. McAdams and de St Aubin (1992) showed that generativity tends to lead to more altruistic perspectives on life.

Vaillant and colleagues defined the "Guardianship" developmental task as coming after generativity, which they characterized as the task of the wise judge. "The focus of a Keeper of the Meaning [or Guardian] is on conservation and preservation of the collective products of mankind—the culture in which one lives and its institutions—rather than just the development of

its children" (Vaillant, 2002, p. 48), thus shifting from the more immediate and generative spheres of the family and the workplace to the more distant and larger cultural sphere. This developmental task is characterized by: (1) increased wisdom, which consists in the ability of seeing both sides of a situation and of staying impartial, continuing to learn and take people in, and with more mature coping strategies; (2) awareness of the fragility of human life; (3) an impartial concern for a wider social sphere toward social and cultural preservation; and (4) preservation of the products of their social group with endeavors such as writing memories, genealogy, and environmental preservation. All these elements may be hastened by crises or losses that put their lives in perspective and emphasized what is important for them (Martin & Kleiber, 2005; Tedeschi & Calhoun, 2004). As we will see, participants' self-reflexivity in the focus groups situated them in of the developmental stages of Generativity and Guardianship.

Program Evaluation

I conducted this research study on my evaluation project that was conducted from a values engaged, educative (VEE) (J. Greene, L. DeStefano, H. Burgon, & J. N. Hall, 2006) and culturally responsive evaluation (CRE) (Hood et al., 2015) approaches. These approaches encourage being culturally responsive to program participants and evaluative engagement informed by values of equity and social justice, ensuring the perspectives and interests of all stakeholders are included, especially those usually excluded. For this purpose, I deliberately chose to evaluate a program that served a diverse group of low income older adults, a group that has traditionally been excluded. The literature shows that lower income older adults are at the intersection of several risk factors that are mostly out of their control including age (Klesges et al., 2001), gender (Gallant & Dorn, 2001), race (Adler & Rehkopf, 2008), and socioeconomic status (Fiscella & Williams, 2004) for differential health outcomes in areas such as nutrition

(Klesges et al., 2001) and chronic conditions (F. Clark et al., 2012). In an attempt to be culturally responsive to the evaluation stakeholders and particularly participants, I used a combination of methods that allowed me to become a regular presence and to get participants' perspectives. To this last point, I used photo elicitation focus groups where I encouraged participants to be self-reflective on their development in older adulthood.

As an evaluator working from CRE and VEE stances, I agree with Freeman and Hall (2012) that "evaluators have the responsibility to help stakeholders critically reflect on the goals and outcomes of their practices, especially when it is perceived that a lack of critical reflection might impede developmental efforts" (p. 10). In the case of this evaluation study and from my stance of evaluator as educator, it was my responsibility to help stakeholders to critically reflect on the program and particularly help participants reflect on how the program supported their psychosocial development.

This article brings these elements together to explore participant-situated reflexivity in the evaluation process of a healthy aging program through exploring the reflexive work participants do around their own aging within the context of photo elicitation focus groups.

Methodology

This study is based on the data resulting from the evaluation of a pilot and the second year of a healthy aging program in an organization serving older adults in the U.S. South East. In 2015, I evaluated the small pilot program, which had a total of 8 participants. In 2017, I evaluated the full program in its second year with a total of 31 participants. The program offered activities to promote healthy aging, such as physical activity and nutrition education. The goal of these evaluations was to see how the program had helped participating older adults to maintain a healthy aging lifestyle, stay connected to the community, and to engage in meaningful activities.

I, as the evaluator, conducted photo elicitation focus groups with participants of both the pilot and the second-year program to hear and understand their perspectives on how the programs worked towards the goals by supporting participants' healthy development.

Study Design

I situated myself as a Values Engaged, Educative (VEE) evaluator (J. Greene et al., 2006), with commitments to evaluation as an educative practice, and as a forum for engaging with critical values. My educative role committed me to seek contextual understanding to learn participants' performance in the program and how the program performs for participants, and to consider different stakeholders' perspectives on the program. Keeping with the VEE evaluation commitments, these evaluations were conceived as qualitatively-driven, transformative parallel mixed methods designs (Mertens, 2014) that: (a) used mixed methods to promote change, (b) worked with underrepresented populations, and (c) gave primacy to value-based and action-oriented dimensions.

Data Collection Methods

Both evaluations had a similar design with a combination of quantitative instruments (surveys, participation data) and qualitative instruments (photo elicitation focus groups with participants, interviews with program managers). The evaluation of the second year of the program also included participant observation. In this study, I used the data and findings on the photo elicitation focus groups exclusively.

In both evaluations, I had planned on using *Photovoice* (C. Wang & Burris, 1997), a participatory research action method where participant-generated photographs are used for photo elicitation in focus groups with the purpose of raising consciousness and promoting change. However, the realities of the implementation made it necessary for me to make changes in the

implementation of the method, resulting in the implementation of photo elicitation focus groups. Photo elicitation consists of inserting photographs in an interview with the purpose of generating a response (Harper, 2002). Photo elicitation in the context of focus groups can be a powerful combination to promote self-reflexivity. Within the context of a healthy aging program, the self-reflexivity promoted by this method can be used to probe about how the program worked towards its goals by supporting participants' healthy development.

In the pilot evaluation, we first did an introductory photography workshop. Four participants took pictures, and we used them for photo elicitation in the focus groups. In the case of the second year evaluation, I conducted a total of three focus groups, two with one group and one with a second group. In the first focus group, we did a card classification activity with pictures I took for documentation purposes of the program, and then three participants took pictures at the end of the focus group. Participants mostly preferred choosing pictures from the card classification activity over taking their own pictures to represent what they wanted to depict. In the second focus group with this same three-participant group, we used a combination of the pictures they took and those they chose for photo elicitation. I ran into difficulties to maintain participation from the three participants in the follow-up focus group, so I decided to do a single session with the next group. That meant that the five participants would not have the opportunity to take pictures, so we used the ones I had taken for documentation of the program to do photo elicitation. As a result, I used auto-photography with photo elicitation with the first group and part of the second, and photo elicitation with part of the second group and the third. We conducted a total of four focus groups, which lasted between 50 and 90 minutes and were recorded and transcribed verbatim.

Data Analysis Methods

To analyze the focus group transcripts, I used hypothesis coding (Saldaña, 2015). I created a set of predetermined codes derived from McAdams and de St Aubin's conceptualization of Generativity (McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992, 1998) and Vaillant and colleague's formulation of Guardianship (Vaillant, 2002; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). To code for Generativity, I used the following categories from McAdams and de St Aubin: cultural demand for which adults take responsibility, inner desire for symbolic immortality, conscious concern for the next generation, belief in the fundamental goodness of the species, commitment to act on behalf of the young of the species, generative actions stemming from the commitment, themes of generativity in narrative accounts of important autobiographical episodes. To code for Guardianship, I used the following categories from Vaillant's work: increased wisdom, awareness of the fragility of human life, an impartial concern for a wider social sphere, and preservation of culture and memory. I then coded the transcripts using these predetermined codes.

Sampling

In both studies, I collected surveys and participation data from the majority of program participants. In the pilot, four of the eight older adults in the pilot participated in the photo elicitation focus group. About a fourth of older adults in the second year program (8 out of 31) participated in the focus groups. Participants were mostly Black (75%), female (83%), low to extremely low income ($24,999 or less for a household of one) (83%), and 73 years old on average. Seventy-five percent of pilot program and 71% of second year program participants were Black women. All participants were offered the opportunity to participate in the photo elicitation focus groups. For the fourth focus group, I made a concerted effort to engage a diversity of participants in order to have a broader representation of participants' experiences,

such as inviting individuals who were less active in the program. Participation in the focus groups was voluntary, and those who decided to participate were offered a healthy snack and a copy of the pictures as an incentive.

Table 7

Photo Elicitation Focus Group Participants

Study	Focus group	Participant pseudonym	Age	Gender	Ethnicity	Conditions
Pilot	First	Athena	67	Female	Black	Chronic condition
		Jewel	65	Female	Black	Chronic condition
		Anna	59	Female	Black	Chronic condition & mobility impairment
		Deirdre	66	Female	White	Chronic condition
Second year	Second & third	Peter	72	Male	Black	Chronic condition & mobility impairment
		Alice	73	Female	White	Chronic condition
		John	66	Male	Black	Chronic condition
Second year	Fourth	Beatrice	85	Female	Black	Chronic condition
		Evangeline	92	Female	Black	Chronic condition & cognitive impairment
		Fannie	80	Female	Black	Chronic condition & cognitive impairment
		Lily	80	Female	Asian	Chronic condition
		Ursula	75	Female	Black	Chronic condition & cognitive impairment

The quotes I use in this article have been transcribed verbatim, except for the fillers that have been edited out for smoother reading. On occasion, I have also edited out my words or those of others in order to bring out the participants' voices and reflexivity. I have not edited myself out to from data to eliminate my role in its production, as Jenkings et al. (2008) suggested, but to provide clarity and fluidity to participants' words.

Findings

My findings focus on how photo elicitation focus groups promoted participants' self-reflexivity around the developmental tasks of Generativity and Guardianship. The goal with these focus groups was to get participants to think about how the program had influenced their lives: how it influenced their efforts to age in a healthy manner and how it has helped them make connections with themselves, their lives, and their communities. In other words, these focus

groups provided the scaffolding for participants to be self-reflexive about their psychosocial development. The following sections privilege participants' words to show how they engaged their self-reflectivity on the different dimensions of their own development, such as being a generative teacher, their interest in volunteering, taking the role of preserving their families' histories, their understanding of the fragility of life, and their increased wisdom. As we have seen, developmental tasks are not necessarily sequential and they may thus occur simultaneously or be revisited at a later time. This is reflected in this study in the fact that the same individuals talked about their own development in terms that belonged both to both Generativity and Guardianship.

Generativity

Being a generative teacher. The interaction that opens this article occurred at what I thought was the end of the focus group, which I indicated with the question: "Anything else?". However, Alice and John were clearly not ready to have our time together come to an end, and they communicated this to me by turning the tables and asking me questions, which switched the roles we had taken on at the beginning of the focus group.

This exchange is what Riach (2009) called a sticky moment – a moment where the participants break out of the typical interviewer-interviewee relationship and create uncomfortable or uncommon situations where speaking patterns change with either long pauses or overlapping speech, where they move away from the position of the participant by bringing in a topic or an approach that may be controversial. In this interaction, participants (and particularly John), were very interested in hearing what I had learned from them during the time I had spent in the program. John redirected me twice, first when I explained that I had learned that humor is important and then when I described that I had learned things that were directly related to my

evaluation goals, such as what types of activities they enjoyed the best. This was not sufficient either. Even though my statement about the types of activities that they enjoyed in the program was initially not directed toward their social component, John steered me toward it, making it clear that this was what he considered the most important take away: the importance of being involved and associating with people. He insisted on the importance of people and repeated words such as *being involved* and *associating* until he was satisfied that I understood the centrality of these ideas by repeatedly and emphatically agreeing with him. In this interaction, John situated himself as a generative teacher by positioning himself as someone with the authority to show me what was important as we built a common understanding of what was worth learning from our experience in the program.

Participants also reflected on sharing what they learned in the program so that others could take advantage of their learning and so that they could enjoy better health, as Beatrice, an 85-year-old African American woman with a chronic condition explained:

> [The program] makes you think, gives you a choice of activities. And the food demos make you be able to plan your diets, and things that you eat, better. […] I [share what I have learned in the HAP], even at home, yes. I tell my daughter in law about it, and also my granddaughters and my grandson. Because he uses a lot of herbs and things in his cooking. Because that was his thing, he wanted to be a chef.

Alice reflected in similar terms on how she learned to grow some of her own food to have a better diet and to save money, and how she shared what she learned about gardening and cooking with her daughters and daughter-in-law. Beatrice and Alice situate themselves as generative teachers that passed down what they learned to the benefit of the next generation. This positioning shows self-reflexivity by introducing a change component by ensuring that they pass down their acquired knowledge so that the next generation does not make the same mistakes about their nutrition and prevent needing to make corrections in older age like they did.

Volunteering. Volunteering and civic involvement are often used as examples of how generativity is expressed through behavior to the extent that volunteering appears in the items in the Loyola Generativity Scale (McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992). However, Kleiber and Nimrod (2008) found that not all volunteer and civic involvement activities were necessarily generative. The reason was that not all of these activities were intended to benefit others, directly or indirectly, based on the nature of the activity itself and the participants' interpreted intent. This was also the case for volunteering in the context of the healthy aging program.

Figure 6

Participants Volunteering

Participants in the second-year program had the opportunity to volunteer every other month as part of the program's activities. Participants would go to the local food bank to help label bags for weekend food kits for local children. This activity immediately became very popular, and

almost everyone in those focus groups talked about how important volunteering was for them, though their reasons differed. Lily, an 80-year-old Asian woman, said that she liked volunteering because she liked to "help each other, and working together." Both Ursula, a 75-year-old Black woman, and Fannie, an 80-year-old Black woman, both with chronic conditions and cognitive decline, agreed that they enjoyed volunteering because they liked helping people. Fannie even said it was her "calling." John claimed, "volunteering gives you a chance to get out and [...] be part of the community." Alice's reasons for enjoying volunteering were that she wanted to give back to the food bank because she received "a sack full of groceries" from them every month.

Using Esmond and Dunlop (2004)'s inventory to assess the motivation for people to volunteer, we could classify participant's motivations as: reciprocity (to give back to those that gave to them), social interaction (chance to get out, provides one with opportunities to be part of the community), and values (working together, helping people, it was their calling or vocation in life). As Kleiber and Nimrod (2008) pointed out, "Generativity arises from desires both selfless and selfish" (p. 77). So, though some of the participants' motivations could be considered mainly altruistic, in some cases the ultimate motivations were connected to the fulfillment of their own needs, such as engaging in social interactions and feeling like they were reciprocating for what they had received.

According to McAdams and de St Aubin (1992), generative actions may be expressed in three main ways: creating, maintaining, and offering. From this perspective, Lily's, Ursula's, and Fannie's comments about their desire to help others might fit into the offering expression of generativity. However, the way they expressed it was mostly offering their time to help others, but they did not connect it with expressions of concern for the next generation. Thus, the connection of volunteering with generativity was tenuous at best. Their commitment to

volunteering was connected to their realities of having limited resources and wanting to help others within their possibilities. It was also connected to their realities of being older adults who would live isolated lives if not for the program. As Alice and John said, if it were not for the program, they would be home, Alice in a little apartment that she called "her cave" and John on his recliner. The program provided them with people to care for (or not) in the program, and be engaged in activities and in a community.

Guardianship

Being the guardian of the family's history. Before using pictures and asking participants questions about the program, we talked about the meaning of photography in their lives in focus groups 1, 2, and 4. Their reactions were strong and immediate. As J. Collier (1957) and other literature on the topic noted, in talk-only focus group conversations, participants often had the tendency to stray off the subject at hand and be general in their contributions. However, when participants used photographs, their contributions were more specific and their attentions were focused on the topic. In this study, I noticed that the presence of photographs themselves was not necessary to have a similar effect on interactions. The topic itself had such a strong emotional pull among participants that just conversation around it had the power to draw and maintain their attention and reflections. When participants talked about photography, they took long turns where they elaborated their points with stories that exemplified the importance photography had in their lives and the conversation developed with participants building on each other's points.

All groups were asked the same question around their experiences and the importance of photography in their lives, and the responses from the groups centered on family and memories, but in slightly different ways. Participants in focus group 1 talked about photographs as a connection with their present and future. Anna, a 59-year-old Black woman with chronic

conditions and a mobility impairment, talked about "studying the photographs" of her grandchildren, identifying all the little changes that occurred in them since the last time she had seen them in person, from the smallest bump to the length of their hair. Participants relished having these photographs. They seemed to savor the sweetness of looking at them time and again and enjoying the memories and the sense of continuity they brought them.

Participants in focus group 4 reflected on the meanings of photographs saying that they brought a connection of the past to the present, as Ursula, a 75-year-old Black women with a chronic condition and a cognitive impairment explained:

> It's something you can always go back and look at. […] Just like when your kids were babies. You watch them -- you look at your pictures and watch them, how they look when they're babies and after they grow up. It's just different. It's different. […] I enjoy telling them about how they cut their egg when they was young [laughter]. They didn't do this, they say. That's how she is [laughter].

For participants in focus group 4, the photographs' ability to connect them to the past occurred by bringing back memories that allowed them to compare their children as babies and as adults, and provided opportunities to reminisce with family members.

Participants in focus group 2 also talked about how pictures provided them with a connection with the past, helping them understand and keep the memory of where they came from, as John, a 66-year-old African American man with a chronic condition, explained:

> On my dad's side, it's a big family. I tried to get a picture of everybody that's still living. You know, as a family tree, but it's the family situation. I'll come snatch the picture. I don't care what you're doing. You're sitting there, I could snap your picture, just to have a picture of you. […] And then before you know it, they're gone. And the only thing you've got is the memories. I can go back and look through my albums though, and go, "There goes Uncle [name], there goes Uncle [name]," you know, things like that. […] That's your family history. Like I say, your family tree and what you know about your past. Basically, you can pretty much tell why you're a certain way… why you've got brown eyes or blue eyes, or yellow eyes or whatever.

He then explained how he and his sister got together with their aunt to get her to talk about her childhood with their mother and how his sister made a book out of it. John and his sister took on the role of the Guardians in the context of their family by ensuring that family members were remembered by taking their picture and by collecting their experiences as they were growing and by passing then down in the family in the form of a book.

Alice, a 73-year-old White woman with a chronic condition, expressed similar experiences and feelings around the meaning of photographs in her life as a way to keep the family's history. However, her experiences were not as positive as John's, and she expressed her dissatisfaction:

> I have pictures from 1947. I've got pictures of Japan. I've got pictures of everything the way it looked over there after we bombed them. I lived over there for two and a half years afterwards, from 1947. And I've got pictures everywhere. […] They mean a lot to me, because they're my life. They're my mother's life. They're my dad's life. They're my kids' life. They're everything that I've had. And I love pictures. I don't like the computer age, because you can't get pictures. […] Most people, my granddaughter now, she wants to do everything online. So I don't -- I have pictures of my great grandkids, when they were nine, seven. Those are the last pictures I got. Which is sad, because I really don't have any more. They did pictures at [commercial photography chain]. I used to get [commercial photography chain] pictures of them all, and I've got them up on my walls and stuff. I don't get those anymore, either. So it's kind of like, the computer age, I was eliminated.

Alice indicated the high value she placed on photographs by saying, "they're everything that I've had." However, Alice's experience with photographs and her ability to be the Guardian of the family's history and memory was not as positive as that of John. In her case, technology had eliminated her power and left her behind. She was denied fulfilling her desire of guarding her family's memory because of the changes in technology and her relatives' insistence on using it. Though she valued her role as the Guardian of the family's history and wanted to continue fulfilling it, she reflected that she had been stripped of it because her lack of access to technology, which was a bitter realization for someone whose developmental moment called for fulfilling this role.

Peter, a very quiet 72-year-old African American man with a chronic condition and a mobility impairment, lived in a situation where he had lost access to his family's and his own pictures because of his estrangement with his wife's side of the family.

> I don't [have any pictures], my wife is the one who has them, which is bad. I don't know what happened to them. My wedding pictures, my mother in law had them. I haven't seen them. But she won't -- she won't let nobody take them. I don't have them. I cannot have those.

His mother in law had kept his wedding pictures, and he was never able to see them. Later, when he divorced, his ex-wife kept all the family pictures, so he did not have access to them anymore. Like Alice, Peter was denied his role of family history Guardian.

Participants reflected on photographs as being extremely important in their lives, and being key elements for their ability to be Guardians of their families' history. The simple mention of pictures elicited strong emotions, mostly positive but in some cases negative because of the lack of access to them. Photographs had the power to help participants create life narratives that reached into their past, connected to the present, and linked them to the future. By reaching into the past, photographs made connections with their families through images that connected them to historical moments they lived, their family tree, children who had grown up and changed, and those who had passed away. By linking them to the younger generations, photographs were an important avenue to maintain the relationship and connection their families' future, suggesting some overlap with the generativity motive. Thus, when their roles as Guardians could not be fulfilled due to technological difficulties or estrangement from family, participants felt like they had been eliminated.

Awareness of the fragility of human life. John's previous vignette also hints at his awareness of the fragility of human life because he wanted to ensure that he took pictures of their relatives before it was too late. Participants reflected on the changes that they wanted to make in their lives to be healthier and made reference to their own mortality as something that might be imminent and that might get in the way of having a healthier old age. This was the case for Deirdre, a 66-year-old White woman with a chronic condition, who planned to exercise, "if God grants me another year here on Earth." They talked about their own mortality with impartiality, in an accepting tone and without bitterness, knowing that their chronic conditions may shorten their lives. This awareness also was apparent as something that could be expressed in metaphorical and even poetic terms, as Athena, a 67-year-old Black woman with a chronic condition, expressed:

Figure 7

New Bird

[This photograph] shows a new bird that's starting all over again. It's a bird sitting on a nest. You just have to start all over again. If I could from birth, I wouldn't have been eating what I've been eating right now. I'd pull myself together. [...] If I only knew what I know now when I was younger, cause now I am older. [...] That's what I'm pointing out, because at seven o'clock this morning, it kind of woke me up, going to the bathroom and I look in the

> mirror, and that's when I thought, 'I guess it's time for me to take a picture.' […] To think about it. It just kinda caught me, especially when I opened the door and looked at the sky and saw some bird up there. I thought, 'Mh! If I could do that! If I could have someone start me all over again!'

Athena used the metaphor of a new bird in the nest to symbolize a new beginning and what she would do differently if she were to start all over again. She was aware that she could not have a new beginning, but she knew that she could make changes in her behavior as if she did have a new beginning in order to be healthier in the present. She had the regret of not having followed a healthy diet in the past, which affected her current health, and was aware of the impossibility of turning the clock back. This picture and Athena's words elicited exclamations of recognition and of awe from nearly everyone in the focus group. They identified with the awareness of the passage of time and the desire to have done things differently and with the impossible beauty of a new beginning through the image of a fragile new bird.

Increased wisdom. Scholars have not reached an agreement on a definition of wisdom, but there seem to be some elements that contribute to it, such as having the capacity for impartiality. Vaillant (2002) claimed, "Successful aging requires continuing to learn new things and continuing to take people in" (p. 132), which are two of the elements that contribute to wisdom. From this perspective, Beatrice was certainly aging successfully. In the following quote, she reflected on her interactions with younger people and her peers in the healthy aging program and what each of them brought her.

> I have the opportunity of really two worlds. Because I, with the young people, because my kids are in school, and they bring their friends and them over for holidays, and this and that. I can communicate with them, and I do things, a lot of things, that they do. And then also, I enjoy that very much, but then when I get where I can associate with people my age, and younger, here, and communicate with them the things that I experienced, and they experienced during their lifetime, and it's nice to hear both.

Although Beatrice was able to appreciate the opportunity to learn from her children and their friends, she did not desire to interact exclusively with younger people. She was also able to enjoy the company of her peers with whom she could reminisce and exchange life experiences they had in common. She looked for the stimulation of learning with the young at the same time that she balanced it with the comforts of sharing with people in her own age group. She had a Guardian's widened social radius with a non-partisan and less personal approach to others from where she could listen to others with the impartiality of a wise judge. She could evenhandedly value and take both groups of people in.

Jewel, a 65-year-old Black woman with chronic conditions, was a quiet peer leader in the pilot program. She would call people to remind them of activities, she would encourage other participants to "stick to the program" and lead healthier lives, and she would lead by example. However, one of her chronic conditions made movement painful, making it difficult for her to be consistent in following through with making changes toward healthier behaviors, as she explained below:

Figure 8

Will Power

> It's also about will power. You have to have the will power to eat right, to exercise, you have to want to do it. That's the important factor, we need to want to do it. […] But I have chronic back pain. I wouldn't say that it's made it very difficult, but sometimes it gets in the way of me moving around, getting up and all that. I've been in pain for so long that I've just psyched it out, and I come over and do what I gotta do, cause it's gonna hurt anyway, better to do it and get it over with.

The first two lines of Jewel's reflection were in response to Athena, who had just told the group that she would not go to physical therapy because it hurt too much. Jewel's response reflected Vaillant's (2002) observation that "Age facilitates a widening social radius and more balanced ways of coping with adversity" (p. 256). Her reflections manifested both her widened social radius showing her concern for her peer and her balanced way of coping with adversity with a behavior that was adaptive to her reality with pain. She knew that there was going to be pain anyway, so she might as well power through it and do the exercises that would help her be physically healthier. These reflections were also meant as an example of what Athena could do if she decided to.

This study shows how photo elicitation can be a powerful tool to promote participants' self-reflection and self-reflexivity. In this case, this self-reflection was focused on their own psychosocial development and how the healthy aging program they participated in supported it. In addition, this study also underlined two main issues: (1) the methodological implications of using photo elicitation with older adults and (2) the impact program design has on its users. Let us examine each of them in the next section.

Implications and Conclusion

We have seen that photo elicitation was a method that was culturally responsive (Hood et al., 2015) to participants, who saw themselves as Guardians of the culture and of their family's history and used photography as a key element of their role. However, this family history

guardian role was one that they were not always able to fulfill because of complex family histories or due to the interference of technology. They showed awareness of the fragility of human live, and expressed it in metaphorical, even poetic, terms. Participants reflected on being able to relate to both the young and the old, learning from them, and taking them in with impartiality. They also showed increased wisdom through their display of mature coping strategies that helped them support their peers and take charge of their own healthy aging. The change element in self-reflexivity appeared in Beatrice and Alice's sharing of what they learned in the program so that the next generation would take charge of their health and wouldn't make the same mistakes as they did.

Methodological Implications of Using Photo Elicitation with Older Adults

In addition to the potential of photo elicitation to promote participants' self-reflexivity, this study has brought to light methodological implications around photo elicitation that are related to the changes in current mass culture, which prioritizes the visual over other senses and has been described as hyper-visual (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004).

Alice's reflections about being left behind and not being able to fulfill her role as a Guardian of her family's history because of lack of access to digital photography technology is poignant because it brings to relief the challenges of the digital era for older adults. She, like the rest of participants, lived most of her life with print pictures, so she tried to hold on to them and their significance. As Van House (2011) noted, "As tactile objects, [photographs] have an emotional and sensory impact beyond that of their content [...]. They carry physical traces of their social lives. Their meaning is constructed by their content but also by their archiving and display as well as the stories told around and with them" (p. 126). Participants, and particularly John, Alice and Peter, reflected on the emotional impact of photographs by talking about their connections

with the images. Ursula and John also reflected on the stories they tell and told around them, such as how babies used to behave and how they grew up and changed. However, with the emergence of digital photography and social media, image sharing has become an immediate event and the meaning of pictures have changed and expanded. Photographs have changed from a formal affair to mark special occasions, to being used to document everyday life; from keepsakes to being consumed on a screen and rarely printed; from being used as ritual of family unity, to being used as communication devices (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011). Thus, those who do not have access to photography's technological changes continue espousing the previous values around photography and do not experience its uses as a communication device in social media platforms. This, as Alice reflected, leaves them out of the family communication circle and effectively eliminates them.

Beyond the use of images in everyday life, technological change and digital photography have an influence on how photo-interviewing methods are understood and implemented. Rose (2014) reflected that,

> the relationship between VRM [Visual Research Methods] and visual culture consists in what research using VRM *does* with images, as part of its practice. Using VRM *performs* a contemporary visual culture, rather than finding it *represented* in the images it generates, in the social it performs or in the research participants it enrols (sic). (pp. 39, emphasis in original)

Images used in research are images that reflect the visual culture, where images are not treated as having inherent meaning, but what matters is what is done with the images. The Colliers used photo elicitation with the goal of eliciting more precise information and of maintaining participants' attention for longer periods of time. This approach will probably continue working in this way for those who grew up with print photography. However, the current visual culture is changing the expectations of what a photograph elicits according to the context and the

relationships. Thus, the researcher will need to determine the context of generation and use of images and the relationship with participants to define whether they are objects that carry significant meaning or just the ephemeral, whether they are tools for thinking with or objects to modify.

The Impact of Program Design on Its Users

This study also put in relief the framework from which the HAP was conceived and run. These frameworks have philosophical and practical implications around the implementation of healthy aging programs and have very real impacts on participants. In the vignette where Athena used the image of a bird in a nest as a metaphor for a new beginning, she wished she had done things differently so that she could have enjoyed better health in older age. She thus took responsibility for her chronic condition, internalizing the normalized discourse of individualized responsibility health promotion model where a "rational agent freely choos[es] a particular action or object of consumption" (Woolf, Dekker, Byrne, & Miller, 2011, p. S38) that the program embraced. This perspective put the responsibility for improving her health on her, promoting guilt if she didn't follow what she learned in the program, and prevented her from acknowledging the role of economic, contextual, and environmental factors. However, as Lynch, Smith, Kaplan, and House (2000) pointed out, income and health have been linked within the United States. Additionally, Sallis, Owen, and Fisher (2015) indicated that, "There are multiple influences on specific health behaviors, including factors that are intrapersonal, interpersonal, organizational, community, and public policy levels" (p. 466) and that these influences interact, making multi-level interventions most effective in changing behavior. Thus, interventions that target the individual cannot be expected to be as effective. For organizations to provide programming that is more likely to have an impact on behavior, they would need to follow the

recommendations by Sallis et al. (2015) and Woolf et al. (2011), and offer multi-level, community-based programs that tackled a diversity of factors, such as creating health promotion networks where organizations would link with clinical practices and other community organizations and switching from promoting guilt to promoting empowerment.

Similarly, in the vignette where Jewel responded to Athena's unwillingness to do physical therapy due to her pain and her psyching out her pain, her language showed more than encouragement toward her peers and mature coping mechanisms. Her words also manifested that she had internalized the normalized discourse of individualized responsibility towards one's own health, to the extent that she supported the program's self-reliance philosophy and even contributed in spreading it among the other participants.

Program managers should question the philosophical tenets on where responsibilities lay in ensuring older adults' healthy aging and the assumptions around how supports should be provided. If the program's goal is to promote individual change and places the responsibility on the individual, it is likely that the program will offer activities and services that target the individual not the system of support to the aging process as a whole. When individuals internalize the personal responsibility philosophy of the program and do not follow the established regimen, they are made to feel guilty for not taking care of their health and not taking advantage of what a program offers. However, if a program promotes the coordination of services and supports with other programs and promotes the empowerment of its participants, responsibilities can be distributed and participants can feel empowered to access the services they need, not those imposed on them.

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CHAPTER 6

HOW ARE PHOTO ELICITATION METHODS BEING USED IN RESEARCH WITH OLDER ADULTS? A SYSTEMATIC SYNTHESIS OF THE LITERATURE [3]

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Abstract

This paper presents the methodological findings of a systematic synthesis of 36 studies that used photo elicitation methods with older adults in the last 20 years. It includes a critical look at the authors' implementation strategies and rationales and suggests a way to classify photo elicitation methods. Findings indicate that though many authors claimed to implement photovoice, there was little adherence to its methodological and paradigmatic commitments. This lack of consistency can be counterproductive for the advancement of the field and is misleading to researchers looking for literature to guide them in the implementation of photo elicitation methods with older adults.

Key words: Systematic Literature Synthesis, Photo Elicitation, Auto-Photography, Photovoice, Older Adults

Introduction

Current mass culture, which prioritizes the visual over other senses, has been described as hyper-visual (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004). With the emergence of digital photography and social media, image sharing has become an immediate event and the meaning of pictures have changed and expanded: photographs have changed from a formal affair to mark special occasions, to being used to document everyday life; from keepsakes to being consumed on a screen and rarely printed; from being used as ritual of family unity, to being used as communication devices (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011). As culture changes with the rise of and the access to digital visual technologies (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and with the increased diversity of the population, particularly the older adult population (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), research and evaluation need to respond to those trends by using culturally responsive methods, and by learning from the past and projecting into the future. This systematic literature synthesis learns from the past by studying how photo elicitation methods have been used in the empirical literature with older adults so that projections into the future for the use of these methods rest on grounded recommendations for their implementation.

This systematic synthesis was motivated by the evaluation of a healthy aging program I conducted in 2017. I had originally planned to use photovoice (a participatory action research method that uses participant-generated photography to promote critical consciousness and community change) (C. Wang & Burris, 1997), but the realities of the program and of the evaluation required that I modify my methods, resulting in the implementation of photo elicitation focus groups (a method where the researcher uses photographs as prompts to obtain a response from participants) instead. As I was reading literature to inform the evaluation work, I noticed that many studies that claimed to use photovoice did not adhere to the Freirean, feminist,

and participatory commitments of the method. Indeed, the name photovoice was used quite liberally in the literature. Also, as I read literature on other photo elicitation methods, I noticed a lack of consistency in the use of different methods' names and their implementation. For instance, Phoenix (2010) wrote that, "auto-photography—sometimes referred to as self-directed photography, and/or photovoice—has become increasingly popular" (p. 167), and Shell (2015) claimed, "autodriving has also been called reflexive photography, photo novella and photovoice" (pp. S26-S27). Thus, it seemed that for these authors auto-photography, reflexive photography, self-directed photography, photo novella, and photovoice were all one and the same. Authors seemed to get their inspiration for the use of photo elicitation methods through the photovoice literature, yet their implementation and theoretical commitments were not faithful to Wang and colleague's seminal work. This suggested that it would be useful for the field of qualitative research to systematically review how photo elicitation methods were being used and how well they followed seminal works (e.g., Collier & Collier, 1986, for photo elicitation; Ziller, 1990 for auto-photography; Noland, 2006, for photo elicitation with auto-photography; Wang and Burris, 1997, for photovoice). In order to understand how photo elicitation methods have been implemented in research with older adults, I set out to find the most inclusive set of empirical literature possible that used photo elicitation in research with older adults to write a systematic literature synthesis on the topic.

I situate my work with older adults within the transformative paradigm (Mertens, 2007, 2009), with a commitment to feminism, cultural competency, and redressing differential outcomes in this population. Age is a risk factor for differential outcomes in different areas, such as nutrition (Klesges et al., 2001), and chronic conditions (F. Clark et al., 2012). Particularly, among older adults of low socioeconomic status, as Fiscella and Williams (2004) stated, they

"experience greater disability, more limitations in activities of daily living, and more frequent and rapid cognitive decline" (p. 1141). Working with this population from a transformative perspective, I am compelled to try to "[uncover] that which has not been stated explicitly within the context of the current research and evaluation climate" (p. 14). In this case, what has not been stated is that many researchers are claiming to use photovoice, but then using it strictly as a data collection tool. The use of photovoice implies the espousal of its paradigmatic commitments of critical consciousness raising and community change. Thus, as Johnston (2016) stated, claiming to use photovoice and other participatory action research methods when only strictly using them for data collection can raise false hopes for change, which in the long run may deteriorate trust towards researchers. This stance informed my reading of the literature on photo elicitation with older adults and helped me identify the fact that there is little rigor in the implementation of these methods and what may be the implications of this lack of rigor.

The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to systematically synthesize studies that used photo elicitation methods with older adults in the last 20 years to establish how these methods are being used and how their implementation compares to how they are defined in the literature. I first provide a brief overview of previous related literature reviews to provide a context for the current work. I then define the three main photo elicitation methods found in the empirical literature and compare them in order to understand their convergences and divergences. After describing this study's methodology, I present the findings of the systematic review, and I conclude with the implications that emanate from this study.

Previous Literature Reviews

This study was informed and influenced by previous literature reviews on the use of photography-based methods within and outside aging research. Previous literature reviews that

have studied the use of photography-based methods in aging research include Blair and Minkler (2009) and Hand, Huot, Laliberte Rudman, and Wijekoon (2017). Blair and Minkler (2009) conducted a literature review of studies using participatory action research (PAR), including photovoice, with older adults looking at how they illustrate PAR's core principles, such as participation, empowerment, and co-learning. This review resulted in a classification of community concerns and priorities addressed by the studies, and a summary that included the number of participants, length of the study, type of discussion trigger used, type of data analysis used, and outcomes of the studies. It established that though not used often, PAR had great potential for both the aging research field and for older adults themselves. Hand et al. (2017) conducted a review of literature describing the ways in which participatory geo-spatial (a category that includes methods such as GIS and photovoice) and qualitative research methods have been used with aging adults to study person-place relationships. They found that analysis and integration of the different types of data produced by such methods was limited, and that more rigor and better integration of methods was necessary to create new knowledge regarding the interaction between place and aging. These two literature reviews showed that PAR and geo-spatial methods have great potential for knowledge generation in research with older adults because, though they are responsive to the population, they are rarely used and not used to their full potential.

Beyond the field of aging research, there have been other literature reviews that have focused on related topics that have brought forward findings relevant to this synthesis, such as photovoice (Catalani & Minkler, 2010) and participant-generated image methods (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). Catalani and Minkler (2010)'s literature review studied the quality of implementation of photovoice in the health field using Viswanathan et al.'s (2004) tool. They

looked at the elements that constitute photovoice and the degree of implementation in each study using a points system to create a ranking of the studies according to their implementation quality of the method. They found that the majority of photovoice studies: (1) modified Wang and colleague's methods to accommodate each researcher's realities, (2) did not report how they analyzed visual data, (3) were not consistent in reporting community participation, and (4) did not assess photovoice's impacts on the community. Thus, this literature synthesis established that researchers who use photovoice modify the method and are not consistent in their analysis and reporting. Balomenou and Garrod (2016) conducted a review of participant-generated image methods in the social sciences. They found that the most commonly used names for methods were photovoice (42%), autophotography (12.9%), photography (9.4%), visitor-employed photography (4.2%), photo-elicitation (3.1%), and participatory photography (3.1%). The remaining 25.1% used 36 different names, such as photo-novella and autodocumentary photography. They noted that though the methods used were very similar and coincided in giving cameras to participants and asking them to take photographs to address a given theme, authors tended to coin new names for their methods whenever they changed any of its components. Balomenou and Garrod argued that there is essentially just one participant-generated image method and that,

> Terminological consistency is vital in developing any research technique. Without it, researchers coming to the method for the first time will have difficulty identifying the extant literature. … This may seriously limit the utility of the method. Without a greater degree of consistency in the naming of the technique, it is doubtful whether it will ever be treated seriously and used by the majority of social scientists (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016, p. 349)

From Balomenou and Garrod's perspective, there should be a consistent name used for all participant-generated image methods. Authors could then detail how they had innovated onto the

basic method by indicating their changes, such as combining it with other techniques. In other words, what these authors cautioned against was the proliferation of names for methods that were indistinguishable from each other and proposed a coherent use of participant-generated image methods' names.

Collectively, these literature reviews build the case for the use of photo elicitation methods with older adults, alone or in conjunction with other methods, for their potential to build knowledge and to engage older adults. At the same time, they highlighted the need for consistency in the implementation and in the use of terminology in photo elicitation methods. To build on this literature, I set out to explore the use of terminology to refer to photo elicitation research techniques, specifically in the aging studies field. This systematic synthesis, (1) provides a definition and systematization of key features of the most common photo elicitation methods in research with older adults based on foundational literature for each method; and (2) assesses the fit between how specific studies applied the methods compared to their foundational definitions.

Photo Elicitation Methods

Photo elicitation "is based on the simple idea of inserting a photograph into a research interview" (Harper, 2002, p. 13). There are different types of photo elicitation methods that vary according to different criteria, such as who generated the photograph, the type of interview used, and the purpose of the research. Thus, *photo elicitation methods* is the umbrella term for all methods using photographs to elicit a response from participants in the context of an interview. This method was first introduced by J. Collier (1957) and further developed by J. Collier and Collier (1986) in the fields of anthropology and sociology. In his original study of the acculturation of immigrant groups, Collier's team conducted an experiment where they used

standard interview methods with one family and photo elicitation interviews using pictures the researchers took with another family, and compared the two. They noticed that the two kinds of interviews felt very different and produced different types of accounts. According to Harper (2002),

> The difference between interviews using images and text, and images using words alone lies in the way we respond to these two forms of symbolic representation. … [I]mages evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than do words; exchanges based on words alone utilize less of the brain's capacity than do exchanges in which the brain is processing images as well as words. These may be some of the reasons the photo elicitation interview seems like not simply an interview process that elicits more information, but rather one that evokes a different kind of information (p. 13).

As Collier noted, in addition to producing different kinds of information, photo elicitation interviews resulted in participants that were more engaged, while standard interviews resulted in participants who tired sooner of the process.

Harper (2002) pointed out that, although Collier introduced photo elicitation "with fanfare" in the first issue of *Visual Anthropology* in 1987, only a small number of studies had relied on it until then. In spite of this reduced number of studies, Harper indicated that new approaches to the method were emerging, such as photofeedback, photointerviewing, and photoessays (p. 17).

In the following sections, I describe each of the three photo elicitation methods that appear in the literature that I examined for this systematic literature synthesis and provide an example of implementation of each.

Photo Elicitation

As mentioned above, photo elicitation was originally used by J. Collier (1957), which he simply called "interview with photography" and "photography in anthropology." Harper (2002) suggested that photo elicitation "be regarded as a postmodern dialogue based on the authority of the subject rather than the researcher" (p. 15), which results in decentering the authority of the

researcher. Harper pointed out that photo elicitation overcomes difficulties posed by in-depth interviewing by shifting the focus from the interviewee to the photograph, effectively ‘breaking frames’ and “bridging gaps between the worlds of the researcher and the researched” (p. 20) by anchoring the interview in an image that is at least partially understood by both. When the term photo elicitation is used without qualifiers, it usually refers to the method developed by Collier, where the photographs used were either preexisting or generated by the researcher. However, photo elicitation also refers to all methods that use photographs to elicit a response from participants, independently of who generated the pictures. In this article, I will refer to the method developed by Collier as *photo elicitation*, and I will use *photo elicitation methods* to refer to the umbrella term that includes other methods such as photovoice.

Photo elicitation example. Dorwart (2015) provided an example of a photo elicitation study with older adults, where the researcher used photo elicitation in the context of a mixed methods study to evaluate the physical activity use patterns and design preferences of older adults on a greenway trail. The researcher photographed the trail at even intervals and used the resulting images as elicitation devices during the interviews with participants. The researcher found that older adults in this study preferred elements in the trail that afforded them a choice of activity and a sense of safety.

Photo Elicitation with Auto-Photography

From the three methods examined in this study, *photo elicitation with auto-photography* (PE-AP) is the method that is the least developed in the literature and that has the least consistent terminology. For instance, the empirical literature with older adults includes terms such as photo elicitation with autodriving (Shell, 2014, 2015) and hermeneutic photography (Moore, 2012) that used equivalent methods. However, authors decided to use very different terminology to refer to

them. In this section I break down the elements that are constitutive of PE-AP and look at alternative terms that are used to refer to similar methods. I also explain why I chose to use PE-AP instead of other terms found in the literature.

Ziller (1990) developed auto-photography within the field of psychology as a phenomenological approach to studying identity. Ziller and Lewis (1981) asserted that "The objective of the phenomenological approach […] is to know a person as he knows him/herself, or to perceive the perceiver" (p. 341) through first-person accounts of perception of the self and of experience. As described by Ziller, this technique provided participants with a camera that they were to use to answer, "who are you?" with a series of pictures they took. Ziller argued that, "Through the insider's view via photography, the researcher becomes a part of the phenomenon, and a personal knowledge is achieved. The researcher begins to 'see as they see' and 'feel as they feel.' Thus the purpose of observation is not simply description and analysis but understanding" (1990, p. 21). Researchers, then, would analyze the images using content analysis, semiotics, and very limited feedback from participants (e.g., a few notes scribbled behind the picture). Thus, Ziller's auto-photography introduced the notion of using participant-generated photography in research where the analysis was led by the researcher. This method, thus, does not fall under the photo elicitation umbrella because the images are not used to elicit a response in the context of an interview.

Noland (2006) wrote that, "In [auto-photography] projects involving qualitative analysis, the photographs are developed and an interview session is held, using the photographs to prompt interview responses. Such use of photographs is called photo-elicitation" (p. 4 of 19). Thus, Noland brought together auto-photography with photo elicitation in what she called *auto-photography with qualitative analysis*, which would involve participant-generated images and

their interpretation with participants through individual interviews. However, qualitative analysis in the context of auto-photography does not necessarily indicate what is being analyzed (e.g., images or text) or, if text is involved, how it was collected (e.g., interview, found text, writing prompt). I thus use the term *photo elicitation with auto-photography* because it is more descriptive of the method by bringing together the context of photo-interviewing with participant-generated photographs, and its phenomenological perspective.

The literature also includes other terminology, *auto-driven photo elicitation* or *photo elicitation with autodriving*, that are related to auto-photography and photo elicitation. *Autodriving* is a method where participants drive the interview by responding to the observation of their own behavior through viewing images or by hearing recordings of themselves and has the goal of increasing participants' voice and authority around the phenomenon of interest (Clark, 1999; Heisley & Levy, 1991). In the case of Heisley and Levy's study, the images were researcher-generated, and in the case of Clark's, they were participant-generated. Thus, autodriving referred to participants' driving the interview with their responses to the observation of their own behavior; it did not refer to who generated the pictures. However, how the term autodriving has been used in the literature has shifted with time and it seems to be often interpreted as indicating that participants generated the photographs. Examples of this understanding of autodriving are the studies by Ford et al. (2017), which focused on children's perspectives and experiences of living with chronic conditions, and Schänzel and Smith (2011), which focused on children's tourist behavior and experiences within a family group. This new use of the term eliminated the original meaning of participants' observation of and reflection on their own behavior and shifted the focus toward who generated the images. I do not use

autodriving in my classification because its original meaning did not indicate whether the images were participant-generated.

In this paper, I use PE-AP as the term to refer to photo-interviewing that uses participant-generated images and has a phenomenological or interpretive purpose. I would like to note again that PE-AP is not a term that appears in the published literature, and readers may find other terminology to be more familiar. However, because of the lack of consistency in and the potentially misleading nature of other methods' names that can be found in the literature, I have chosen to use a descriptive neologism such as PE-AP.

PE-AP example. Shell (2015) is an example of an PE-AP study with older adults, which the author called photo-elicitation with autodriving. In this study, the researcher used PE-AP to study how people with mild to moderate Alzheimer's disease experienced happiness. Participants took pictures that represented situations and events that hindered or supported their experiences of happiness and then these pictures were used for elicitation in individual interviews. The study found that participants were able to provide meaningful evaluations of how they experienced happiness, which included connectedness with others, nature, transcendence, and music.

Photovoice

Photovoice, in its classic definition by C. Wang and Burris (1997), "is a process by which people can identify, represent, and enhance their community through a specific photographic technique. It entrusts cameras to the hands of people to enable them to act as recorders, and potential catalysts for change, in their own communities" (p. 369). The participant-generated photographs are used in the context of focus groups to generate conversation among participants that promotes critical reflection and critical consciousness, with the ultimate goal of reaching legislators and community leaders to achieve change.

The combination of focus groups with photo elicitation may reinforce each other's strengths as both have been found to have the potential to support self-reflexivity. In the case of photo elicitation, Jenkings et al. (2008) wrote that, "They [the Colliers] also realized that one of the results of their involvement [in photo elicitation] could be a 'development' of the informant's self-awareness, which the researcher can utilize for new insights and improved data" (p. 5 of 16). Thus, participants can gain distance from the experience reflected in the image and reflect on its meaning. In the case of focus groups, Goss and Leinbach (1996) stated that they "give participants an opportunity to narrate their personal experiences and to test their interpretations of events and processes with others, and whether confirmed or disputed, the result is a polyvocal production, a multiplicity of voices speaking from a variety of subject positions" (p. 118). Thus, participants have an opportunity to be reflexive about their own experiences and thoughts and contrast them with others, providing them with the opportunity to learn something from the exchange. The combination of the two can capitalize and reinforce their potential to promote self-reflexivity and self-reflection by providing opportunities to gain distance from what is reflected in the image and by contrasting ideas with and learning from others. This combination is, thus, key for the promotion of critical reflection and critical consciousness.

Photovoice is grounded in the theoretical basis of Freire's empowerment education, feminism, and documentary photography (C. Wang & Burris, 1994). Traditionally, photovoice has been used with communities that are marginalized, underserved, minoritized, or whose voices have been left out. Although photovoice has experienced a boom in the literature, some of the foundational elements of this method often do not appear in the studies that claim to use the method, particularly the goal of pursuing empowerment and change.

Photovoice example. Yankeelov, Faul, D'Ambrosio, Collins, and Gordon (2015) conducted a photovoice study with older adults affected by diabetes and living in rural environments. Participants took pictures of their difficulties and barriers of living with diabetes in a rural environment. These pictures were then used for elicitation in focus groups and incorporated in posters later presented to government officials. This study was conducted within the context of a larger community needs assessment. The findings of this study highlighted the difficulties and barriers, such as a lack supports and of access to fruits and vegetables, and the need for strategies to improve health, such as nutrition strategies and exercise supports. Participants presented posters featuring their photographs to government officials without the presence of academic partners, which resulted in specific actions, such as fixing a sidewalk. The results of the project were also incorporated into a local development agency's strategic plan for action.

Convergences and Divergences of the Three Methods

The three photo elicitation methods detailed in this article converge in the use of photographs to elicit a response from participants in the context of an interview and in the analysis of the pictures with the study's participants. PE-AP and photovoice, and sometimes photo elicitation, converge in the use of participant-generated photographs. PE-AP and photovoice diverge in the final purpose of the method, with PE-AP seeking to elicit participants' lived experiences through individual interviews, and with photovoice seeking to empower participants and promote change through focus groups. See the table below for a summary of the points of convergence and divergence of the three photo elicitation methods.

Table 8

Summary of Convergences and Divergences of Three Photo Elicitation Methods

	Photo elicitation	**Photo elicitation with auto-photography**	**Photovoice**
Paradigmatic stance	Postmodernism	Phenomenological or interpretive	Empowerment education, feminism, and documentary photography
Type of interview	Focus groups and/or interviews	Mostly individual, could be focus group as well	Focus group
Photographs	Pre-existing, and/or generated by others, such as the researcher	Participant-generated	Participant-generated
Analysis of photographs	With participants	With participants	With participants
Goal	Decentering the authority of the researcher	Recording lived experience	Empowerment and change
Authors	Collier (1957) Collier and Collier (1986)	Noland (2006)	Wang and Burris (1997)

In this systematic literature review, I analyze how photo elicitation methods are being implemented in research with older adults to see the extent to which authors use method names in a consistent manner. I then propose different method names for those studies that were implemented in ways that are not consistent with their method's classical definition.

Methodology

Sample

This systematic literature synthesis looks at how various photo elicitation methods are currently used in research on aging. For the synthesis to be systematic, I sought to conduct as inclusive a sampling as possible by using thorough, inclusive, and wide-reaching methods that would ensure that the result was not an insular set of studies and identified the most inclusive possible sample of literature in the area of interest. These methods followed Wohlin's (2014) recommendations for conducting snowballing search and selection of literature, and Jaumot-Pascual, Ong, Ko, and Hodari's (In preparation) update of the snowballing method.

Following Jaumot-Pascual et al.'s (In preparation) recommendations, before starting the search, I conducted exploratory searches using Google Scholar (https://scholar.google.com/) both limiting and not limiting results to title, and determined that this search engine returned either insufficient (i.e., less than 20) or unwieldy (i.e., over 7000) number of studies to conduct the synthesis. Thus, I decided to include additional sources to the search, such as my personal library, and leading journals in the aging studies field (e.g., the Journal of Aging Studies, https://www.journals.elsevier.com/journal-of-aging-studies/, and The Gerontologist, https://academic.oup.com/gerontologist). I then established the search and selection criteria for the inclusion of literature in the synthesis. For the search criteria, I selected an inclusive set of keywords for the two areas of interest: aging (e.g., elder, older adults, gerontology), and photo elicitation methods (e.g., photovoice, auto-photography, photo elicitation, photo-narrative, reflexive photography, autodriving), including those from Balomenou and Garrod's (2016) systematic review. I also selected the range of years of publication which spanned from 1997 (the year Wang and Burris published their seminal work where they define classic photovoice) to 2017. In addition, literature needed to fit the following selection criteria: use of a photo elicitation technique, be an empirical study, be published in a peer-reviewed journal, and study populations from the U.S. and Canada due to limited time and resources. The start set resulted from the first systematic search and selection of those studies that fulfilled the criteria (25 studies). I then used the start set to conduct backward and forward snowballing searches. Backward snowballing consists of consulting each study's reference list to find new studies that fulfill the criteria. Forward snowballing consists of consulting the studies that cite each work in the start set in online directories or search engines, such as the "cited by" feature in Google Scholar or the Web of Science. I then applied the criteria to select those studies that were to be

included in the synthesis to the articles found through both types of snowballing. Backward snowballing resulted in 2 studies and forward snowballing resulted in 9 studies, for a final number of 36 studies to be included in the systematic synthesis.

Data Analysis

I adopted Krippendorff (2004)'s approach to content analysis, which he defined as, "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use" (p. 18). In order to review each study systematically, I developed a spreadsheet with a priori analytical constructs derived from four different sources:

(1) the search and selection criteria of studies (e.g., age of participants, use of photo elicitation method, year of publication, study with U.S. or Canada populations, peer reviewed journal);

(2) Balomenou and Garrod (2016)'s categories to analyze the different participant-generated photography studies (e.g., type of camera used, duration of camera used, use of incentives, number of photographs required, taken, and used);

(3) the definitions of the three methods (e.g., type of interview, how photographs were analyzed, who generated the photographs, paradigmatic stance); and

(4) study attributes (e.g., authors' discipline, methods used, sample size, participants' age, gender, and ethnicity).

To conduct the analysis, I recorded the terms used to describe the study in each a prior category or I inferred according to what the study described. For instance, I recorded a study as using mixed methods if it included a survey or questionnaire in addition to the photo elicitation method. I then used descriptive statistics (i.e., percentages, means, and medians) to compare the different analytical constructs across studies. Table 9 below lists the 36 studies included in this

systematic synthesis, their attributes, and how I classified each study's implementation and use of methodological terminology.

Table 9

Methodological Classification of Photo Elicitation Studies with Older Adults

Reference	Qualitative or mixed methods	Type of interview	Who generated study photographs	Sample size	Defined as participatory by authors	Participatory as implemented	Reasons for participatory/not participatory	Method According to Authors	Method According to Classical Definitions	Implementation
Andonian and MacRae (2011)	Qualitative	Individual and focus group	Participants	7	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate
Baker and Wang (2006)	Mixed methods	Survey	Participants	13	Yes	No	Lived experiences	Photovoice	Photo elicitation with auto-photography (PE-AP)	Misuse of name
Borrero and Kruger (2015)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	6	No	No	Phenomenological approach	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Chaudhury, Mahmood, Michael, Campo, and Hay (2012)	Mixed methods	Focus group	Participants	66	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate, insufficient implementation
Dorwart (2015)	Mixed methods	Individual	Researchers	30	No	No	To document physical elements	Photo elicitation	Photo elicitation	Adequate
Gallagher et al. (2010)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	21	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate, insufficient implementation
Genoe and Dupuis (2013)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	4	Yes	No	Phenomenological approach	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Genoe and Dupuis (2014)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	4	Yes	No	Phenomenological approach	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Gosselink and Myllykangas (2007)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	4	No	No	Lived experiences	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Hinck (2004)	Mixed methods	Individual	Participants	10	No	No	Phenomenological approach	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Kelley et al. (2014)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	6	No	No	Symbolic interactionism	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Kohon and Carder (2014)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	47	No	No	Lived experiences	Auto-photography	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Lehna et al. (2015)	Mixed methods	Individual	Researchers	42	Yes	No	To document physical elements	Photo inquiry in ethnographic photographic research	Photo elicitation	Adequate, different name

Reference	Qualitative or mixed methods	Type of interview	Who generated study photographs	Sample size	Defined as participatory by authors	Participatory as implemented	Reasons for participatory/not participatory	Method According to Authors	Method According to Classical Definitions	Implementation
Leibing, Guberman, and Wiles (2016)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	26	No	No	Meaning of x	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Lewinson (2015)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	10	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate
Lewinson and Morgan (2014)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	16	No	No	Lived experiences	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Lewinson, Robinson-Dooley, and Grant (2012)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	10	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate
Lockett, Willis, and Edwards (2005)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	8	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate, insufficient implementation
Mahmood et al. (2012)	Mixed methods	Focus group	Participants	66	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate, insufficient implementation
Moore (2012)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	9	No	No	Lived experiences	Hermeneutic photography: auto-photography & in-depth interviews	PE-AP	Adequate, different name
Neill, Leipert, Garcia, and Kloseck (2011)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	18	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate, insufficient implementation
Novek and Menec (2014)	Qualitative	Individual and focus group	Participants	30	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate
Novek, Morris-Oswald, and Menec (2012)	Qualitative	Individual and focus group	Participants	30	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate
Panazzola and Leipert (2013)	Mixed methods	Focus group	Participants	31	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate, insufficient implementation
Rosen et al. (2011)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	10	Yes	Partially	Group process, not shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate

Reference	Qualitative or mixed methods	Type of interview	Who generated study photographs	Sample size	Defined as participatory by authors	Participatory as implemented	Reasons for participatory/not participatory	Method According to Authors	Method According to Classical Definitions	Implementation
Rush, Murphy, and Kozak (2012)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	17	No	No	Meaning of x	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Rush, Oelke, Shay, and Pedersen (2016)	Mixed methods	Individual and focus group	Participants	10	No	No	Participants's voices	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Sebastião, Chodzko-Zajko, and Schwingel (2015)	Mixed methods	Individual	Participants	20	Yes	No	Participants' perceptions	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Sebastião, Ibe-Lamberts, Bobitt, Schwingel, and Chodzko-Zajko (2014)	Mixed methods	Individual	Participants	7	Yes	No	Participants' perceptions	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Shell (2014)	Mixed methods	Individual	Participants	12	No	No	Lived experiences	Photo elicitation & autodriving	PE-AP	Adequate, different name
Shell (2015)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	12	No	No	Lived experiences	Photo elicitation & autodriving	PE-AP	Adequate, different name
Sims-Gould, Hurd Clarke, Ashe, Naslund, and Liu-Ambrose (2010)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	38	No	No	Participants' perceptions	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Stephenson (2012)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	8	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate
Wiggs, Young, Mastel-Smith, and Mancuso (2011)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	15	No	No	Lived experiences	Photo elicitation	PE-AP	Insufficient name
Yamasaki (2015)	Qualitative	Individual	Participants	34	Yes	No	Participants' perceptions	Photovoice	PE-AP	Misuse of name
Yankeelov et al. (2015)	Qualitative	Focus group	Participants	23	Yes	Yes	Shared with legislators and/or community	Photovoice	Photovoice	Adequate

Findings

Photo elicitation emerged in the literature in the 1950s with Collier's work, followed by auto-photography with Ziller and photovoice with Wang in the 1990s. Although photovoice was a much newer method, it was quickly adopted as an innovative methodology in research with older adults and quickly became the most cited photo elicitation method by over three fifths of the literature in this synthesis. Despite the long history of methods that use photography in interviews, the publication of studies using any photo elicitation method with older adults spiked in the 2010s, with 89% of studies included in this synthesis being published in this decade and with a decided focus on photovoice. Only 4 studies hail from the 2000s, and none from the late 1990s.

Before sharing the specifics of the implementation of the methods, I define some of the words I use in table 9 and in my discussion to refer to the fit between the terms for methods used by authors and their classical definitions:

- Adequate: A study used the adequate term for the method when the implementation fit its classical definition.
- Adequate, different name: A study used an adequate but different name for the method when the implementation fit its classical definition, but the terms used to refer to it are different.
- Adequate, insufficient implementation: A study used an adequate term but had insufficient implementation when most (but not all) elements of the classical definition were present. This applied to studies using photovoice that used auto-photography and consciousness rising focus groups, but that did not seek change by sharing their work with legislators or the community.

- Insufficient name: A study used an insufficient name for the method when it used an umbrella term, such as photo elicitation, when it also implemented auto-photography.
- Misuse of name: A study misused the name of the method when it claimed to use photovoice but it sought to collect participants' perceptions or lived experience. Some of these studies claimed to be participatory when they were not, and all used individual interviews instead of focus groups.

Mixed Methods vs. Qualitative Methods

The fidelity of implementation of photo elicitation methods seems to be related to whether the study used mixed or qualitative methods and whether the study claimed to use photovoice. Most studies (25 or 69.4%) used qualitative methods exclusively, and 30.6% (11) used mixed methods. Almost all studies (33 or 91.7%) used more than one method, and the remaining 3 (8.3%) used photovoice as their only method. Mixed methods studies used a variety of quantitative measures, such as demographic questionnaires, accelerometers, a home safety checklist, and some used specialized instruments, such as Shell (2014)'s use of the Short Portable Mental Status Questionnaire to evaluate participants' degree of intellectual impairment in a study involving participants with Alzheimer's disease. There were eight studies that implemented photovoice with fidelity, all of which used qualitative methods exclusively. Of the six with insufficient photovoice implementation, half used mixed methods. There were eleven studies that used mixed methods, only four (11.1%) of which used adequate terminology for their photo elicitation methods. Of these eleven, five (13.9%) claimed to use photovoice, but all either misused the term or had insufficient implementation. There were 25 studies that used qualitative methods exclusively. Of these 25, seventeen (68%) claimed to use photovoice. Almost half (8) of the 17 did an adequate implementation, while the rest either misused the name (6 or 16.7%) or

had insufficient implementation (3 or 8.3%). Of the 14 studies that used photo elicitation methods other than photovoice, none of them misused the terminology, though almost two thirds insufficient names, mainly using the term photo elicitation without mentioning that the photographs were participant-generated. Mixed methods studies were more likely to misuse terms, lack implementation, or use insufficient terms than qualitative studies (72% vs. 60%). Photovoice was the only photo elicitation method that was misnamed in studies (8 or 22.2%). The most accurate term for all the studies that misnamed their photo elicitation method would have been PE-AP instead of photovoice because they used participant-generated photographs but did not implement methods that were conducive to empowerment and change. Since I did not find consistent terminology in the literature that would encompass a method that included photo elicitation with participant-generated photographs but without transformative purposes, I propose the PE-AP term.

Photo Elicitation vs. PE-AP vs. Photovoice

As mentioned earlier, one of the main motivations to examine published studies using photo elicitation methods stemmed from my observation that many studies claiming to use photo elicitation methods did not seem to implement the method with fidelity to its classical definition. In some cases, the implementation did not match the method claimed, and in other cases the method they claimed seemed insufficient to describe what they implemented. Let us look at the details of how the 36 studies in this systematic synthesis implemented the methods and whether each matched their classical definitions.

Of the 36 articles included, 22 (61.1%) claimed to use photovoice, 9 (25%) photo elicitation, 2 (5.6%) photo elicitation with autodriving, and 1 (2.8%) each hermeneutic photography, ethnographic photographic research, and auto-photography. Thus, photovoice was by far the

most popular method among authors of studies with older adults. Photo elicitation, with its long history in anthropology and sociology, was second, and the rest of studies used a sprinkling of different names in a similar fashion to what Balomenou and Garrod (2016) found in their synthesis.

Photovoice. All 22 studies claiming photovoice used participant-generated photographs and 18 (50% of the total) claimed using participatory methods. However, eight of them used methods that did not involve group interaction, such as individual interviews (7 or 19.4%) and open-ended surveys (1 or 2.8%). As we have seen, focus groups are privileged contexts for self-reflexivity and consciousness development. Thus, the use of individual interviews and surveys in photovoice grants a deeper look at these studies participatory claims.

Surveys and individual interviews can be conducted in ways that empower participants by attempting to reduce the inequitable power relationships inherent in traditional research, as is the case of self-surveys (Torre & Fine, 2011) and of feminist interviews (Maguire, 1987). Of the eight studies included in this synthesis that claimed to use photovoice but used individual interviews or surveys as their main data collection method, three studies described interviews in terms that may indicate an attempt to reduce inequitable power relationships. Such would be the case of studies describing interviews as helping build rapport with participants (Genoe & Dupuis, 2013, 2014) or as collaborative conversations (Yamasaki, 2015). However, these mentions were limited to methodological notes. The remaining four studies addressed interviews and surveys strictly as data collections activities. In addition, all seven studies claimed to conduct research consistent with phenomenological or interpretive approaches (e.g., studying perceptions, lived experience, and meaning).

This indicates that, though individual interviews and surveys can be used in empowering ways, this intention needs to be clearly stated and enacted throughout the study and needs to be supported with the spousal of a coherent paradigmatic stance. Otherwise, neither of these methods, even when combined with participant-generated photography, are necessarily empowering or participatory. Thus, I consider that these 7 studies implemented PE-AP and misused the term photovoice.

Of the remaining 14 studies (38.9%) that claimed the implementation of photovoice, 8 (22.2%) implemented the method in a manner that followed its classical definition and 6 (16.7%) did not. Those that did not implement photovoice in an adequate manner used participant-generated photography, focus groups, and promoted empowerment, but did not share the results with the community or legislators to promote change, making the implementation of photovoice incomplete. Although 8 studies did implement all the elements of photovoice, the final element of sharing the results with the community or legislators to promote change was unevenly implemented. In some cases, the articles simply mentioned that a booklet with the pictures and narratives was shared with community leaders or that the posters elaborated as part of the study were displayed in a community event. Though these activities are a first step towards promoting change, they do not display a commitment and engagement with long-term, durable, and meaningful community change and can fall in what Johnston (2016) warns as promoting false hopes among community members.

Of the 22 studies claiming to implement photovoice, only 8 (a little over a third) implemented it in an adequate manner and 14 (almost two thirds) did not. This shows that photovoice is a method that is either being misinterpreted or being used as the inspiration to use

participant-generated photography in research studies, independently of whether researchers adhere to the paradigmatic commitments of the method in their implementation.

Other methods. The remaining 36.1% (13) of the total can be divided between those that used different method labels from those defined as classical in this paper (4 studies, or 11.1%) but that were descriptive of the methods implemented, and those that used a name that was insufficient to describe what the study did (9, or 25%).

Of those with approximately adequate but different labels, two named their methods *photo elicitation with autodriving*. I have explained earlier that though autodriving initially referred to the fact that participants drove the interview as they observed their own behavior through the photographs, this term has been misused and has become synonymous of participant-generated photographs. This seems to be the way the authors of these studies intended to use the term, and so auto-photography would have been a more descriptive term. One study described its methods as hermeneutic photography, and broke down the methods used into auto-photography and in-depth interviews. Though the naming used by these studies' authors is descriptive of the methods used, indicating that the interview included photo elicitation would have been more precise. The last study described its methods as photo-inquiry within ethnographic photographic research, which describes photo elicitation in the context of anthropological methods.

Of the 9 (25%) studies that used a name that was insufficient to describe what the study did, 8 (22.2%) claimed using photo elicitation when they were using participant-generated photographs, and thus PE-AP. The use of the label photo elicitation is not inadequate because it is a broad umbrella that encompasses other methods, such as photovoice, but it would have been more descriptive of the studies' implementation to use PE-AP as the methodological choice. One final case claimed to use auto-photography, which under Ziller's definition would imply

researcher-lead photographic. However, the study used photo elicitation interviews with the participant-generated pictures, meaning that auto-photography is insufficient to describe the actual methods used. Again, PE-AP would have been closer to the method's implementation.

Table 10

Summary of Implementation and Use of Terminology

	Photovoice (22 studies, 61.1%)			**Other** (14 studies, 38.9%)		
	Adequate Name	**Adeqt. Name Insufic.Implm**	**Misuse of Name**	**Adequate Name**	**Adequate but Dif. Nm**	**Insufficient Name**
Mixed Methods (11 studies, 30.6%)	0 (0%)	3 (8.3%)	2 (5.6%)	1 (2.8%)	3 (8.3%)	3 (8.3%)
Qualitative (25 studies, 69.4%)	8 (22.2%)	3 (8.3%)	6 (16.6%)	0 (0%)	1 (2.8%)	6 (16.6%)
SubTotals	8 (22.2%)	6 (16.6%)	8 (22.2%)	1 (2.8%)	4 (11.1%)	9 (25%)

Data analysis methods. When looking at the analysis methods used in the different studies, I found that 11 (30.6%) studies used a singular data analysis method, and most studies (25, 69.4%) used two or more. Most studies used traditional qualitative research analysis methods, such as thematic coding (52.8%), content analysis (11.1%), and grounded theory (8.3%). Many also used methods that were to be expected to accompany photo elicitation methods, such as analyzing the photographs with study participants (38.9%), particularly given the participatory claims of the studies. Though most studies cited other works to refer to their analysis methods, it was noticeable that over a quarter (27.8%) of the studies did not cite anyone, and 6 of them conducted thematic analysis. This type of analysis has become so common in qualitative research that many researchers may have felt that it was not necessary to cite other authors that conducted the same type of analysis before them. However, this lack of recognition of and credit to

previous work can damage the reputation of the qualitative research because it can show a lack of rigor and knowledge of the field.

Discussion and Conclusion

Despite the growing methodological diversity available to researchers, the photo elicitation method that authors most often claim to use with older adults is photovoice, with over three fifths of studies claiming to use this method. However, as I have demonstrated, the implementation of photo elicitation methods is uneven in terms of the degree of adherence to their classical definitions and adherence to their paradigmatic commitments, with many studies claiming one method when they are implementing another. This is particularly the case for photovoice, where a vast majority of those claiming to implement it do not follow its basic tenets.

As explained, photovoice's purpose is to promote critical reflection and consciousness while promoting change. Jennings, Parra-Medina, Hilfinger-Messias, and McLoughlin (2006) call this critical empowerment, which "involves multi-level processes through which individuals and communities become emancipated from conscious or unconscious constraints and engage in negotiated actions to build community life" (p. 46). Using this definition of critical empowerment as a central purpose of photovoice, it is unlikely that the engagement in negotiated actions to build community life might occur outside of the context of a group and in the context of individual interviews. If we apply this to the studies in this synthesis, there are ten studies that were not likely to promote critical empowerment in the classical sense of photovoice: the 9 studies that claimed to use photovoice but used individual interviews and the study using an open-ended survey. In some cases, the phenomenological paradigm of the research, such as in Borrero and Kruger (2015), Genoe and Dupuis (2013), and Hinck (2004), didn't fit with the

paradigmatic commitments of photovoice. “Phenomenology assumes that the experience of any reality is possible only through interpretation” (Prasad, 2005, p. 13), locating experience at the center of research. On the other hand, photovoice stems from the critical tradition, which “is committed to the core emancipatory project of Marxian philosophy” (Prasad, 2005, p. 136), locating empowerment and social change at the center of research. Thus, claiming to use photovoice when the intent is to study participants’ experiences strips the method from its paradigmatic commitments and turns it into a different method.

PE-AP is never mentioned as the method used in the studies included in this synthesis, even though a third of photovoice and almost all photo elicitation studies would have been better described with this term. Four out of the 7 studies that claimed to use photovoice and used individual interviews cited Baker and Wang (2006) as a source, and some cite this study as a predecessor that adapted photovoice to its use with individual interviews. It is possible that one of the reasons for naming their methods as photovoice in PE-AP studies is related to the fact that Baker and Wang (2006) called their study photovoice in spite of the fact that the only photovoice components they used were participant-generated photography and photo elicitation (though through a survey instead of an in-person interview). The fact that the main proponent of the method modified her approach probably opened the option for other researchers to loosely use the name photovoice. Other authors may have gotten their inspiration for the use of photo elicitation methods through the photovoice literature, yet when their implementation did not adhere to the method’s seminal commitments, authors did not revise their use of the term.

The intent of this review is to provide consistency. However, no study can claim to cover everything. Due to limitations in time and resources, this study only included empirical studies using photo elicitation methods with older adults in the U.S. and Canada. This limited the

geographic and age scope of the synthesis, which may have had an impact on which methods were included. For instance, though the 36 studies included a few that claimed to use autodriving, these studies did not use its original meaning. Thus, autodriving as originally defined by authors such as Clark (1999) and (Heisley & Levy, 1991) has effectively not been included in this synthesis. In future synthesis, researchers may want to consider studying how other photo elicitation methods have been used in the literature, such as autodriving with photography and photo-diary interviewing. In addition, the literature is bringing together in studies methods that originated in different disciplines, such as photo elicitation and GIS (Dennis Jr, Gaulocher, Carpiano, & Brown, 2009) or photo elicitation and phone applications (Fritz, Tarraf, Saleh, & Cutchin, 2017). Authors may want to consider how different methods are being integrated, the impact of digital technologies on photo elicitation methods, and how participants with different technological abilities may have access to new and transdisciplinary approaches to photo elicitation methods.

My recommendation for researchers is for them to consider the particulars of their studies and the needs of the populations they work with when planning their methods. On occasion, and in order to be more culturally responsive to their participants, these considerations may lead them to make changes to their plans. When this happens, they also need to revise how they describe and talk about their methods so that they are consistent with the existing literature and their paradigmatic commitments. Otherwise, there is the danger of building a lack of consistency in the field of qualitative research due to the lack of clarity around the meaning of a methods' name and due to the proliferation of terms that refer to very similar methods. In addition, researchers have the ethical duty of being consistent in their use of terms because the use of certain words has implications and creates expectations. For instance, when researchers work

with vulnerable or minoritized populations as is typically the case in the use of photovoice, the lack of adherence to the method's transformative commitments may create unmet expectations that may cause participants to lose confidence in the research process and the claims of researchers.

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CHAPTER 7

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This dissertation responds to the need for the field of evaluation to respond to the changes that are occurring in the context of our hyper-visual culture (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and to the changes brought about by an aging and increasingly diverse society (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010) with new approaches and methods. Photo elicitation emerged as a set of methods worth studying for their potential to be responsive to the cultural emphasis on the visual. These methods also emerged as potentially responsive to older adults due to their developmental stage that drives them to be Guardians (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) of the culture as a whole, and of their family's history in particular.

This dissertation also responds to Hood, Hopson, and Kirkhart's (2015) call for more research on evaluation, including examples of culturally responsive evaluations and the reflection on the articulation of CRE with other evaluation frameworks. I addressed this call in several ways: (1) I examined how photo elicitation methods have been used in the past to suggest future applications and approaches to their study as culturally responsive methods; (2) I provided an example of a culturally responsive evaluation undertaken from the values engaged, educative (VEE) framework designed by Greene, DeStefano, Burgon, and Hall (2006); (3) I provided a reflection on the articulation of CRE and the VEE framework; (4) I tested the transferability of the VEE framework from evaluations in its original STEM education program context to the evaluation of a community-based program; (5) I proposed photo elicitation

methods as culturally responsive with older adults; and (6) I proposed the use of photo elicitation methods to foster evaluative processes such as self-reflection and self-reflexivity.

Chapter Summaries

Chapter 4. Affordances and Limitations of Adapting the Values Engaged, Educative Evaluation Framework to the Evaluation of a Community-Based Healthy Aging Program

This chapter examines the articulation the values engaged, educative (VEE) evaluation framework (J. C. Greene et al., 2006) and culturally responsive evaluation (CRE) (Hood et al., 2015) and the implementation of VEE evaluation in a community-based program. So far, this framework has been used for the evaluation of STEM education programs (Boyce, 2017; Greene et al., 2011; J. C. Greene et al., 2006; J. N. Hall et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2013; Tillman, 2015). Thus, in the application of this framework to the evaluation of a program that did not focus on STEM education, it was necessary to see what translated well and what needed adaptation. During six months in 2017, I conducted a culturally responsive evaluation of a community-based program focusing on healthy aging from a VEE evaluation framework. The article focuses on key program tensions and the VEE approach's responsiveness to the same, including affordances and limitations, through the healthy aging program example. This examination shows that the training and human resource requirement of a STEM education program and a community-based healthy aging program are different, and this influences the program's capacity to respond to issues of content, pedagogy, and diversity. To facilitate the transferability of the VEE framework beyond STEM education programs, I propose the inclusion of organizational capacity as a new element in the framework that underlie the three original elements: content, pedagogy, and equity.

Chapter 5. "I Hope that We've Taught You Something About Us." Older Adults' Self-Reflexivity on their Development Using Photo Elicitation Focus Groups

This chapter shows that photo elicitation methods are responsive to older adults due to their use of photography, which supports the developmental stage they are in. This drives them to be Generative (Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994) and Guardians (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) of the culture as a whole, and of their family's history in particular. It also shows that these methods can be used with older adults to facilitate self-reflexivity and self-reflection (Nagata, 2004; Riach, 2009) on their development as they grow older, and particularly within the context of the evaluation of a healthy aging program. In an evaluation context, self-reflexivity and self-reflection are part of what evaluators use to understand participants' experiences with the program they are evaluating and to draw evaluative conclusions. In this study, older adults participating in a healthy aging program engaged in photo elicitation focus groups where they reflected on their aging process and showed how they fulfilled their Generative (de St Aubin et al., 2004; Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994; Kotre, 1995, 1999; McAdams & de St Aubin, 1992, 1998) and Guardianship (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) roles.

This chapter suggests the need to reconsider how programs that provide services to promote healthy aging are conceptualized and implemented. Programs may want to empower their participants and move away from programming that makes individuals responsible for their own health outcomes (Woolf et al., 2011) when there are many other factors influencing them, such as economic resources and environmental forces (Lynch et al., 2000). Alternative program designs may include multi-level, community-based interventions that tackle a diversity of factors (Sallis et al., 2015; Woolf et al., 2011). This study's methodological implications revolve around

how changes in visual and digital culture influence photo elicitation. Older adults may continue relating to photographs as objects that represent something and as holders of history (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011), allowing photo elicitation to continue being implemented with the assumption that participants relate to photographs this way. However, photographs are currently being used in very different ways, such as being consumed on a screen and rarely printed and as communication devices (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011). This changes in the social understanding of photographs will have an impact on the implementation and understandings researchers may extract from photo elicitation. What is being done to and with the photographs and how they reflect visual culture will be considerations for the use of visual methods (Rose, 2014).

Chapter 6. How Are Photo Elicitation Methods Being Used in Research with Older Adults? A Systematic Synthesis of the Literature

Stemming from the need for evaluation to address current mass culture's hyper-visual nature (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and society's aging and increasing diversity (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010), this chapter provides a systematic synthesis of empirical studies that used photo elicitation methods with older adults in the last 20 years to establish how these methods were used and how their implementation compared to how they were defined in the literature. It includes a critical look at authors' implementation of the different methods and a suggested classification of the photo elicitation methods found in the empirical literature on research with older adults, including photo elicitation (J. Collier, 1957; J. Collier & Collier, 1986), photo elicitation with auto-photography (Noland, 2006), and photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997) . I found that photovoice was the most popular photo elicitation method since it was developed by Wang and colleagues (Wang & Burris, 1994, 1997; Wang, Burris, & Ping, 1996;

Wang, 1999; Wang & Redwood-Jones, 2001). However, many authors were not consistent with the critical, transformative paradigmatic commitments of the method by leaving out empowerment and its pursuit of social change. Other authors also used terms that insufficiently described their methods, mostly by using the term *photo elicitation* by itself when the photographs were participant-generated. For studies using participant-generated photography and photo elicitation as a method to collect participants' experiences but did not seek change and consciousness raising with the implementation of the method, I suggest the use of the term *photo elicitation with auto-photography*.

The language used in evaluation and research is important because it indicates ways of understanding reality and it creates expectations of what is going to happen in a study (Johnston, 2016). This lack of consistency in the use of photo elicitation methods terminology can be counterproductive for the advancement of the field due to three main reasons: (1) The use of certain terminology creates expectations among stakeholders. When expectations are not met, stakeholders' trust might be compromised (Johnston, 2016); (2) The proliferation of names prevents the building of a core of literature (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016) because authors cannot find relevant literature to reference when doing their own work; and (3) It is misleading to researchers looking for literature to guide them in the implementation of these methods with older adults. With this study, I contribute in building terminological and implementation consistency in photo elicitation methods to avoid the field's fragmentation and to prevent the loss of trust with stakeholders. I concluded the chapter with the recommendation for researchers and evaluators to be consistent with their use of methodology terms, and to reconsider the terms they use when they modify their methods.

Discussion of Relevance to Overall Dissertation

Each chapter responds to the concern of translating cultural responsiveness into my evaluation practice (Hood et al., 2015) by examining the methods and frameworks I used in my dissertation research through the lens of CRE. In my original conception of the dissertation study, I anchored my cultural responsivity on taking on a culturally humble stance (Aponte-Soto et al., 2014; SooHoo, 2013), the use of the VEE framework (Greene et al., 2006), and the use of photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997). However, as I have shown in chapter 3, the definition of the program shifted during the course of the evaluation, which meant that in order to be responsive to the new definition of the program and to the population it served, I had to change some of the methods I had originally planned. Below I address the relevance of each chapter to the overall concern of conducting a culturally responsive evaluation and how they contributed to the overall study.

Stemming from my transformative positioning, I had originally intended to implement photovoice (Wang & Burris, 1997) as part of the evaluation study. However, through my participant observation I understood that the original conception of the program and that its goals of promoting behavioral change were not realistic. It then became clear that using photovoice was not realistic either. My commitment to being responsive to the realities of the evaluation and the program required that I modify my methods, resulting in the implementation of photo elicitation (J. Collier & Collier, 1986; Harper, 2002) and photo elicitation with auto-photography (Noland, 2006) instead.

As I read literature to inform my evaluation work and the subsequent changes I was implementing, I noticed that many studies that claimed to use photovoice did not adhere to the Freirean, feminist, and participatory commitments of the method. Indeed, the name photovoice

was used quite liberally in the literature. Also, as I read literature on other photo elicitation methods, I noticed a lack of consistency in the use of different methods' names and their implementation. Authors seemed to get their inspiration for the use of photo elicitation methods through photovoice literature, yet their implementation and theoretical commitments were not faithful to Wang and colleague's seminal work. This suggested that it would be helpful to systematically apply classical definitions of the different photo elicitation methods as defined by seminal works in the field to the extant literature to examine the extent to which the implementation of the methods fit their classical definitions, or whether they would be better described with other terms. My work on the systematic literature synthesis helped me understand the differences and implications of the different photo elicitation methods, and be more conscientious in the implementation of my methods and in the language I used to refer to them.

From a CRE perspective, it was relevant to examine how photo elicitation focus groups may be culturally responsive towards older adults and how they may promote evaluative processes such as self-reflexivity and self-reflection (Nagata, 2004; Riach, 2009). The stories participants shared indicated that photo elicitation focus groups were culturally responsive because the use of photography connected with participants' drive to be Generative (Erikson, 1967; Erikson et al., 1994) and Guardians (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980) of the culture as a whole and of their families' history in particular. I also found that this method privileged their voices and provided a space for stakeholders' self-reflexivity and self-reflection, a key function of program evaluation. The products of these thought processes helped me, as the program evaluator, understand participants' experiences in the program and contributed to the description of the values associated with this stakeholder group.

My choice of using the VEE framework (Greene et al. 2006) in this study stemmed from my commitment to being culturally responsive and encompassed all elements of my work, from the choice an implementation of methods to my presence and involvement in the program. This provided the opportunity to examine the articulation between CRE and VEE and to analyze the transferability of the VEE framework from STEM education to community-based contexts. I found that the VEE approach provided me with a culturally responsive framework by helping me identify and address issues of content, pedagogy, and equity. However, I learned that it did not provide guidance around the organizational capacity to implement the program and be attentive to the three elements. I concluded that for the VEE framework to be more responsive and transferable to different contexts, it was necessary to modify it by including organizational capacity as an underlying element of the framework. With VEE as the framework for the study, understanding VEE's articulation with CRE and its transferability beyond STEM education were key elements for the structure and meaning of the overall study.

Methodological Concerns and Limitations

Cultural responsiveness was one of my study's guiding principles. Thus, I was attentive to my cultural responsiveness through: (1) maintaining a humble attitude toward the program and its participants, (2) working from the transformative paradigm, (3) giving priority to participants' voices, and (4) using methods that were responsive to participants. However, I am aware that my efforts were imperfect. One important aspect I did not address with participants was to directly talk with them about their experiences of being minoritized and marginalized in the program. The data from the photo elicitation focus groups showed participants' complex and contradictory relationship with the program. On the one hand, participants were thankful for having the opportunity of leaving their homes and having people to interact with on a daily basis. On the

other hand, they were also resentful for several reasons, including: (1) being talked down to by receiving the same information repeatedly, (2) not being asked what they would like to do and learn in the program, and (3) being in what they perceived as a lower quality program from other older adults who were able to pay higher dues. When these conversations arose, it would have been a good opportunity to bring up issues of social justice with them and to support their empowerment. At the same time, I had previously experienced times during the peer group meetings where some of these issues had arisen, and the meetings had devolved into complaining sessions. When this happened, I was not sure how to gently redirect the session so that it could become a productive conversation and a consciousness rising opportunity. Instead, I found that my being both and insider and an outsider complicated my potential response. My ambiguous position in the program where I had a peer relationship with the director and at the same time I was trying to lift participants' voices, made it difficult to know how to react in these occasions. As a result, I found myself redirecting conversations toward less contentious areas. These were missed opportunities that I could have used to work with them in a truly transformational manner.

Another area that raised methodological concerns was the survey. The design of the survey was a long and highly involved process. I engaged the project director in the process to ensure that the survey gathered the information she needed. The goal was also to make it as culturally responsive as possible to the realities of the program at hand. However, the misalignment between the conceptualization of the project and its day-to-day implementation realities made it difficult to pinpoint the items that would gather the most useful information. The survey went through several iterations: (1) a pre/post survey on behavioral change that adapted the Active Aging Survey in the Basque Country, Spain (Cuenca, Kleiber, Monteagudo, Linde, & Jaumot-

Pascual, 2014), (2) a pre/post survey on attitude change with items from pre-existing literature, and (3) a post survey with an implied assessment of changes in both behavior and attitude created for the purposes of the evaluation. The final version had some features that I thought would make it easier to answer for people experiencing cognitive decline, such as having a majority of true/false items. However, as I was helping participants fill out the survey after the end of the program, I realized that the problem with cognitive decline was not having a Likert scale with a scale of 5 options, but that people might forget what they were doing and skip questions, which happened in a couple of cases. In fact, having only the two true/false options sometimes made it difficult for participants to respond questions. For instance, I remember one of the oldest participants looking at me sharply when I asked her about whether she exercised more because of the program, and then she said, “sometimes,” which clearly did not fit into the true/false response options available to her. I thought that providing fewer answer options would make the survey more accessible to participants. Instead, I had sacrificed the survey’s capacity to accommodate a range of responses that could reflect a different experiences, effectively making it less instead of more responsive to participants.

The use of digital devices for participants to take photographs and the timing of the picture-taking was another limitation. I had planned to assist participants when they took pictures by staying with them after the first focus group. However, the focus group took longer than planned, and the fact that the focus group was scheduled right before lunch meant that participants were eager to be done, which did not leave much time to take pictures. In addition, two of the three participants in the first focus group had difficulties using the electronic devices in spite of my assistance. This motivated them to choose images that we used in the picture sort activity instead of taking their own. This made it easier for them to have images to discuss in the second focus

group, but it changed the methods I had originally intended to use from photovoice to photo elicitation. At the same time, the change in methods proved to be positive when I conducted the third focus group with new participants that had more members with cognitive decline than the first group. For this group, I used photographs that I had taken as part of my observation of the program.

Recommendations

In this dissertation, I have presented the evaluation I conducted from a CRE perspective and studied how different components contributed to its cultural responsiveness. In this section I include some recommendations that stem from this work and that are related to conducting culturally responsive evaluations .

As Balomenou and Garrod (2016) indicated when referring to participant-generated image methods, a lack of terminological consistency creates a fragmented field that leads to these methods being underappreciated and even mistrusted. In addition, the terminology used should be descriptive of what was implemented to avoid misunderstandings and unfulfilled expectations among stakeholders (Johnston, 2016) and to create a connection among the literature that used the same methods (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). I thus recommend for researchers and evaluators to use terms that are descriptive of the method they use and that are consistent with the literature. If researchers intend to implement one method but need to modify its implementation, they need to consider whether these changes grant changing the term used to refer to the method. For instance, if a team uses the term photovoice for their method, but its main goal is to collect data on participants' experiences without intending to raise critical consciousness or promote change, the researchers should consider using a term that is more accurate and descriptive, such as photo elicitation with auto-photography. Table 8 (*Summary of*

convergences and divergences of three photo elicitation methods) would be a good general guide to find the most appropriate term.

In this study, I examined the cultural responsivity in regards to older adults of photo elicitation focus groups. I found that the use of photography with older adults connects with the developmental moment older adults typically are in. I also found that as mass culture changes and becomes more visual (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004), the cultural responsivity of photo elicitation methods may also change depending on the population they are used with. Also, self-reflexivity and self-reflection are processes that are key for evaluators because they provide insights on participants' experiences and perceptions of the program they participate in. Evaluators may want implement methods that have the potential to be culturally responsive to the population they are working with and methods that are conducive to participants' self-reflexivity and self-reflection, such as photo elicitation.

The VEE framework for evaluation (J. C. Greene et al., 2006) is designed to be culturally responsive by attending to the convergence of programs' content, pedagogy, and equity. This framework was developed and has so far been used for the evaluation of STEM education programs (Boyce, 2017; J. N. Hall et al., 2012; Johnson et al., 2013; Tillman, 2015). To evaluators who would like to use the VEE framework to evaluate community programs, I would recommend using the modified framework I propose. This modified framework includes a new element, organizational capacity, that would not be an intersecting circle, but it underlies the framework indicating that it is fundamental for a program to have the necessary organizational capacity to adequately address a program's content, pedagogy, and equity.

Implications for Future Research

This dissertation responds to Hood, Hopson, and Kirkhart's (2015) call for more research on evaluation, including examples of culturally responsive evaluations and the reflection on the articulation of CRE with other evaluation frameworks. There is still much work to be done in this area, so I recommend evaluators to continue producing examples of culturally responsive evaluations, examining the articulation of CRE with other frameworks, and analyzing the responsiveness of different methods. This section includes some specific research directions that derive from the work I have done in this study.

A line of inquiry stemming from this study would be to study researchers' and evaluators' awareness of the diversity that exist under the umbrella of photo elicitation, and how they learned about these methods. It is possible that these methods are rarely being included in researchers' and evaluators' academic training, and the misuse of terminology and misapplication are due to a lack of understanding of the paradigmatic and methodological implications of each method.

Researchers have found that both the use of photography in interviews and the use of focus groups promote self-reflexivity and self-reflection. According to Noland (2006), this is the case because the parts of the brain that process visual information are evolutionarily older than those that process verbal information, thus, images use more of the brain's capacity, eliciting deeper elements of human consciousness. Future research could help in further understanding the processes involved in photo elicitation focus groups that support self-reflexivity and self-reflection so that researchers and evaluators can intentionally foster these thought processes in future work.

A research topic that I expect will be of much interest is the study of how photo elicitation methods change with the cultural changes around the use and meaning of photography and how these changes influence the cultural responsivity of the methods according to the population studied. This is a deep and rich topic that will evolve as technology capacities change and are more accessible. One potential area of research would be to study how different ages respond to the method, particularly the differences between older generations that did not grow up with digital technologies and the generation that is comprised by the "digital natives."

An area of particular interest from a culturally responsive perspective is how the philosophical tenets that a program is designed around influences participants' perception of the location of responsibility regarding health outcomes. This could have an important impact on the design of healthy aging programs and how organizations work with their participants by introducing program designs that are more attuned and responsive to their cultural environments.

One final line of inquiry for future research in evaluation would involve applying the modified VEE framework that I propose in both STEM and non-STEM education programs to analyze the extent to which the inclusion of organizational capacity makes it more culturally responsive and more flexible.

Conclusions

This dissertation responded to Hood, Hopson, and Kirkhart's (2015) call for more research on evaluation, including examples of culturally responsive evaluations and the reflection on the articulation of CRE with other evaluation frameworks. This dissertation also responded to the need for the field of evaluation to respond to the changes that are occurring in the context of our hyper-visual culture (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004) and to the changes brought about by an aging and increasingly diverse society (Huntley-Hall, 2017; Vincent & Velkoff, 2010) with new

approaches and methods. I accomplished these purposes by studying: (1) how photo elicitation methods have been used with older adults in the literature; (2) the articulation of CRE and VEE, and the applicability of the VEE framework beyond STEM education contexts; (3) the affordances in terms of cultural responsiveness and to promote evaluative processes of using photo elicitation focus groups with older adults and its implications in a cultural environment that is increasingly visual.

In this work, we have learned that photo elicitation methods have been used in the empirical literature with little consistency in their implementation and in the use of terminology (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). I have suggested a classification of photo elicitation methods and the need for consistency to build a body of knowledge that guides future researchers and evaluators and that avoids breaching research participants' trust when expectations are not met around a project (Johnston, 2016).

This study also suggests that photo elicitation methods have the potential to be culturally responsive to older adults due to their use of photography, which connects with their drive to be Guardians (Vaillant, 2002, 2012; Vaillant & Milofsky, 1980). These methods can also be used to promote evaluative processes like self-reflexivity and self-reflection (Nagata, 2004; Riach, 2009). Because of the cultural changes around the meaning and use of images and photographs (Knowles & Sweetman, 2004; Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011), researchers and evaluators using photo elicitation methods will need to adapt them according to the populations they work with. They will need to keep in mind how participants interact with photographs and what images mean to them. For instance, they will need to consider if participants consider photographs to be a representation of what is or a communication method that is consumed and discarded, among others (Sarvas & Frohlich, 2011; Van House, 2011). Thus, research and evaluation will need to

keep in mind what photographs mean to participants and also what is done with and to the photographs (Rose, 2014).

This dissertation also shows that the VEE framework supports conducting culturally responsive evaluations and can be transferred from the evaluation of STEM education programs to the evaluation of community-based program. However, to make this transfer more effective, I have proposed a modification so that it includes a new underlying element, organizational capacity, that supports a program's ability to be attentive to content, pedagogy, and equity.

My hope is that this work contributes to the advancement of culturally responsive frameworks and methods in evaluation in ways that is consistent with what Hood and colleagues proposed in their 2015 work. I also hope that the areas of growth in evaluation theory and photo elicitation methods that this work opens up are of interest to others in the field.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Timeline for Evaluation

Table 11

Timeline for Evaluation

When	What	How	Who/How Many
March 2017	Creation of the HAP's logic model and schedule evaluation activities	The evaluator had a meeting with HAP staff before the second iteration of the program started	HAP manager & intern
April-September 2017	Participant observation	The evaluator engaged in participant observation of activities and running peer group meetings and game sessions	All HAP participants, staff, and interns
July 2017	Revision of the HAP's logic model and creation of its theory of change	The evaluator and the HAP manager reviewed the program's logic model and created its theory of change based on the evaluator's observations of the program	HAP manager
Mid September 2017	Interview with the HAP manager	The evaluator interviewed the program's manager in a 1.5-hour meeting	HAP manager
Early September - early October 2017	Three focus groups with participants	The evaluator run 3 focus groups with program participants: an introductory focus group, one using participant-generated photographs in a photovoice session, and one using evaluator-generated photographs in a photo elicitation session	3 participants in the first two focus groups and 5 in the third one
Mid October 2017	Survey	The evaluator administered the end-of-year survey in person with the help of the HAP manager and an intern	25 out of 31 participants filled the survey

Appendix B: Program Manager Interview

General Description

- How does your work with Healthy Aging Program look like? What types of activities do you spend the most time with? How much time do you spend: scheduling, with clients one-on-one, with clients as a group, supervising others, etc.?
- What do you think is the most important aspect of your work with the clients? Why?

Change

- What are the most important changes you have noticed in the clients you work with since you started meeting with them?
    - Knowledge/understanding changes?
    - Behavior changes?
- How do you see change? What do you see in clients that tells you that change has occurred?
- What do you think has motivated these changes?
- To what extent do you think the Healthy Aging Program program has contributed to clients' improvement or maintenance of their nutrition status?
- Which of the Healthy Aging Program activities do you think has had the most impact on clients' improvement or maintenance of nutrition status?

Activity Formats

- Which of the formats or parts of the activities in the Healthy Aging Program program is more effective in initiating change among participants? Why do you say so?
- Are there any activity formats that you would like to try? Why do you think these formats would be effective?

Participation

- How do you decide which activities will be on the calendar?
- How do participants let you know which activities they would like to do or what they think of the activities they are doing?

Data

- What kinds of data do you collect from participants? Do you use these data? How?
- What kinds of data would be helpful for you to have?

Concluding Reflections: Overall Experience with Healthy Aging Program

- How do you think your work in the Healthy Aging Program has contributed to the quality of clients' experience in the program?
- What have you learned from your participation in the Healthy Aging Program?
- If you were to start all over with the Healthy Aging Program, what would you do differently?

Appendix C: Healthy Aging Program End of Year Survey

As a result of participating in Healthy Aging Program…				
1.	… I eat healthier than I used to.	True	False	Not sure
2.	… I am more aware of the value of eating healthy.	True	False	Not sure
3.	… I am better at eating healthy without spending more money.	True	False	Not sure
4.	… I now know more about how to prepare or choose healthy meals and snacks.	True	False	Not sure
5.	… I am more aware that exercising is important for my health.	True	False	Not sure
6.	… I now do more physical activity than I used to.	True	False	Not sure
7.	… I appreciate more the importance of being physically active.	True	False	Not sure
8.	… I now believe that recycling is good for the environment.	True	False	Not sure
9.	… I now believe that it is important to cut down on food waste.	True	False	Not sure
10.	… I am more aware of the value of composting.	True	False	Not sure
11.	… I am now more aware of how to produce less waste.	True	False	Not sure
12.	… I am more satisfied with my health.	True	False	Not sure
13.	… I have better quality of life.	True	False	Not sure

Please indicate whether the following are true or false:				
14.	Healthy Aging Program is fun.	True	False	Not sure
15.	Healthy Aging Program is interesting.	True	False	Not sure
16.	I learn new things at Healthy Aging Program.	True	False	Not sure
17.	I have friends at Healthy Aging Program.	True	False	Not sure
18.	Healthy Aging Program fills up my time.	True	False	Not sure
19.	Healthy Aging Program keeps me physically active.	True	False	Not sure
20.	Healthy Aging Program helps me stay healthy.	True	False	Not sure
21.	Healthy Aging Program keeps me involved in my ACCA community.	True	False	Not sure
22.	Healthy Aging Program keeps me involved in my Athens community.	True	False	Not sure
23.	Healthy Aging Program makes me feel cared for.	True	False	Not sure
24.	I have shared with others what I have learned in Healthy Aging Program.	True	False	Not sure
25.	I plan to share with others what I have learned in Healthy Aging Program.	True	False	Not sure
26.	Healthy Aging Program helps me age well.	True	False	Not sure

Please rate how much you enjoyed each of the following Healthy Aging Program activities.					
27.	Peer Group	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
28.	Food Demos	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
29.	Screenings & Health Talks	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
30.	Garden Club (e.g., Planting, Composting)	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
31.	Nutrition Education	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
32.	Physical Activity	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate

33.	Volunteering (e.g., Food Bank)	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
34.	Games (e.g., Cards & Board)	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate
35.	Presentations	Enjoyed a lot	OK	Did not enjoy	Did not participate

36. The most important things I changed in my life through my participation in Health Aging Program were…
37. The thing I liked the best at Healthy Aging Program was…
38. The thing I liked the least about Healthy Aging Program was…
39. The activity I would have liked to do in Healthy Aging Program that we didn't do was…

Appendix D: Participants Focus Groups Protocol – 2 Sessions

Session 1

Evaluation study introduction & copies of consent forms

Experiences with photography:

- What are your experiences with photography?
- What kinds of pictures do you keep?
- Why are they important to you?

Healthy Aging Program

- Why did you get involved in the Healthy Aging Program?
- What did you expect to do?
- Has the program fulfilled those expectations?

Activity format rating

- Let's use these pictures to rate these activity formats from the Healthy Aging Program from the most enjoyable to the least
    - Why did you enjoy this format?
    - Why didn't you enjoy this format?
    - Do others have a similar experience?

Picture-taking with participants

Session 2

Distribute pictures

Question posters

- Now let's use the pictures I brought to answer these two questions on the posters.

- If you were to use a picture to show what you do in the Healthy Aging Program to friends, which picture would you show them? Why? What would you say about it?
- How has the Healthy Aging Program changed what you do in your everyday life?

Conclusion

- What would you like to have done in the Healthy Aging Program that you didn't get to do?
- What have you learned in the Healthy Aging Program that has become part of your life?
- Has the Healthy Aging Program helped you connect with your past and/or your future? How?
- Has the Healthy Aging Program contributed to your understanding of what it means to age well?
- Has the Healthy Aging Program helped you feel that you are part of a community? How?
- Have you shared what you have learned in the Healthy Aging Program with others outside the program? What have you shared? Why did you share it? How did it help others?

Appendix E: Participants Focus Groups Protocol – 1 Session

Evaluation study introduction & copies of consent forms

Experiences with photography:

- What are your experiences with photography?
- What kinds of pictures do you keep?
- Why are they important to you?

Healthy Aging Program

- Why did you get involved in the Healthy Aging Program?
- What did you expect to do?
- Has the program fulfilled those expectations?

Activity format rating

- Let's use these pictures to rate these activity formats from the Healthy Aging Program from the most enjoyable to the least
    - Why did you enjoy this format?
    - Why didn't you enjoy this format?

Distribute pictures

Experiences in the program

- If you were to use a picture to show what you do in the Healthy Aging Program to friends, which picture would you show them? Why? What would you say about it?

Conclusion

- How has the Healthy Aging Program changed what you do in your everyday life?
- Has the Healthy Aging Program helped you connect with your past and/or your future? How?

- Has the Healthy Aging Program contributed to your understanding of what it means to age well?
- Has the Healthy Aging Program helped you feel that you are part of a community? How?
- Have you shared what you have learned in the Healthy Aging Program with others outside the program? What have you shared? Why did you share it? How did it help others?