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# How can you engage yourself in following a healthy lifestyle? A qualitative study in older citizens

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#### Abstract

*Objectives*: In this qualitative study, we provide an in-depth understanding of older people's experiences concerning their engagement in healthy aging lifestyles and of the psychosocial and contextual levers that may impact on this process.

*Methods*: Data were collected through 25 in-depth interviews and were analysed using thematic analysis.

Results: Participants described three experiential positions of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles (i.e., "locked position"; "awakening position"; "climbing position"), ranging from a passive and detached to a more active and involved approach. Along this continuum of engagement, specific features, needs, and expectations that may play a role in improving engagement in healthy aging lifestyles among older persons were retrievable.

*Conclusions*: The results of the present study casted light on the multifaceted nature of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles as experienced by older adults, and guided the development and delivery of future health promotion initiatives dedicated to the older population.

### Keywords:

health engagement, healthy aging, health promotion, older people, qualitative research

## Strengths and limitations of this study

- To the best of our knowledge, this is the first qualitative study investigating older citizens'
   experiences, motivations and attitudes towards healthy aging lifestyles
- In-depth qualitative interviews were undertaken with the aim of collecting the culturally based experiences of older citizens
- These qualitative evidences may help with the formation of policies grounded on citizens' experiences to increase older people's engagement with health promotion initiatives
- Limitations of our study concern the limited, local and selected sample size

#### Introduction

 Worldwide societies are facing an increasingly aging population because of the rapid decline in mortality in the past few decades due to scientific and technological progress [1]. In Italy, life expectancy has increased by 2 years in the last 10 years; however, people actually live the last third of their lives facing with almost one chronic condition [2]. The rapid growth of the aging population poses important challenges, specifically those related to the health of older people [3]. Most societies need to promote healthy behaviours, prevent diseases, and develop effective and ecological low-cost strategies to effectively manage the healthcare burdens due to the aging of population [4]. Promoting healthy lifestyles is challenging, and sustaining the development of healthier habits would reduce older people's risk of contracting chronic diseases. Since older adults differ from younger cohorts in important ways in terms of their health status, living situation, wellbeing, and educational level [5], investigation of the process of engagement in healthy conducts among older adults is likely to be useful when considering such differences. In particular, older people who are less than 75 years old appear to be the best target group for health promotion initiatives. In western societies, they are in most cases still fit, active, and able to care for themselves; thus improving healthy habits in this subgroup of older citizens may not only be more doable, but also prevent negative clinical situations [6]. Following the call for global actions to promote healthy aging [3], many countries have developed healthy aging policies and initiatives [7], that are likely to "optimise opportunities for good health"

healthy aging policies and initiatives [7], that are likely to "optimise opportunities for good health" [8], so that older people can take an active part in their health management and enjoy an independent and high quality of life [9,10]. However, many gaps remain unsolved. Literature shows a lack of consensus on how to improve healthy lifestyles among older citizens [11,12]. Therefore, no efforts have been found to be effective in globally promoting and maintaining the process of healthy aging and no studies have been directly concerned with a more holistic process able to truly and continuously engage older citizens in health prevention and healthy lifestyles [13].

Furthermore, only few studies gave voice to older citizens to explore their active aging experience

and to understand the psychosocial determinants that may sustain or hinder their engagement in health promotion [14,15].

The goal of the present study is to provide an in-depth understanding of older citizens experiences, motivations and attitudes towards health promotion and healthy lifestyles. The study also aims to provide insights on the psychosocial elements that – from older citizens perspective – may favour their engagement in healthy aging lifestyles. On the basis of these premises, the aims of the study were two folds:

- To deepen the subjective experience of older citizens concerning their engagement in healthy lifestyles
- To explore the psychosocial and contextual levers which may hinder (or foster) their engagement in healthy aging lifestyles

Following the recent activities of European Union on aging [16], we aspire to provide the knowledge base for the promotion of appropriate strategies and interventions to enhance older citizens' engagement in healthy aging and improve their life conditions.

#### Method

Data collection and procedure

A qualitative study using in-depth interviewees was conducted to explore older citizens experiences, attitudes, perspectives, and motivations in relation to their engagement in healthy aging lifestyles. To include the perspectives of older adults, we worked collaboratively with each participant and engaged participants throughout the entire research process to create culturally based data and establish trust with participants [17].

Interviews posed broad and research-driven questions to collect data about the meanings and representations of healthy living, concrete daily habits, engagement in healthy lifestyles, and

situations that foster or obstruct active engagement in healthy aging conducts (see Table 1 for details). Additional questions were asked, when needed, to elicit further details. Questions posed by researchers were broad and open-ended to elicit narratives from the participants and collect all possible statements, opinions, and experiences the respondents could make about the subject at hand.

Each interview was completed in the individual's home or at participants' place of preference. The interviews ranged from 40 to 90 minutes in duration, with an average duration of 60 minutes.

Table 1 Interviews' guide	
Area	Questions
Meanings and representations of health	1. Let's introduce what health means to you
and health management	let's tell some images, smell, sound, colour
	or feeling that you connect with
	healthelements can be real or fantasy
	based as far as they represent your
	experience
	2. What does managing health means to you?
Concrete daily actions to manage health	3. Could you describe me your lifestyle in the
and disease management experiences	last week?
	4. How do you manage health daily?
	5. Could you describe an experience of
	disease management? What happened and
	what have you done? Why? Who were the
	actors? Have you involved someone? When

Feelings, thoughts, behaviors when

thinking at managing health

you healed, you managed health in the same way?

- 6. What are your feelings and thoughts when you reflect on how are you managing health? What can you do to improve your health management?
- Perspectives and experiences of engagement in healthy ageing lifestyles
- 7. Why in your opinion people is differently engaged in their health management?

  What do you think about your engagement in healthy lifestyles?

Suggestions about situations and levers able to foster or obstruct the process of engagement in healthy ageing lifestyles

- 8. Do you think that is possible to become more or less engaged in managing health?

  How? Could you describe me some situation or event that changed your engagement?
- 9. What would help you in being more engaged in managing your health?

# Participants

A purposive sample of 25 north-Italian older adults was sequentially recruited to take part in the study. The inclusion criteria were:

(i) being 64-75 years of age (this range was selected because people who are younger than 75 years

of age may particularly benefit from engaging in health promoting behaviours in terms of prevention of future health problems; furthermore this target population is more likely to engage in health promotion initiatives compared to individuals older than 75 years of age);

- (ii) not having mental health problems that could invalidate data;
- (iii) being able to understand and speak Italian;

- (iv) having a medium-high level of education (completed schooling up to grade 3) (participants were asked to express themselves with well-articulated stories and to enact deep reflexive process on their stories, which generally implies to involve participants with high mental and educational resources);
- (v) being willing to participate in the study.

Older participants with serious and relapsing health conditions and those following a prescribed medical treatment were excluded. We wanted to focus on the analysis of health promotion experiences and preventive behaviours, rather than on people's adherence to medical care. Thus, according to the qualitative strategy of theoretical sampling [18], we purposively selected older citizens without an invalidating diagnosis, since our goal was to understand older people's ways of engaging in healthy conducts in the usual daily life rather than exploring patients' engagement in care management. Potential participants were recruited through several means. Some citizens were recruited through different senior aggregative centres. Others were recruited using a snowball sampling technique [19] based on recommendations from individuals likely to be interested in the study.

Thirteen females and 12 males who met the inclusion criteria were included in the study. Most participants lived predominantly in Lombardy (68 per cent) and in villages or small towns of suburban areas (60 per cent) while only 7 lived in Liguria (28 per cent). The age ranged from 64 to 75 years of age (mean age of 67.8 years). The sample comprised primarily retired participants. Overall, 23 participants resided with a family member (in most cases with their spouse/partner) and 7 of them lived with two or more family members (generally the husband/wife and adult children).

 Two older adult participants lived alone but near a family member. For further details, see Table 2.

Table 2 Overview of the composition of the sample

	Gender: female/ ma	le. n (%)	13/12 (52/48)	
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Age: years, media 64-75 (67,8)

Married/ not married, n (%) 23/2 (92/8)

Worker/ not worker, *n* (%) 8/17 (32/68)

Domicile: Lombardia/ Liguria, n (%) 17/8 (68/32)

Geographic location: urban/suburban/rural, n (%) 7/15/3 (28/60/12)

#### Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed through a thematic analysis with an inductive approach [20]. Two researchers analysed and coded the transcripts independently to identify thematic patterns as resulting from older participants' experiences of engagement in healthy lifestyles. Thereafter, categories and themes describing older citizens' engagement in healthy lifestyles and those ones compelling barriers/facilitators to this were detected [21]. Finally, in a joint meeting, the researchers discussed and reached an agreement on a list of categories and themes that resulted from data to describe different approaches of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles. When disagreement emerged, the researchers reached a consensus through discussion. Following this analytical step, the researchers built a conceptual framework summarizing the results of the interviews.

The results are reviewed below and include some quotes extracted from interviews to support our results. The quotes selected for this article were translated into English by the researchers involved in the data collection and analysis together with the assistance of an Italian and English speaking

translator [22]. Finally, a professional native English translator corrected and checked translations [22]. Original quotes are available upon request.

#### Ethical concerns

The Catholic University of Milan Ethics Review Board approved the study. Each participant consented to participate in the study (including audiotaping and transcription of the interviews) prior to participating.

# **Findings**

Interviews revealed different experiences of engagement in healthy lifestyles among the older citizens interviewed, that range in a psychosocial continuum, from a passive and detached to a more active and involved approach to health promotion. Along this continuum of engagement, specific features, needs, and expectations that may play a role in improving engagement in healthy aging lifestyles among older persons are retrievable. Particularly, the analysis casted light on three experiential positions of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles (i.e., "locked position"; "awakening position"; "climbing position") (see Figure 1). In line with the study aims, the findings for every position are presented in two parts. First, the representations and experiences that study participants attributed to the position of engagement are presented. Thereafter, the needs and possible experiential levers able to engage in healthy aging conducts from older people perspective are reported. We summarize those insights below.

< Insert Figure 1 about here >

#### First position: "I feel locked"

Among interviewees, some participants described themselves as blocked, namely frozen in their

unhealthy lifestyles and habits. Most of them were not working and lacked social network. Emotional resignation, lack of purpose, unhealthy behaviours (i.e., cigarettes, alcohol abuse), and social isolation were commonly reported by these interviewees. Older participants often attributed the lack of healthy behaviours to a general lack of self-care and life purposes and used negative emotional words when referring to their relationship with health. A similar approach to health was reported by participants who felt lack of love and self-acceptance, which often characterized their entire life but was exacerbated by aging-related issues (e.g., retirement, death of loved ones, loss of a social role, menopause). Generally, these participants said that thinking about different ways to manage their health during aging was scary and anxiety provoking; thus, they preferred to "continue life as usual", avoiding negative emotions and frightening thoughts that would emerge if they included health in own daily projects. Thus, they felt "locked" in an unhappy last part of life, wishing to be saved but feeling unable to save themselves.

after all my life is ok for me, so I do absolutely nothing to change it...I'm fine by myself as well, so I don't really look for particular situations to increase what I should do to feel better.

(int. 20, M, 64 years old)

I have an identity issue in organizing my health, I get anxious to thinking about it and I prefer to continue my life as usual.

(int. 18, F, 64 years old)

Furthermore, the participants reported that their health practices were inextricably linked to their religious beliefs. Interviews suggested that religious beliefs about health and/or illness shape health representations and behaviours. Indeed, these participants described themselves as delegating their health status to others. Although this helped them avoid negative emotions, these interviewees were also aware of the fact that these beliefs contributed to reduce their health management actions.

Consequently, they reported a fatalistic attitude with feelings of resignation and dissatisfaction with

life. These feelings also influenced their approach to risk prevention and health management. Since the participants reported that the emergence of diseases could not be controlled, they felt that it would be useless to follow healthy lifestyles to prevent diseases.

It is useless to worry about what may happen and what can be done to prevent mishaps...cancer or other diseases can occur also if you have an optimal lifestyle...

(int. 25, M, 68 years old)

# Needs and levers to engage "locked" older citizens in healthy aging lifestyles

Since the missing approach to healthy living was described in emotional terms and was characterized by resignation, lack of purpose, worries, and fears of losing autonomy or remaining alone, participants reported specific needs to manage those negative emotions, build social relationships, and foster a more positive attitude towards themselves. In this sense, older participants reported that they would need something able to "upsets them", "awakening" them from the numbness of their disengagement in health and prevention. Furthermore they claimed for sources of more positive feelings and hope towards their future life trajectories.

I absolutely do not follow prevention, but if any serious illness came, I would be forced to change to regain my health

(int.1, M, 64 years old)

You can change in the event that a disease hits you, so you become scared, so your lifestyle changes

(int. 20, M, 64 years old)

I stopped smoking thanks to a book that made me aware that depending on cigarettes made me miserable and that convinced me that having fun would help me

(int.16, M, 73 years old)

#### Second position: "I'm awakening"

Some other participants, mostly with a good but superficial social network, seesawed in managing health between a health awareness ward and a lack of motivation in improving their health during aging, with the general adoption of a healthy lifestyle not aware of risks due to aging. Unlike the "locked position", in the "awakening position", participants alternated between a fatalistic and a more active attitude toward health and life; some situations were perceived under their control while others were not. This is the case of participants who manage their health when they are sick but when they are healthy, they lack motivation and perceive loss of control over their physical health.

Obviously, I take care of my health when I'm sick to heal! But when I heal I do nothing to stay healthy: It's useless, it's not under your control!

(int. 10, F, 64 years old)

As participants stated, although they were aware of the importance of engaging in healthy conducts, involving in physical activities, eating better, and planning meaningful activities to feel healthier, they preferred to leave health out of daily plans. Thus, they described themselves as aware but often inactive in managing health, that is, by defining themselves in an "awakening" status. They understood the importance of engaging in healthy behaviours at the "theoretical level", but in the practice, they mostly failed to translate this knowledge into concrete health promotion and preventive behaviours. Furthermore these participants often failed to recognize their actual need to "do more" to improve their lifestyle, particularly due to fact that aging requires a greater attention to physical limits and to a global self-care. Focusing on prevention and modifying their lifestyles according to the limitations and barriers that emerge during the process of aging were perceived as strictly connected to the acceptance of growing old, thus to the experiences with aging. Finally, these participants manifested a sort of emotive ambivalence towards their aging process. On the one

hand, their feelings of guilt for doing the bare minimum and, on the other hand, their desire to avoid being concerned with health increased the disconnect between actions and thoughts.

I know that I should do sport, in the past I used to go to the gym but in the recent years, I finally chose the oratory and not the gym, whereas I know that this is not the better choice for me

(int. 23, F, 68 years old)

# Needs and levers to engage "awakening" older citizens in healthy aging lifestyles

Participants in this position knew that they should do more to improve their health, but they failed to translate this knowledge in concrete behaviours due to the emotional ambivalence they felt towards the aging process. Considering the emotional conflict between the cognitive level of health awareness and minimum healthy behaviours, social relationships were conceived as useful in fostering a more active health engagement.

Doing something with someone could help to be more active (int. 18, F, 64 years old)

It is likely to happen that having relations with other people would help me be involved in activities...you don't run or play tennis or something else alone...but maybe with someone...

(int. 20, M, 64 years old)

Moreover, participants recognized the behavioural level as the more accessible way to foster a greater integration between actions and thoughts. Participants reported that planning daily habits, setting goals, using technologies, and activating social network are all useful strategies for improving healthy aging actions.

Setting my own goals for the future and getting busy with daily commitment lead me to feel better...

for example gardening or spending my time out, I'm sure that will bring benefit to my mind (int. 24, M, 64 years old)

Participants believed that planned and shared strategies could foster their engagement in healthier lifestyles. This is also the case of bad habits, which were reported by participants on a daily basis. Participants were aware of these habits but were unable to control them or unwilling to sacrifice them. Controlling those habits by planning them was perceived as useful for becoming more engaged in healthy lifestyles. Interestingly, some participants in this position expressed that technologies - especially if easy to use - may be particularly useful for planning healthy behaviours and connecting with other members of community with whom they could share health practices.

#### Third position: "I'm aware that I'm climbing"

Participants in this experiential position reported a better integrated management approach to their health. They described their lifestyle in terms of being constantly aware of the importance of taking care of the self to remain healthy as long as possible and to feel good physically, mentally, and socially. Participants made sense of their life, and they elaborated and accepted that they are close to death, which allows them to live fully every day. They were conscious that the physical health influences well-being in all the other spheres of human existence and that taking care of one-self increases wellness and happiness and foster one-own sense of control over life trajectories. Thus, a strong sense of coherence, control, and self-efficacy, as well as a greater motivation to feel aware and reflexive emerged from the interviews as crucial to be engaged in healthy aging lifestyles. In this sense, this position was defined as "climbing" because of the constant efforts made by participants to master their entire health status and wellbeing.

As I do something, I think about the consequence of what I'm doing to prevent diseases and how I'm feeling

(int. 3, M, 75 years old)

At a certain age, you have to start thinking about your health and yourself, sooner or later something happens ... there is an exponential curve between age and health, and I'm at the point in which something will happen...so I'm aware that I want to live the last years fully and peacefully!

(int. 22, M, 75 years old)

Loving and accepting each other is the foundation of everything, it gives you a purpose of life, it makes you feel that it's you at the helm

(int. 14, M, 73 years old)

## Needs and levers to engage "climbing" older citizens in healthy aging lifestyles

Participants said that feeling satisfied with what they have done during their lives and giving sense to their lives were important elements of successful acceptance of aging and, therefore, of managing their health. They focused on leaving something in the world to have a sense of life and die peacefully. Death was part of the participants' thoughts, and participants perceived accepting a possible illness and death as a necessary part of life. Indeed, participants reported that they successfully manage critical events (such as the occurrence of health problems or the deaths of friends and relatives) by elaborating their sense within the whole spectrum of their existence and in the light of a positive approach to life. According to participants, being in peace with life, aging, and death foster wellbeing and positive engagement in healthy lifestyle.

Sooner or later, life ends. It is important to have the satisfaction of having done something, to have done things, to have left something...more than the fear of death, I'd rather end in a particular way (int. 22, M, 75 years old)

The problem is not to avoid diseases but to live with them in a decent way and in line with your life (int. 18, F, 64 years old)

These participants believed that their own actions determine their health. Perceptions of having control over health and life foster, as older participants said, proactive behaviours and a sense of power and agency. Participants in this position described themselves as able to face anxiety related to taking responsibility for their health status, having control over all health dimensions, and strengthening feelings of self-determination.

This is more a question of head, mental. It's how I feel at this moment and It's more a mental fact to love and accept myself and feel that life is in my hands...of course it takes a little bit of luck (int. 15, F, 68 year old)

Relationships also played an active part in the "climbing position", because having an active social role in the community was conceived as a way to have a purpose in life and to be part of something bigger, which can give sense to life and death.

Sooner or later life ends, it is important to reach the satisfaction of having done something, of having left something, of having made a small contribution to other people...

(int. 22, M, 75 years-older)

Additionally, participants perceived the use of controlled and limited bad habits (e.g., a glass of wine during special events, eating a sweet during a dinner with friends) in their lifestyles as useful because it allows them to improve their wellbeing. Indeed, participants explained their wellbeing as "having the possibility to be free, also to exceed bounds sometimes" (int.5, F, 67 years-older). At the same time, engaging in bad habits occasionally helped them maintaining engagement in a balanced healthy lifestyle, avoiding the risk of becoming too obsessive about healthy behaviours and allowing them to enjoy their old age more fully. These "exception to the rule" have an important psychological function to improve the quality of life without scarifying a healthy living

and preventive practice.

#### Discussion

This qualitative study explored older citizens' experiences related to engaging in healthy aging lifestyles, offering insights to guide future health promotion initiatives dedicated to the older population.

The findings revealed different positions of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles within a continuum, where participants with lower levels of engagement experienced social isolation, stagnation, and despair, while those who fully engaged in healthy aging lifestyles reported fulfilment, individual growth, and integrity. The positions of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles proposed by our study are in line with the results of a study which was aimed to investigate the effect of lay perspectives on successful aging to foster personal and community wellbeing [23]. The study, by emphasizing the balance between self-contentment and self-growth in later life, suggested that reaching high levels of health engagement is related to higher levels of self-growth, selfcontentment, and individual and social fulfilment. The positions we found are also similar the stages of health promotion change in the Transtheoretical Model [24], which includes precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, and maintenance stages. However, the Transtheoretical Model focuses mainly on behavioural and cognitive aspects of the self-management of health, and they do not deal explicitly with emotional issues. Instead, our results showed that individuals' emotional elaboration plays an essential role in how they cope with situation of health, thus influencing their engagement in healthy aging lifestyles. Moreover, our data provide an insight on the complex and challenging emotional nature of older people' engagement trajectories towards their health management. Indeed, interviews revealed specific emotional needs for every positions of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles, that cast lights on the specific scaffolding and elaboration needs that older citizens experience during their aging process. Needs that have to be addressed in

order to sustain a positive sense making process towards aging of older adults and their acceptance of changing identity and role in the society. For instance, participants in a "locked position" reported the protective role of positive emotions on their physical and mental health over time, by confirming evidences from positive psychology literature [25-28]. Those in "awakening position" expressed their emotional conflict between being aware of the importance of assuming healthier conducts and their difficulty in translating this knowledge in concrete preventive behaviours. The last group of older citizens in the "climbing profile" advise that a helpful strategy for maintaining the personal and social balance could be being engaged in exercises of mental and psychological strengthening (e.g., for self-efficacy, self-empowerment, cognitive reinforce, self-worth, and purpose in life). These factors are indeed crucial for "optimising aging well and enhancing the quality of later life, enabling older people to feel confident in living with wider benefits to society" [29]. These results suggest that interventions aimed at promoting healthy aging should adopt specific measures for each position of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles and offer insights about possible actions that can be adopted to promote older citizens engagement lifestyle change. In particular, those actions emphasized the importance of working on positive psychological states (e.g., positive emotions, motivation and goal setting, fulfilment and self-improvement) to allow older people engaging at best in their healthy aging trajectories. Different studies and interventions are to date available confirming the effective value of working on such states to foster health behaviour change [30-34]. Most of these studies considered populations with chronic conditions – thus were mainly aimed to improve medication adherence and disease management – [30, 32-35], and were not specifically targeted towards older samples [30, 32-34]. The few studies settled for an older population were mostly aimed to enhance mental wellbeing and quality of life [27,28,35]. The results of the present study casted light on the multifaceted nature of engagement in healthy aging lifestyles as experienced by older adults, and guided the development and delivery of future health promotion initiatives dedicated to the older population.

#### Study limits and future research

The findings of this study contribute to cast light on the process of older citizens' engagement in healthy aging lifestyles, by underlining psychosocial factors and levers that may sustain or inhibit such process.

Although promising, the results of this study need to be verified. One limitation of our study concerns the limited sample size. Further studies with larger sample sizes and different demographical features are needed to investigate factors (i.e., demographical, clinical, personality, cultural) that might influence the process of engagement in healthy aging conducts. Similarly, participants resided in northern Italy, and older adults living in other parts of Italy (and in other countries) may have different perceptions and experiences. However, through the analysis of the narratives, only themes that all participants endorsed were extracted to include only the most common beliefs. Finally, the inclusion of participants younger than 75 years of age without chronic health problems at the time of interview may have limited our findings and the ways in which participants conceptualize and engage in healthy aging conducts to a restricted and specific part of population. Furthermore, the choice of including only people with 'medium-high' level of education due to the method requirements may have influenced findings.

We are aware of the limits of the study and for this reason, we are proceeding with a wider quantitative study on a larger sample to test our results, to collect further data about different experiences of engagement in healthy aging conducts, and to detail psychosocial features of each position. Future research should seek to support ecological, feasible, and effective interventions with an aim to foster the developmental process of older people engagement in health management. Similar results would guide the development of interventions that would successfully involve older citizens in healthy aging conducts.

#### **Conflict of interests**

The Authors declare that there is no conflict of interest

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#### **Contributorship statement**

JM conducted interviews and all analyses, wrote the first draft of the manuscript and rewrote new drafts based on input from co-authors. GG designed the research project, planned the analyses and gave input and revision on manuscript drafts. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

DB and AP contributed to support interviews, transcribed them, and helped in analyses.

#### **Competing interests**

None declared

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#### **Data sharing statement**

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Original quotes and audio data of interviews are available upon request from the corresponding author at Catholic University of Milan. Consent for data sharing was not obtained but the presented data are anonymised and risk of identification is low.

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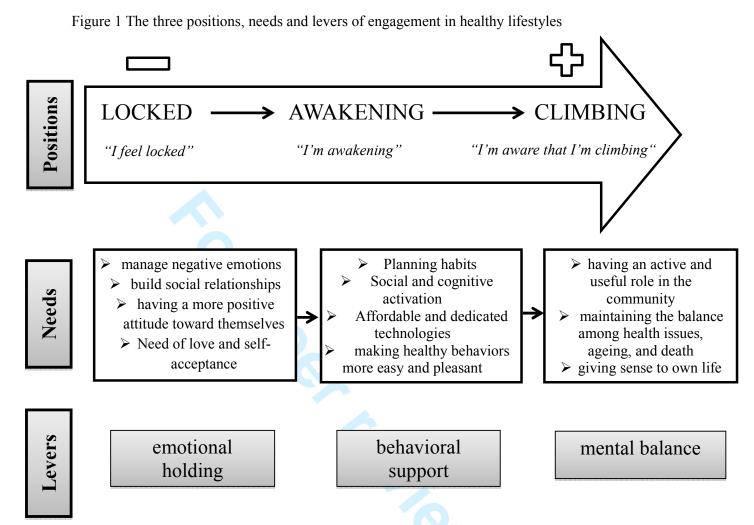
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# **BMJ Open**

# How older citizens engage in their health promotion: A qualitative research driven taxonomy of experiences and meanings

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#### Research Article

How older citizens engage in their health promotion: A qualitative research driven taxonomy of experiences and meanings

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How older citizens engage in their health promotion: A qualitative research driven taxonomy of experiences and meanings

#### Abstract

Objectives: In this qualitative study, we provide an in-depth exploration of older people's experiences, subjective meanings concerning their engagement in health promotion and the difficulties they face in these experiences both at the emotional and pragmatic level.

Methods: The study was designed according to the Ethnoscience method, which implies a participatory process that values patients' linguistic expressions to deeply understand the phenomena under the investigation and to give it a meaning. Using this method, thanks to repeated rounds of interviews and q-sorting task, participants, supported by the researcher, created a sort of dictionary, with the support of researcher, to describe the phenomenon of interest and agreed on a shared taxonomy of meanings and experiences related to the phenomenon. Twenty-five North Italian older citizens participated in this study.

Results: Participants described a shared taxonomy of health engagement experiences by depicting three main positions (i.e., "locked position"; "awakening position"; "climbing position"), which represented different experiential domains grouped by participants in four main semantic areas (e.g., physical care, soul care, daily lifestyle, contact with ageing). Each position is characterized by specific emotions, personal representations of meaning and healthy behaviours that may sustain or hinder older citizens engagement in health promotion.

Conclusions: The results of the present study suggest the importance of deeply understanding older peoples' experiences and their subjective meanings towards health promotion. Particularly, the results showed how their engagement in health promotion is framed in a complex system of psychological meanings, which may sustain or hinder their ability to adopt healthy behaviours. A deeper understanding of older citizens' lived experiences, their doubts, and their difficulties in engaging in health promotion may offer some important cues for orienting interventions in this area.

# Keywords:

health promotion, patient engagement, healthy aging, older people, qualitative research,

Ethnoscience



## Strengths and limitations of this study

- To the best of our knowledge, this is the first qualitative study investigating older citizens'
   experiences, motivations, and attitudes towards their health promotion
- The Ethnoscience method allowed us to unveil subjective meanings related to older citizens' health promotion experiences
- The Ethnoscience method allowed us to adopt a truly participative process of research,
   where older citizens collaborated with the researchers in the construction of a shared
   vocabulary and taxonomy of their health promotion experiences
- These qualitative evidences cast light on subjective meanings and experiences that may sustain or hinder older citizens' engagement in their health promotion
- Our study is limited by a locally selected sample

#### Introduction

Societies worldwide are facing an increasingly aging population because of the rapid decline in
mortality in the past few decades due to scientific and technological progress [1]. In Italy, life
expectancy has increased by 2 years in the last 10 years; however, people actually live the last third
of their lives with at least one chronic condition [2]. The rapid growth of the aging population poses
important challenges, specifically those related to the health of older people [3]. Most societies need
to promote healthy behaviours, prevent diseases, and develop effective and ecological low-cost
strategies to effectively manage healthcare burdens associated with the aging of population [4]. In
the literature, different theoretical models have been developed with the aim to promote health
behaviour changes in patients/citizens, working on individual, interpersonal, or community level.
For example, looking at the individual level, the health belief model, which has been widely
adopted, and it recognizes the importance of people's beliefs about health problems, perceived
benefits of and barriers to action, cues to action, and self-efficacy in explaining engagement in
health-promoting behaviours [5-7]. Differently, the Transtheoretical model conceives behaviour
change as a process comprising five levels of readiness to change (i.e., pre-contemplation,
contemplation, preparation, action, and maintenance) through which individuals progress to adopt
healthy or eliminate unhealthy behaviours [8]. Additionally, the social cognitive theory was adopted
at individual and interpersonal level to understand the ways in which personal cognitive factors
(e.g., self-efficacy, observational learning, expectations) can represent a third interface between
individual and social environment that, if supported, can sustain behaviour change [9]. Similarly,
the theory of planned behaviour links beliefs to health behaviours and suggests the ways in which
behaviours, subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, together could shape an
individual's behavioural intentions and thus behaviours [10]. Most of these models, however, failed
to consider cultural and age-related factors, which are crucial to explain differences in health
promoting behaviours [11,12]. Indeed, since older adults differ from younger cohorts in important
ways in terms of their health status, living situation, wellbeing, and educational level [13,14],

27	investigation of the process of engagement in health promotion among older adults is likely to be
28	useful when considering such differences. Consequently, studies on the determinants that, from an
29	individual perspective, may sustain or hinder the engagement of older citizens in health promotion
30	by giving voice to older citizens experiences are needed [15-17].
31	
32	The goal of the present study is to provide an in-depth understanding of older citizens' experiences
33	with health promotion, with a particular reference to the subjective meanings and elements that –

The goal of the present study is to provide an in-depth understanding of older citizens' experiences with health promotion, with a particular reference to the subjective meanings and elements that — from older citizens' perspective — may favour or hinder such experiences. Based on these premises, the aims of the study were two-fold:

- To involve older citizens in a participatory research process aimed at drafting a shared taxonomy of meanings and representation related to their health promotion experience
- To deepen factors of older citizens' experiences that may sustain or hinder their engagement in health promotion

Following the recent activities of European Union on aging [18], we aspire to provide the knowledge base for the promotion of appropriate strategies and interventions to enhance older citizens' engagement in health promotion and improve their life conditions by deliberately focusing on a particular age group (older people younger than 75 years old), which could particularly benefit from health promotion initiatives, as they are in most cases still fit, active, and able to care for themselves. Consequently, improving healthy habits in this subgroup of older citizens may not only be more doable, but also prevent negative clinical situations [19]. It is not surprising that most preventive measures and health promotion initiatives focused on this 'younger' age group to stave off health-related problems in the next decades [20,21].

#### Method

52 Design

A qualitative study designed according to the Ethnoscience method [22] was adopted to involve older citizens in the construction of a common vocabulary and in a shared taxonomy related to their health management experiences. This method assumes the importance of studying language (and the way language is used) to understand implicit meanings related to individual experiences. The linguistic choices made by speakers when describing their health management attitudes and behaviours may indeed uncover the social representations, emotional experiences, and psychological attitudes of people towards their health. This may be particularly meaningful when the phenomenon under the investigation is complex and "abstract" (such as discussing about one owns engagement in health promotion), and interviewees may find it difficult to deeply reflect upon their related experiences. Ethnoscience is based on repeated semi-structured interviews and qsorting tasks to allow the flexible investigation of the phenomena under investigation and to study the lexical expressions of participants when describing their experiences (see par. Data collection and procedure) [23]. The Q-sorting technique is a general methodology used to gather and process a person's viewpoint as well as to categorize a complex phenomenon [24]. By Q-sorting, people reveal their personal way of categorizing a phenomenon and giving sense to a particular reality [25,26]. In detail, all interviewees were interviewed twice. In the first round, they were required to reflect upon their health promotion experiences following a semi-structured guide of interview and a non-directive moderation style. In the second round of interviews, they were asked to engage in a participative analysis process aimed at drafting a shared vocabulary and taxonomy of health promotion experiences thanks to Q-sort tasks. Particularly, the tasks involved selecting of cards (which reported linguistic extracts from previous interviews) that reflected their health promotion experience, grouping the selected cards, assigning a name to each group, reflecting on the relationships among groups, and providing insights on the factors that are able to foster/obstruct older people's health promotion experiences (see the next paragraph for further details).

Data collection and procedure

- Participants were involved in two sequential rounds of semi-structured interviews. Two researchers conducted the interviews together (JM, DB). Both of them were psychologists trained in qualitative methods.
  - The first round of interviews posed broad questions to collect the data on the meanings and representations of health promotion, concrete daily habits, engagement in healthy lifestyles, and situations that foster or obstruct active engagement in health promotion (see Table 1 for details). Additional questions were asked, when needed, to elicit further details. Questions posed by researchers adopting the Ethnoscience method are usually broad and open-ended to elicit narratives from the participants and collect all possible statements, opinions, and experiences from the respondents about the phenomenon under the investigation [27]. All interviews were fully transcribed and selected recurrent linguistic expressions used by interviewees to describe their health promotion experience were reported verbatim on cards: one linguistic expression per each card (see paragraph Data Analysis for further details).
    - All interviewees were re-interviewed after the first phase of data analysis to construct a shared taxonomy of their health promotion experiences in collaboration with the researchers. In particular, this second round of interviews implied Q-sorting tasks. The first Q-sorting task asked participants to select the meanings and linguistic expressions reported on the cards that best represented their experience and representation of being engaged in health promotion (i.e., "please select the cards that mainly represent you") and to eliminate the cards, which they felt were far from their subjective experience. In the second task, participants were invited to group and categorize the selected cards based on spontaneously agreed upon homogeneity criteria ("among the cards you selected, can you identify group of cards that can be linked together?"). This second task allowed the investigation of spontaneous categorization and, thus, of individuals' representational domains. This task formed the basis of the first "taxonomies of meanings" spontaneously created by participants during their interviews ("How do the groups of cards relate among them? What

is the reason of these linkages? What do this emerging taxonomy means to you?").

Each interview was completed in the individual's home or at participants' place of preference. The interviews ranged from 40 to 90 minutes, with an average duration of 60 minutes.

Table 1 First round of interviews' guide

Area	Questions
Meanings and representations of health	1. Let's introduce what health means to you.
and health promotion	let's describe this using your words
	2. What does promoting health means to you
	3. Could you describe me your lifestyle in the
	last week?
	4. How do you manage health daily?
	5. Could you describe a real situation where
Concrete daily actions to promote health	you promoted your health? What happene
	and what have you done? Why? Who were
	the actors? Have you involved someone?
	When you healed, you managed health in
	the same way?
	6. What are your feelings and thoughts when
	you reflect on how you are promoting
	health? What can you do to improve your
Feelings, thoughts, behaviours when	health?
thinking at health promotion	

## Perspectives and experiences of engagement in health promotion

- 7. In your opinion, why are people differently engaged in their health promotion? What do you think about your engagement in health promotion?
- 8. Do you think that is possible to become more or less engaged in health promotion?

  How? Could you describe me some situation or event that changed your engagement?
- 9. What would help you in being more engaged in promoting your health?

111 Participants

The inclusion criteria were:

A purposive sample of 25 north-Italian older adults was sequentially recruited to participate in the study [28]. Potential participants were recruited through several means. Firstly, citizens were recruited from different senior centres (e.g., community centers, activity centers, recreation associations, community recreation centers), which were contacted by telephone or e-mail and invited to take part in the study. Individuals with the desired characteristics were then asked to recommend similar participants from their social networks, starting a "process analogous to a snowball rolling down a hill" [29,30]. Thus, a snowball sampling technique was adopted [31], which is particularly useful to reach vulnerable or hard-to-reach groups in a more effective, pragmatic, and culturally competent way [29].

(i) being 65-75 years of age (this range was selected because people who are younger than 75 years
of age may particularly benefit from engaging in health promoting behaviours in terms of
prevention of future health problems; furthermore, this target population is more likely to engage in
health promotion initiatives compared to individuals older than 75 years of age);
(ii) being able to express themselves with well-articulated stories and to deeply reflect on their

stories (e.g., people with mental health problems or impairing physical conditions were excluded);

- 128 (iii) being able to understand and speak Italian;
- (iv) being willing to participate in the study.

Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed using a thematic analysis with an inductive approach [32]. Two researchers analysed and coded the transcripts independently to identify the key words, phrases, and expressions, which the participants repeatedly used to describe their health promotion experiences. In a joint meeting, the researchers discussed and reached an agreement on a list of selected linguistic expressions. This process resulted in a shared "dictionary" containing words/phrases that were then printed into cards to be used in the second phase of the research process: the Q-sort tasks. These tasks were completed during the second round of interviews. The researchers kept track of card-sorting choices made by each participant during the second round of interviews. Based on spontaneous card sorting and grouping by each participant, researchers were able to draft a taxonomy of meanings and experiences (one for each participant), presenting the results of the card sorts in a table form. In a separate meeting, the researchers compared the taxonomies derived from the card-sort tasks to identify common thematic patterns and to develop a final, inclusive and more synthetic taxonomy of older citizens' health promotion experiences. When disagreement emerged, the researchers reached a consensus through discussion.

support our results. The researchers involved in the data collection and analysis translated the

quotes selected for this article into English together with the assistance of an Italian and English speaking translator [33]. Finally, a professional native English translator corrected and checked the translations [33]. Original quotes are available upon request.

Ethical concerns

The Catholic University of Milan Ethics Review Board approved the study. Each participant was free to participate and withdraw from the research and was informed about the procedures of the study. All participants consented to participate in the study (including audiotaping and transcription of the interviews) by signing a written consent form. Information that could identify participants was removed, and each interviewee was assigned an identification number to protect his/her anonymity.

#### **Findings**

Thirteen females and 12 males who met the inclusion criteria were included in the study. Most participants lived predominantly in Lombardy (68 per cent) and in villages or small towns of suburban areas (60 per cent) while only 7 lived in Liguria (28 per cent). The age ranged from 65 to 75 years of age (mean age of 67.8 years). The sample comprised primarily retired participants. Overall, 23 participants resided with a family member (in most cases with their spouse/partner) and 7 of them lived with two or more family members (generally the husband/wife and adult children). Two older adult participants lived alone but near a family member. For further details, see Table 2.

Faatumas

Table 2 Overview of the composition of the sample

reatures		n	70	
Gender				
	Female	13	52	
				13

	Male	12	48
Marital status	S		
	Married	23	92
	Not married	2	8
Employment			
	Worker	8	32
	Not worker	17	68
Domicile			
	Lombardia	17	68
	Liguria	8	32
Geographic location			
	Urban	7	28
	Suburban	15	60
	Rural	3	12

Interviews conducted using the Ethnoscience method allowed us to draw a taxonomy of older people's experiences with health promotion. Particularly, this taxonomy featured three different types of health promotion experiences (i.e., "locked position"; "awakening position"; "climbing position"), which represented four main experiential domains (i.e., see Figure 1). Each position reflects specific representations, emotions, behaviours and subjective meanings. First, we summarized the semantic areas and experiential domains related to health promotion experiences of the older north-Italian adults enrolled in the study that emerged from the interview (i.e., see Figure 2). Thereafter, the taxonomies related to the three types of health promotion experiences that emerged from working collaboratively with interviewees are presented below (i.e., see Figure 1).

< Insert Figure 1 about here >

< Insert Figure 2 about here >

185	Older citizens' experiences with health promotion: Main domain of subjective meanings
186	The following four main semantic areas emerged from the older citizens' accounts of their health
187	promotion experiences.
188	
189	Physical care. For older participants, promoting health and wellbeing evoked experiences of care of
190	their physical body. Thus, emotions related to becoming sick, being adherent to medical
191	prescriptions and to health checks, having in mind that managing own health and preventing future
192	health problems is a daily and crucial effort were important experiential domains of taking care of
193	their physical health.
194	
195	I'd name this group 'contact with my health', that is the contact with my body and with the
196	awareness about the possibility that it could become sick
197	(int. 14, M, 70 years old).
198	
199	Daily lifestyle. Participants referred to this area when speaking about daily lifestyle, including
200	factors such as physical activity, diet, and risk behaviours (alcohol, smoke). In their words, "daily
201	habits are the litmus test of my health, of my life" (int. 14, M, 73 years-older). Participants also
202	considered respect and awareness of limits, rules and boundaries as important when engaging in the
203	suggested health promoting behaviours and when effectively promoting health through physical
204	care.
205	
206	This group speaks about activities of everyday life to manage my health, how to do sport, eathow
207	can we call it: lifestyle?
208	(int. 20, M, 68 years old).
209	
210	Contact with aging. Participants referred to "being in contact with aging" or "living and perceiving

aging" to define the relationship with their age and their capacity to take the best from ageing. This
domain of meanings regards also life objectives and the level of life satisfaction, the personal
acceptance of ageing, and the individual levels of self-esteem. Participants considered those factors
as important in the successful aging process, consequently, in experiencing high levels of health and
wellbeing.

It is also important how you live your age: how do you enjoy the present days? Are you in contact

218 with your ageing?

(int. 18, F, 65 years old).

*Soul care*. Finally, participants spoke about the importance of taking care of their mental health to support and promote their wellbeing. Participants described this area in terms of happiness, self-esteem and perceived control over life and health.

This is more a question of head, mental. It's how I feel at this moment and it's more a mental fact to love and accept myself and feel that life is in my hands...of course, it takes a little bit of luck (int. 15, F, 68 year old).

### Older citizens' experiences of health promotion: A taxonomy of experiences

The analysis of all individual taxonomies produced by interviewees during the q-sort tasks (and related to their subjective experience of health promotion) helped draft a final inclusive taxonomy of older citizens' health promotion experiences featuring three main positions described in detail in the following paragraphs.

#### First position: "I feel locked"

Interviews revealed that the first experiential position of older citizens' health promotion was

characterized by a blocked and frozen attitude towards health, which consequently lead to unhealthy lifestyles and habits. Lack of work and social network, emotional resignation, lack of purpose, and unhealthy behaviours (i.e., cigarettes, alcohol abuse) were reported as elements characterizing this position. Older participants often attributed the lack of healthy behaviours to a general lack of self-care and life purposes and used negative emotional words to refer to the relationship of this position with health. Participants reported a similar approach to health as characterized by lack of love and self-acceptance, which often characterized the entire life but was exacerbated by aging-related issues (e.g., retirement, death of loved ones, loss of a social role, menopause). Generally, interviews showed that thinking about different ways to promote health during aging was scary and anxiety provoking for people in this position; thus, "continuing life as usual", avoiding negative emotions and frightening thoughts that would emerge if health was in daily projects was reported as the main attitude of individuals in this position. This position was represented in terms of feeling "locked" in an unhappy last part of life.

After all, my life is ok for me, so I do absolutely nothing to change it...I'm fine by myself as well, so I don't really look for particular situations to increase what I should do to feel better.

(int. 20, M, 65 years old).

I have an identity issue in organizing my health, I get anxious to thinking about it and I prefer to

continue my life as usual (int. 18, F, 65 years old).

Furthermore, the participants reported that health practices were inextricably linked to religious beliefs. Indeed, people in this position usually represented themselves as delegating their health management to others. Although this helped them avoid negative emotions, these beliefs contributed to reduce health promotion actions. Consequently, a fatalistic attitude with feelings of resignation and dissatisfaction with life was reported. These feelings also influenced the approach to

263	risk prevention and health promotion. Regarding people in this position, the emergence of diseases
264	could not be controlled; thus, following healthy lifestyles to prevent diseases would be useless.
265	
266	It is useless to worry about what may happen and what can be done to prevent mishapscancer or
267	other diseases can occur also if you have an optimal lifestyle
268	(int. 25, M, 68 years old).
269	Since the missing approach to health management was characterized by resignation, older
270	participants reported that lack of purpose, worries, and fears of losing autonomy or remaining alone
271	were able to "upsets" and "awake" them from the disengagement in health. The worries motivated
272	them to seek sources of more positive feelings and hope towards future life trajectories.
273	
274	I absolutely do not follow prevention, but if any serious illness came, I would be forced to change to
275	regain my health
276	(int.1, M, 65 years old).
277	You can change in the event that a disease hits you, so you become scared, so your lifestyle
278	changes
279	(int. 20, M, 65 years old).
280	I stopped smoking thanks to a book that made me aware that depending on cigarettes made me
281	miserable and that convinced me that having fun would help me
282	(int.16, M, 73 years old).
283	
284	Second position: "I'm awakening"
285	Some other citizens, mostly with a good social network but without strong and supportive
286	relationships, described themselves as seesawing in managing health between a health awareness
287	ward and a lack of motivation to improve their health during aging, with the general adoption of a
288	healthy lifestyle without the awareness of risks due to aging. Unlike the "locked position," in the

"awakening position", older citizens alternated between a fatalistic and a more active attitude toward health and life, perceiving some situations as being under their control. People in this position represented themselves as caring about their health only when sick, but lacking motivation and perceiving loss of control over their health when recovering from the disease.

Obviously, I take care of my health when I'm sick to heal! But when I heal I do nothing to stay

healthy: It's useless, it's not under your control!

(int. 10, F, 65 years old).

As participants stated, although people in this position was aware of the importance of engaging in healthy behaviours, engaging in physical activities, eating better, and planning meaningful activities to feel healthier, they preferred to leave health out of daily plans. Thus, they were described as aware but often inactive in managing and promoting health. Accordingly, they were classified as having an "awakening" status. They described themselves as having understood the importance of engaging in healthy behaviours at the "theoretical level," but in the practice, they reported failure to translate this knowledge into concrete health promoting and preventive behaviours (e.g., doing more physical activity, paying attention to diet, going to health checks). Furthermore, these older citizens often failed to recognize their actual need to "do more" to improve their lifestyle, particularly because aging requires a greater attention to physical limits and to a global self-care. Focusing on prevention and modifying their lifestyles according to the limitations and barriers that emerge during the process of aging were perceived as highly connected to the acceptance of growing old and thus to the participants' experiences of aging. Finally, a sort of emotive ambivalence towards their aging process characterised this position. On the one hand, feelings of guilt for doing the bare minimum and, on the other hand, the desire to avoid being concerned with health increased the disconnect between actions and thoughts. In this sense, social relationships were conceived as useful in fostering a more active health engagement and planning daily habits

315	among individuals in this position.
316	
317	
318	I know that I should do sport, in the past I used to go to the gym but in the recent years, I finally
319	chose the oratory and not the gym, whereas I know that this is not the better choice for me
320	(int. 23, F, 68 years old).
321	Doing something with someone could help me to be more active
322	(int. 18, F, 65 years old).
323	Setting my own goals for the future and getting busy with daily commitment lead me to feel better
324	for example gardening or spending my time out, I'm sure that will bring benefit to my mind
325	(int. 24, M, 65 years old).
326	
327	Third position: "I'm aware that I'm climbing"

#### Third position: "I'm aware that I'm climbing"

This experiential position was described in terms of a better-integrated approach to health promotion. Important features of this position included being constantly aware of the importance of taking care of the self to remain healthy and feel good physically, mentally, and socially. People in this position successfully gave sense to their life and elaborated on the inevitability of death, which allows them to live fully every day. They were conscious that the physical health influences wellbeing in all other spheres of human existence and that taking care of oneself increases wellness and happiness and fosters one's own sense of control over life trajectories. Thus, a strong sense of coherence, control, and self-efficacy, as well as a greater motivation to feel aware and reflexive emerged from the interviews as important factors to be engaged in healthy aging. In this sense, this position was defined as "climbing" because of the constant efforts made by this citizens to master their entire health status and wellbeing.

As I do something, I think about the consequence of what I'm doing to prevent diseases and how I'm

341	feeling
342	(int. 3, M, 75 years old).
343	At a certain age, you have to start thinking about your health and yourself, sooner or later
344	something happens there is an exponential curve between age and health, and I'm at the point in
345	which something will happenso I'm aware that I want to live the last years fully and peacefully!
346	(int. 22, M, 75 years old).
347	Loving and accepting each other is the foundation of everything, it gives you a purpose of life, it
348	makes you feel that it's you at the helm
349	(int. 14, M, 73 years old).
350	
351	People in this position were represented as having successfully managed critical events (such as the
352	occurrence of health problems or the deaths of friends and relatives) by elaborating their sense
353	within the whole spectrum of their existence and in the light of a positive approach to life. People in
354	this position shared the personal objective of contributing to the wealth of the world to have a sense
355	of life and die peacefully. According to participants, being in peace with life, aging, and death
356	fosters wellbeing and positive engagement in healthy lifestyle.
357	
358	Sooner or later, life ends. It is important to have the satisfaction of having done something, to have
359	done things, to have left somethingmore than the fear of death, I'd rather end in a particular way
360	(int. 22, M, 75 years old).
361	The problem is not to avoid diseases but to live with them in a decent way and in line with your life
362	(int. 18, F, 65 years old).
363	
364	These citizens were described as believing that their own actions determine their health.
365	Perceptions of having control over health and life foster, as older participants said, proactive
366	behaviours and a sense of power and agency. Being able to face anxiety related to taking

367	responsibility for their health status, having control over all health dimensions, and strengthening
368	feelings of self-determination were also important features of this position.
369	
370	This is more a question of head, mental. It's how I feel at this moment and It's more a mental fact to
371	love and accept myself and feel that life is in my handsof course it takes a little bit of luck
372	(int. 15, F, 68 year old).
373	
374	Relationships also played an active part in the "climbing position", because playing an active social
375	role in the community was conceived as a way to have a purpose in life and to be part of something
376	bigger, which can give sense to life and death.
377	
378	Sooner or later life ends, it is important to reach the satisfaction of having done something, of
379	having left something, of having made a small contribution to other people
380	(int. 22, M, 75 years-older).
381	
382	Additionally, participants explained their wellbeing as dependent also on "having the possibility to
383	be free, also to exceed bounds sometimes" (int.5, F, 67 years-older). Indeed, engaging in bad habits
384	occasionally is perceived as useful to maintain engagement in a balanced healthy lifestyle, avoiding
385	the risk of becoming too obsessive about healthy behaviours and enjoying old age more fully.
386	
387	
388	Discussion
389	
390	This qualitative study explored older citizens' experiences of health promotion. Those experiences
391	may be placed along a subjective continuum of engagement, with one pole representing the
392	experiences of participants with lower levels of engagement, such as those who report resignation,

inactivity and poor sense of agency and control over their health and preventive conducts, and the opposite pole representing the experiences of participants with high level of engagement in their health promotion who described themselves as attentive and committed to adopt healthy aging lifestyles and legitimate themselves as responsible for their physical and mental health promotion. These insights are in line with the results of a study on the effect of lay perspectives of the role of successful aging in fostering personal and community wellbeing [34]. This study [34], by emphasizing the balance between self-contentment and self-growth in later life, suggested that reaching high levels of health engagement is related to higher levels of self-growth, selfcontentment, and individual and social fulfilment. Our results showed that individuals' subjective experiences and meaning making processes frame the way in which they are able to manage health. Moreover, our data provide an insight into the complex and challenging nature of older people' experiences of engagement in health promotion conducts. The experiential trajectories that emerged from our study revealed the importance of supporting older citizens' positive sense-making process to improve their aging and health promotion. For instance, participants in a "locked position" reported the protective role of positive emotions on their physical and mental health over time by confirming evidences from positive psychology literature [35-38]. Considering the emotional conflict between being aware of the importance of assuming healthier conducts and the difficulty in translating this knowledge to concrete behaviours of health prevention and health promotion, which characterize the "awakening position", behavioural education may be useful for these older citizens, also to foster a greater psychological integration between "actions and thoughts". For instance, planning daily habits, setting goals and activating social support are all useful strategies for improving older citizens' engagement in health promotion. In this direction, technologies might be particularly useful for planning healthy behaviours and connecting with other members of community with whom older citizens could share health practices. Older citizens in the "climbing profile" may maintain their engagement in health promotion by sustaining their mental and psychological tenure, for instance with exercises or counselling aimed at fostering their self-efficacy, self-empowerment, cognitive reinforce, self-worth, and purpose in life. These factors are indeed crucial for "optimising aging well and enhancing the quality of later life, enabling older people to feel confident in living with wider benefits to society" [39, p.9]. Older citizens' ability to maintain meaningful social relationships is also important in the "climbing position" and needs to be supported because having an active social role in the community was conceived as a way to have a purpose in life and to be "part of something bigger", which can give sense to life and death. These results suggest that interventions aimed at promoting health in aging should consider the subjective experiences of older citizens and the elements that may sustain or hinder their engagement in healthy conducts. In particular, our results emphasized the importance of favouring the emergence of older citizens positive psychological attitudes towards health and ageing (e.g., positive emotions, motivation and goal setting, fulfilment and self-improvement) to improve their engagement in health promotion. To date, different studies and interventions are available to confirm the effective value of working on such psychological states to foster health behaviour change [40-46]. Most studies considered populations with chronic conditions; thus, they were mainly aimed to improve medication adherence and disease management [40, 42-45] and were not specifically targeting older samples [40, 42-44] and health promotion initiatives. The few studies carried out with older populations were mostly aimed at enhancing mental wellbeing and quality of life [37,38,45].

#### Study limits and future research

The findings of this study contribute to deepen the subjective experience of older citizens' health promotion by underlining the elements that may sustain or inhibit their engagement in such conducts. The study focused deliberately on exploring the individuals' contribute of older

participants in engaging in their health promotion and, although participants and literature envisaged the importance of the social context [47], this aspect was only marginally explored. Surely, social initiatives of health promotion should be grounded in expectations and needs of citizens, but a balance between individual needs and common needs has to be considered when designing and delivering such initiatives [47]. Furthermore, the study reported the reflections of participants on their health actions. Thus, although the method adopted allowed understanding implicit meanings related to individual experiences by studying language used by participants, techniques to give voice to the unconscious aspects that can potentially influence an individual's behaviors and actions were not adopted. A limitation of our study concerns the characteristics of our sample. Older adults living in other parts of Italy (and in other countries) may have different perceptions and experiences. However, through the analysis of the experiences that the participants recounted, only themes that all participants endorsed were extracted to include only the most common beliefs. The inclusion of participants younger than 75 years of age at the time of the interview was deliberate in order to explore experiences of and needs towards health promotion initiatives of a population that may best benefit from health prevention and promotion initiatives. We are aware that health promotion experiences and needs would change in an older segment of the population. Further studies may deepen this age group specific needs and experiences. Furthermore, the choice of the Ethnoscience method required that participants enrolled in the study had sufficient linguistic and reflexive skills to complete the q-sorting tasks. Further explorations are needed to assess the health promotion experiences and needs of citizens with different levels of educational and cognitive skills. Finally, further studies are needed to investigate factors (i.e., demographical, clinical, personality, cultural) that might influence the process of older citizens' engagement in health promotion. We are aware of these limits of the study and for this reason, we are proceeding with a wider quantitative study on a larger sample to further verify our results, to collect further information of the experiences of older people' engagement in health promotion, and to verify the variables

(sociological, demographical and psychological) that may predict such experiences. Future research
should seek to support ecological, feasible, and effective interventions with an aim to foster older
people's engagement in health promotion. Similar results would guide the development of
interventions that would successfully involve older citizens in healthy aging conducts.
Conflict of interests
The authors declare no conflict of interest.
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Contributorship statement
JM conducted interviews and all analyses, wrote the first draft of the manuscript and rewrote new
drafts based on input from co-authors. GG designed the research project, planned the analyses and
provided input and revision of manuscript drafts. All authors read and approved the final
manuscript.
DB and AP assisted with the interviews, transcribed them, and helped with analyses of the data.
Competing interests
None declared
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#### **Data sharing statement**

Original quotes and audio data of interviews are available upon request by emailing the corresponding author. Consent for the data sharing was not obtained, but the presented data were anonymised and the risk of identification was low.

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633	
634	Figure Legend
635	Figure 1. Taxonomy of older citizens' experiences of health promotion
636	Figure 2. Semantic areas and domains of subjective meanings of older citizens' experiences with
637	health promotion

Semantic areas	Experiential domains	Locked Position	Awaikening Position	Climbing Position
	Physical activity	I spend more time on the couch then in activity	Anytime I have the chance I take a walk, but I surely have to stay more active	I do the physical activity that I have t do and that is good for me
	Diet	Paying attention to what I'm eating is a waste of time	I pay attention to my diet, some food is bad for me but I however eat it	I pay attention to follow a healthy di
Daily Lifestyle	Bad habits	I have some bad habits (alcohol, tobacco) that are by now in my routine and it's ok for me	I have some little bad habit that I want to remove but I not always succeed	I rarely make an exception and when happens is important for me to mana and balance it
	Daily activation	I do not decide on committments	I'm active but I don't plan it	I plan my day to be committed to use activities
	Bound respect	I always exceed the limit	I do not always follow what I have to do to be well	I listen my body to consequently regulate my habits and be well
	Disease emotions	I'm not so worried when I feel some pain	Feeling pains frightens me and I don't know how to manage this emotions	Feeling pains frightens me but I kno how to manage this emotions
Physical Care	Disease management	When I'm sick I avoid to think about this and I do nothing	When I'm sick I'm a little bit worried, I try to have some rest and to wait until it ends	When I'm sick I activate myself to collect information and take care o myself
Physical Care	Health mentalization	I barely do not think to my health	When I'm not well I manage my health, when I'm well I don't think to manage my health	Considering my age, I think to my health daily
	Prescriptions adherence	I'm not constant in following what others say to me and in carrying out the health checks		I autonomously check and seek information for my health, so I car prevent future health problems
Contact with ageing	Acceptance	I don't feel the years I have	Maybe I have not accepted yet my age and started to manage at best this phase of life	I accepted my age and I behave accordingly
Contact with ageing	Life objectives/satisfaction	I loll on what is now my life condition	I don't have many life goals but, in general, I'm satisfied	I'm motivated to reach my life goal and this satisfies me
	Self-esteem	I'm not happy about my self	I live together with my self	I love my self
Soul care	Happiness	I'm not happy just as before	Sometimes I'm happy but it doesn't depend on me	I'm really happy and serene in thi phase of life
Sou elle	Perceived control	You don't decide your life	Destiny is important, but you have a role in this	My life depends on me
	Social relationships	I don't take care of my relationships and I don't' seek company	I've some good relationship but when I'm needy I prefer to stay on my own	I can rely on my actual and future relationships

Figure 1: Taxonomy of older citizens' experiences of health promotion 742x524mm (120 x 120 DPI)

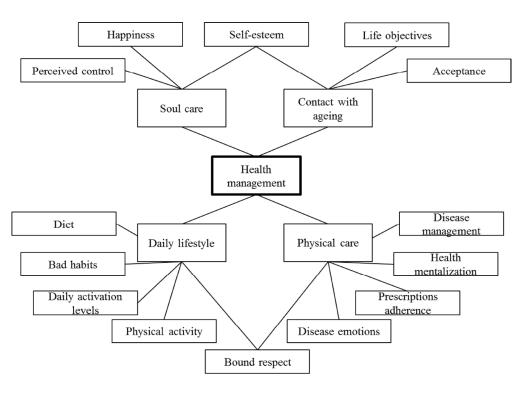


Figure 2: Semantic areas and domains of subjective meanings of older citizens' experiences with health promotion 742x524mm~(120~x~120~DPI)

## Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative studies (COREQ): 32-item checklist

#### Developed from:

Tong A, Sainsbury P, Craig J. Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*. 2007. Volume 19, Number 6: pp. 349 – 357

No. Item	Guide questions/description	Reported on Page #
Domain 1: Research team		
and reflexivity		
Personal Characteristics		
Inter viewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the inter view or focus group?	Page 8
2. Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	MS
3. Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	They were working as consultant researchers for the University that promoted the study
4. Gender	Was the researcher male or female?	One male and one female
5. Experience and training	What experience or training did the researcher have?	Page 8
Relationship with participants		
6. Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	No
7. Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	Researchers did not disclose personal details before commencing the study
8. Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the inter viewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	There was no bias evident from researchers when the study was carried out
Domain 2: study design		
Theoretical framework		
9. Methodological orientation and Theory	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	Page 7

Participant selection		
10. Sampling	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	Page 11
11. Method of approach	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	Page 6. Centers were approached via telephone/e- mail. Participants via face-to-face or telephone.
12. Sample size	How many participants were in the study?	Page 12
13. Non-participation	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	None of the invited participants refused to participate
Setting		
14. Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	Page 11
15. Presence of non- participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	No
16. Description of sample	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	Page 12
Data collection	,	
17. Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	Page 9. The interviews' guide was tested with one volunteer participant before commencing the study and it was found to be useful and acceptable.
18. Repeat interviews	Were repeat inter views carried out? If yes, how many?	Page 8
19. Audio/visual recording	Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?	Page 12. All interviews were audiotaped.
20. Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the inter view or focus group?	No
21. Duration	What was the duration of the inter views or focus group?	Page 9
22. Data saturation	Was data saturation discussed?	Data saturation was discussed among those coding the transcripts
23. Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?	No
Domain 3: analysis and findings		

Data analysis	I	
Data analysis  24. Number of data coders	How many data and are and ad the data?	Dogo 11
25. Description of the coding tree	How many data coders coded the data?  Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	Page 11 No, documentation is available upon request
26. Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	Page 11
27. Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	None
28. Participant checking	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	No. Participants provided feedback on the main findings of the first round of interviews in the second round of interviews.
Reporting		
29. Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	Results
30. Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	Yes
31. Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	Results
32. Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	N/A

### **BMJ Open**

# How older citizens engage in their health promotion: A qualitative research driven taxonomy of experiences and meanings

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How older citizens engage in their health promotion: A qualitative research driven taxonomy of experiences and meanings

#### **Abstract**

*Objectives*: In this qualitative study, we provide an in-depth exploration of older people's experiences and subjective meanings concerning their engagement in health promotion as well as the emotional and pragmatic difficulties they face during their engagement.

Methods: The study was designed according to the Ethnoscience method, which implies a participatory process that values patients' linguistic expressions to deeply understand the phenomena under the investigation and to give it a meaning. Using this method, thanks to repeated rounds of interviews and q-sorting task, participants created a dictionary, with the assistance of researcher, to describe the phenomenon of interest. They agreed on a shared taxonomy of meanings and experiences related to the phenomenon. Twenty-five North Italian older citizens participated in this study.

Results: Participants described a shared taxonomy of health engagement experiences by depicting three main positions (i.e., "locked position"; "awakening position"; "climbing position"), which represented different experiential domains grouped by participants into four main semantic areas (e.g., physical care, soul care, daily lifestyle, contact with ageing). Each position is characterized by specific emotions, personal representations of meaning and healthy behaviours that may sustain or hinder older citizens' engagement in health promotion.

Conclusions: The results of the present study suggest the importance of deeply understanding older peoples' experiences and their subjective meanings of health promotion. Particularly, the results showed how their engagement in health promotion is framed in a complex system of psychological meanings, which may sustain or hinder their ability to adopt healthy behaviours. A deeper understanding of older citizens' lived experiences, their doubts, and their difficulties in engaging in health promotion may offer some important cues for orienting interventions in this area.

#### Keywords:

health promotion, patient engagement, healthy aging, older people, qualitative research,

To be de torion only Ethnoscience

#### Strengths and limitations of this study

- To the best of our knowledge, this is the first qualitative study investigating older citizens' experiences, motivations, and attitudes towards their health promotion.
- The Ethnoscience method allowed us to unveil subjective meanings of older citizens' health promotion experiences.
- The Ethnoscience method allowed us to adopt a truly participative process of research where older citizens collaborated with the researchers in the construction of a shared vocabulary and taxonomy of their health promotion experiences.
- These qualitative evidences cast light on subjective meanings and experiences that may sustain or hinder older citizens' engagement in their health promotion.
- Our study is limited by a locally selected sample.

#### Introduction

Societies worldwide are facing an increasingly aging population bec	ause of the rapid decline in
mortality in the past few decades due to scientific and technological	progress [1]. In Italy, life
expectancy has increased by 2 years in the last 10 years; however, po	eople actually live the last third
of their lives with at least one chronic condition [2]. The rapid growt	th of the aging population poses
important challenges, specifically those related to the health of older	people [3]. Most societies need
to promote healthy behaviours, prevent diseases, and develop effecti	ve and ecological low-cost
strategies to effectively manage healthcare burdens associated with t	he aging of the population [4].
In the literature, different theoretical models have been developed w	ith the aim to promote health
behaviour changes in patients/citizens, working at individual, interpe	ersonal, or community levels.
For example, looking at the individual level, the health belief model.	, which has been widely
adopted, recognizes the importance of people's beliefs about health p	problems, perceived benefits of
and barriers to action, cues to action, and self-efficacy in explaining	engagement in health-
promoting behaviours [5-7]. Differently, the Transtheoretical model	conceives behaviour change as
a process comprising five levels of readiness to change (i.e., pre-con	templation, contemplation,
preparation, action, and maintenance) through which individuals pro-	gress to adopt healthy or
eliminate unhealthy behaviours [8]. Additionally, the social cognitive	e theory was adopted at
individual and interpersonal levels to understand the ways in which	personal cognitive factors (e.g.,
self-efficacy, observational learning, expectations) can represent a th	ird interface between
individual and social environment that can sustain behaviour change	[9]. Similarly, the theory of
planned behaviour links beliefs to health behaviours and suggests the	e ways in which behaviours,
subjective norms, and perceived behavioural control, together could	shape an individual's
behavioural intentions and thus behaviours [10]. Most of these mode	els, however, failed to consider
cultural and age-related factors, which are needed to explain differen	nces in health promoting
behaviours [11,12]. Indeed, since older adults differ from younger co	ohorts in important ways in
terms of their health status, living situation, wellbeing, and education	nal level [13,14], the

investigation of the process of engagement in health promotion among older adults is likely to be
useful when considering such differences. Consequently, studies on the determinants that, from an
individual perspective, may sustain or hinder the engagement of older citizens in health promotion
by giving voice to older citizens' experiences are needed [15-17].

- The goal of the present study was to provide an in-depth understanding of older citizens' experiences with health promotion, with a particular reference to the subjective meanings and elements that from older citizens' perspective may favour or hinder such experiences. Based on these premises, the aims of the study were two-fold:
  - To involve older citizens in a participatory research process aimed at drafting a shared taxonomy of meanings and representation related to their health promotion experience.
    - To deepen factors of older citizens' experiences that may sustain or hinder their engagement in health promotion.

Following the recent activities of the European Union on aging [18], we aspire to provide the knowledge base for the promotion of appropriate strategies and interventions to enhance older citizens' engagement in health promotion and improve their life conditions by deliberately focusing on a particular age group (older people younger than 75 years old), which could particularly benefit from health promotion initiatives, as they are in most cases still fit, active, and able to care for themselves. Consequently, improving healthy habits in this subgroup of older citizens may not only be more doable, but also prevent negative clinical situations [19]. It is not surprising that most preventive measures and health promotion initiatives focused on this 'younger' age group to stave off health-related problems in the next decades [20,21].

#### Method

52 Design

A qualitative study designed according to the Ethnoscience method [22] was adopted to involve older citizens in the construction of a common vocabulary and in a shared taxonomy related to their health management experiences. This method assumes the importance of studying language (and the way language is used) to understand implicit meanings related to individual experiences. The linguistic choices made by speakers when describing their health management attitudes and behaviours may indeed uncover the social representations, emotional experiences, and psychological attitudes of people towards their health. This may be particularly meaningful when the phenomenon under the investigation is complex and "abstract" (such as discussing about one owns engagement in health promotion) and when interviewees may find it difficult to reflect deeply upon their related experiences. Ethnoscience is based on repeated semi-structured interviews and q-sorting tasks to allow the flexible investigation of the phenomena under investigation and to study the lexical expressions of participants when describing their experiences (see par. on Data collection and procedure) [23]. The Q-sorting technique is a general methodology used to gather and process a person's viewpoint as well as to categorize a complex phenomenon [24]. By Q-sorting, people reveal their individual way to categorize a phenomenon and give sense to a particular reality [25,26]. In detail, all interviewees were interviewed twice. In the first round, they were required to reflect upon their health promotion experiences following a semi-structured guide of interview and a non-directive moderation style. In the second round of interviews, they were asked to engage in a participative analysis process aimed at drafting a shared vocabulary and taxonomy of health promotion experiences thanks to Q-sort tasks. Particularly, the tasks involved selecting cards (which reported linguistic extracts from previous interviews) that reflected their health promotion experience, grouping the selected cards, assigning a name to each group, reflecting on the relationships among groups, and providing insights on the factors that are able to foster/obstruct older people's health promotion experiences (see the next paragraph for further details). 

Data collection and procedure

- Participants were involved in two sequential rounds of semi-structured interviews. Two researchers conducted the interviews together (JM, DB). Both of them were psychologists trained in qualitative methods.
  - The first round of interviews posed broad questions to collect the data on the meanings and representations of health promotion, concrete daily habits, engagement in healthy lifestyles, and situations that foster or obstruct active engagement in health promotion (see Table 1 for details). Additional questions were asked, when needed, to elicit further details. Questions posed by researchers who adopt the Ethnoscience method are usually broad and open-ended to elicit narratives from the participants and collect all possible statements, opinions, and experiences from the respondents about the phenomenon under the investigation [27]. All interviews were fully transcribed, and selected recurrent linguistic expressions used by interviewees to describe their health promotion experience were reported verbatim on cards: one linguistic expression per each card (see paragraph Data Analysis for further details).
    - All interviewees were re-interviewed after the first phase of the data analysis to construct a shared taxonomy of their health promotion experiences in collaboration with the researchers. In particular, this second round of interviews implied Q-sorting tasks. The first Q-sorting task asked participants to select the meanings and linguistic expressions reported on the cards that best represented their experience and engagement in health promotion (i.e., "please select the cards that mainly represent you") and to eliminate the cards, which they felt were far from their subjective experience. In the second task, participants were invited to group and categorize the selected cards based on spontaneously agreed upon homogeneity criteria ("among the cards you selected, can you identify group of cards that can be linked together?"). This second task allowed the investigation of spontaneous categorization and, thus, of individuals' representational domains. This task formed the basis of the first "taxonomies of meanings" spontaneously created by participants during their interviews ("How do the groups of cards relate among them? What is the reason of these linkages?

105	What do this emerging taxonomy means to you?").
106	Each interview was completed in the individual's home or at participants' place of preference. The
107	interviews ranged from 40 to 90 minutes, with an average duration of 60 minutes.
108	
109	Table 1
110	First Round of Interviews' Guide

Area	Questions
Meanings and representations of health	1. Let's introduce what health means to you
and health promotion	let's describe this using your words
	2. What does promoting health means to you?
	3. Could you describe me your lifestyle in the
	last week?
	4. How do you manage health daily?
	5. Could you describe a real situation where
Concrete daily actions to promote health	you promoted your health? What happened
	and what have you done? Why? Who were
	the actors? Have you involved someone?
	When you healed, you managed health in
	the same way?
	6. What are your feelings and thoughts when
	you reflect on how you are promoting
	health? What can you do to improve your
Feelings, thoughts, behaviours when	health?

#### thinking at health promotion

7. In your opinion, why are people differently engaged in their health promotion? What do you think about your engagement in health promotion?

# Perspectives and experiences of engagement in health promotion

- 8. Do you think that is possible to become more or less engaged in health promotion?

  How? Could you describe me some situation or event that changed your engagement?
- 9. What would help you in being more engaged in promoting your health?

**Participants** 

A purposive sample of 25 North-Italian older adults was sequentially recruited to participate in the study [28]. Potential participants were recruited through several means. First, citizens were recruited from different senior centres (e.g., community centers, activity centers, recreation associations, community recreation centers), which were contacted by telephone or e-mail and invited to take part in the study. Individuals with the desired characteristics were then asked to recommend similar participants from their social networks, starting a "process analogous to a snowball rolling down a hill" [29,30]. Thus, a snowball sampling technique was adopted [31], which is particularly useful to reach vulnerable or hard-to-reach groups in a more effective, pragmatic, and culturally competent way [29].

The inclusion criteria were:

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(i) being 65-75 years of age (this range was selected because people who are younger than 75 years

of age may particularly benefit from engaging in health promoting behaviours in terms of

prevention of future health problems; furthermore, this target population is more likely to engage in

health promotion initiatives compared to individuals older than 75 years of age);

- (ii) being able to express themselves with well-articulated stories and to deeply reflect on their
- stories (e.g., people with mental health problems or impairing physical conditions were excluded);
  - 9 (iii) being able to understand and speak Italian; and
- 30 (iv) being willing to participate in the study.

Data analysis

All interviews were transcribed verbatim and analysed using a thematic analysis with an inductive approach [32]. Two researchers analysed and coded the transcripts independently to identify the key words, phrases, and expressions, which the participants repeatedly used to describe their health promotion experiences. In a joint meeting, the researchers discussed and reached an agreement on a list of selected linguistic expressions. This process resulted in a shared "dictionary" containing words/phrases that were then printed onto cards to be used in the second phase of the research process: the Q-sort tasks. These tasks were completed during the second round of interviews. The researchers kept track of card-sorting choices made by each participant during the second round of interviews. Based on spontaneous card sorting and grouping by each participant, researchers were able to draft a taxonomy of meanings and experiences (one for each participant), presenting the results of the card sorts in a table form. In a separate meeting, the researchers compared the taxonomies derived from the card-sort tasks to identify common thematic patterns and to develop a final, inclusive and synthetic taxonomy of older citizens' health promotion experiences. When disagreement emerged, the researchers reached a consensus through discussion.

The results are reviewed below, and they include some quotes extracted from the interviews to support our results. The researchers involved in the data collection and analysis translated the

quotes selected for this article into English together with the assistance of an Italian and English speaking translator [33]. Finally, a professional native English translator corrected and checked the translations [33]. Original quotes are available upon request.

Ethical concerns

The Catholic University of Milan Ethics Review Board approved the study. Each participant was free to participate and withdraw from the research and was informed about the procedures of the study. All participants consented to participate in the study (including audiotaping and transcription of the interviews) by signing a written consent form. Information that could identify participants was removed, and each interviewee was assigned an identification number to protect his/her anonymity.

#### **Findings**

Thirteen females and 12 males who met the inclusion criteria were included in the study. Most participants lived predominantly in Lombardy (68 per cent) and in villages or small towns of suburban areas (60 per cent) while only 7 lived in Liguria (28 per cent). The age ranged from 65 to 75 years of age (mean age of 67.8 years). The sample comprised primarily retired participants. Overall, 23 participants resided with a family member (in most cases with their spouse/partner) and 7 of them lived with two or more family members (generally the husband/wife and adult children). Two older adult participants lived alone but near a family member. For further details, see Table 2. Table 2

Overview of the Composition of the Sample

> Features % n

Gender			
	Female	13	52
	Male	12	48
Marital status			
	Married	23	92
	Not married	2	8
Employment			
	Worker	8	32
	Not worker	17	68
Domicile			
	Lombardia	17	68
	Liguria	8	32
Geographic location			
	Urban	7	28
	Suburban	15	60
	Rural	3	12

Interviews conducted using the Ethnoscience method allowed us to draw a taxonomy of older people's experiences of health promotion. Particularly, this taxonomy featured three different types of health promotion experiences (i.e., "locked position"; "awakening position"; "climbing position"), which represented four main experiential domains (i.e., see Figure 1). Each position reflects specific representations, emotions, behaviours and subjective meanings. First, we summarized the semantic areas and experiential domains related to health promotion experiences of the older north-Italian adults enrolled in the study that emerged from the interviews (i.e., see Figure 2). Thereafter, the taxonomies related to the three types of health promotion experiences that emerged from working collaboratively with interviewees are presented below (i.e., see Figure 1).

184	< Insert Figure 1 about here >
185	< Insert Figure 2 about here >
186	
187	Older citizens' experiences of health promotion: Main domain of subjective meanings
188	The following four main semantic areas emerged from the older citizens' accounts of their health
189	promotion experiences.
190	
191	Physical care. For older participants, promoting health and wellbeing evoked experiences of care of
192	their physical body. Thus, emotions related to becoming sick, being adherent to medical
193	prescriptions and to health checks, having in mind that managing own health and preventing future
194	health problems is a daily and crucial effort were important experiential domains of taking care of
195	their physical health.
196	
197	I'd name this group 'contact with my health', that is the contact with my body and with the
198	awareness about the possibility that it could become sick
199	(int. 14, M, 70 years old).
200	
201	Daily lifestyle. Participants referred to this area when speaking about daily lifestyles, including
202	factors such as physical activity, diet, and risk behaviours (alcohol, smoke). In their words, "daily
203	habits are the litmus test of my health, of my life" (int. 14, M, 73 years-older). Participants also
204	considered respect and awareness of limits, rules and boundaries as important when engaging in the
205	suggested health promoting behaviours and when effectively promoting health through physical
206	care.
207	
208	This group speaks about activities of everyday life to manage my health, how to do sport, eathow
209	can we call it: lifestyle?

the following paragraphs.

210	(int. 20, M, 68 years old).
211	
212	Contact with aging. Participants referred to "being in contact with aging" or "living and perceiving
213	aging" to define the relationship with their age and their capacity to take the best from ageing. This
214	domain of meanings regards also life objectives and the level of life satisfaction, the personal
215	acceptance of ageing and the individual levels of self-esteem. Participants considered those factors
216	as important in the successful aging process and consequently in experiencing high levels of health
217	and wellbeing.
218	
219	It is also important how you live your age: how do you enjoy the present days? Are you in contact
220	with your ageing?
221	(int. 18, F, 65 years old).
222	
223	Soul care. Finally, participants spoke about the importance of taking care of their mental health to
224	support and promote their wellbeing. Participants described this area in terms of happiness, self-
225	esteem and perceived control over life and health.
226	
227	This is more a question of head, mental. It's how I feel at this moment and it's more a mental fact to
228	love and accept myself and feel that life is in my handsof course, it takes a little bit of luck
229	(int. 15, F, 68 year old).
230	
231	Older citizens' experiences of health promotion: A taxonomy of experiences
232	The analysis of all individual taxonomies produced by interviewees during the q-sort tasks (and
233	related to their subjective experience of health promotion) helped draft a final inclusive taxonomy
234	of older citizens' health promotion experiences featuring three main positions described in detail in

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First position: "I feel locked"

Interviews revealed that the first experiential position of older citizens' health promotion was characterized by a blocked and frozen attitude towards health, which consequently leads to unhealthy lifestyles and habits. Lack of work and social network, emotional resignation, lack of purpose, and unhealthy behaviours (i.e., cigarettes, alcohol abuse) were found to characterize this position. Older participants often attributed the lack of healthy behaviours to a general lack of self-care and life purposes and used negative emotional words to refer to the relationship of this position with health. Participants reported a similar approach to health characterized by lack of love and self-acceptance, which often exemplifies the entire lifespan, although it is exacerbated by aging-related issues (e.g., retirement, death of loved ones, loss of a social role, menopause). Generally, interviews showed that thinking about different ways to promote health during aging was scary and anxiety provoking for people in this position; thus, "continuing the life as usual", avoiding negative emotions and frightening thoughts that would emerge if health was in daily projects. This position was represented in terms of feeling "locked" in an unhappy last part of life.

After all, my life is ok for me, so I do absolutely nothing to change it...I'm fine by myself as well, so I don't really look for particular situations to increase what I should do to feel better.

254 (int. 20, M, 65 years old).

I have an identity issue in organizing my health, I get anxious to thinking about it and I prefer to continue my life as usual

(int. 18, F, 65 years old).

Furthermore, the participants reported that health practices were inextricably linked to religious beliefs. Indeed, people in this position usually represented themselves as delegating their health management to others. Although this helped them avoid negative emotions, these beliefs

262	contributed to the reduction of health promotion actions. Consequently, a fatalistic attitude with
263	feelings of resignation and dissatisfaction with life was reported. These feelings also influenced the
264	approach to risk prevention and health promotion. Regarding people in this position, the emergence
265	of diseases could not be controlled; thus, following healthy lifestyles to prevent diseases would be
266	useless.
267	
268	It is useless to worry about what may happen and what can be done to prevent mishapscancer or
269	other diseases can occur also if you have an optimal lifestyle
270	(int. 25, M, 68 years old).
271	Since the missing approach to health management was characterized by resignation, older
272	participants reported that lack of purpose, worries, and fears of losing autonomy or remaining alone
273	were able to "upsets" and "awake" them from the disengagement in health. The worries motivated
274	them to seek sources of more positive feelings and hope towards future life trajectories.
275	
276	I absolutely do not follow prevention, but if any serious illness came, I would be forced to change to
277	regain my health
278	(int.1, M, 65 years old).
279	You can change in the event that a disease hits you, so you become scared, so your lifestyle
280	changes
281	(int. 20, M, 65 years old).
282	I stopped smoking thanks to a book that made me aware that depending on cigarettes made me
283	miserable and that convinced me that having fun would help me
284	(int.16, M, 73 years old).
285	
286	Second position: "I'm awakening"
287	Some other citizens, mostly with a good social network but without strong and supportive

relationships, described themselves as alternating in managing health between a health awareness and a lack of motivation to improve their health during aging, with the general adoption of a healthy lifestyle without the awareness of risks due to aging. Unlike the "locked position," in the "awakening position", older citizens alternated between a fatalistic and a more active attitude toward health and life, perceiving some situations as being under their control. People in this position represented themselves as caring about their health only when sick but lacked motivation and perceived loss of control over their health when recovering from the disease.

Obviously, I take care of my health when I'm sick to heal! But when I heal I do nothing to stay healthy: It's useless, it's not under your control!

(int. 10, F, 65 years old).

Although participants in this position were aware of the importance of engaging in healthy behaviours, engaging in physical activities, eating better, and planning meaningful activities to feel healthier, they preferred to leave health out of daily plans. Thus, they were described as aware but often inactive in managing and promoting health. Accordingly, they were classified as having an "awakening" status. They described themselves as having understood the importance of engaging in healthy behaviours at the "theoretical level," but in practice, they reported failure to translate this knowledge into concrete health promoting and preventive behaviours (e.g., doing more physical activity, paying attention to diet, going to health checks). Furthermore, these older citizens often failed to recognize their actual need to "do more" to improve their lifestyle, particularly because aging requires a greater attention to physical limits and to a global self-care. Focusing on prevention and modifying their lifestyles according to the limitations and barriers that emerge during the process of aging were perceived as highly connected to the acceptance of growing old and thus to the participants' experiences of aging. Finally, a sort of emotive ambivalence towards their aging process characterised this position. On the one hand, feelings of guilt for doing the bare minimum

and, on the other hand, the desire to avoid being concerned with health increased the disconnect between actions and thoughts. In this sense, social relationships were conceived as useful in fostering a more active health engagement and planning daily habits among individuals in this position.

I know that I should do sport, in the past I used to go to the gym but in the recent years, I finally chose the oratory and not the gym, whereas I know that this is not the better choice for me (int. 23, F, 68 years old).

Doing something with someone could help me to be more active

(int. 18, F, 65 years old).

Setting my own goals for the future and getting busy with daily commitment lead me to feel better...

for example gardening or spending my time out, I'm sure that will bring benefit to my mind

(int. 24, M, 65 years old).

### Third position: "I'm aware that I'm climbing"

This experiential position was described in terms of a better-integrated approach to health promotion. Important features of this position included being constantly aware of the importance of taking care of the self to remain healthy and feel good physically, mentally, and socially. People in this position gave sense to their life and elaborated on the inevitability of death successfully, which allowed them to live fully every day. They were conscious that the physical health influences well-being in all other spheres of human existence and that taking care of oneself increases wellness and happiness and fosters one's own sense of control over life trajectories. Thus, a strong sense of coherence, control, and self-efficacy, as well as a greater motivation to feel aware and reflexive emerged from the interviews as important factors of healthy aging. In this sense, this position was defined as "climbing" because of the constant efforts of participants to master their entire health

340	status and wellbeing.
341	
342	As I do something, I think about the consequence of what I'm doing to prevent diseases and how I'm
343	feeling
344	(int. 3, M, 75 years old).
345	At a certain age, you have to start thinking about your health and yourself, sooner or later
346	something happens there is an exponential curve between age and health, and I'm at the point in
347	which something will happenso I'm aware that I want to live the last years fully and peacefully!
348	(int. 22, M, 75 years old).
349	Loving and accepting each other is the foundation of everything, it gives you a purpose of life, it
350	makes you feel that it's you at the helm
351	(int. 14, M, 73 years old).
352	
353	People in this position were represented as having successfully managed critical events (such as the
354	occurrence of health problems or the deaths of friends and relatives) by elaborating their sense
355	within the whole spectrum of their existence and in the light of a positive approach to life. People in
356	this position shared the personal objective of contributing to the wealth of the world to have a sense
357	of life and die peacefully. According to participants, being in peace with life, aging, and death
358	fosters wellbeing and positive engagement in healthy lifestyle.
359	
360	Sooner or later, life ends. It is important to have the satisfaction of having done something, to have
361	done things, to have left somethingmore than the fear of death, I'd rather end in a particular way
362	(int. 22, M, 75 years old).
363	The problem is not to avoid diseases but to live with them in a decent way and in line with your life
364	(int. 18, F, 65 years old).
365	

366	These participants were described as believing that their own actions determine their health.
367	Perceptions of having control over health and life foster, as older participants said, proactive
368	behaviours and a sense of power and agency. Being able to face anxiety related to taking
369	responsibility for their health status, having control over all health dimensions, and strengthening
370	feelings of self-determination were also important features of this position.
371	
372	This is more a question of head, mental. It's how I feel at this moment and It's more a mental fact to
373	love and accept myself and feel that life is in my handsof course it takes a little bit of luck
374	(int. 15, F, 68 year old).
375	
376	Relationships also played an active part in the "climbing position" because playing an active social
377	role in the community was conceived as a way to have a purpose in life and to be part of something
378	bigger, which can give sense to life and death.
379	
380	Sooner or later life ends, it is important to reach the satisfaction of having done something, of
381	having left something, of having made a small contribution to other people
382	(int. 22, M, 75 years-older).
383	
384	Additionally, participants explained their wellbeing as dependent also on "having the possibility to
385	be free, also to exceed bounds sometimes" (int.5, F, 67 years-older). Indeed, engaging in bad habits
386	is occasionally perceived as useful to maintain engagement in a balanced healthy lifestyle, avoiding
387	the risk of becoming too obsessive about healthy behaviours and enjoying old age more fully.
388	
389	
390	Discussion

This qualitative study explored older citizens' experiences of health promotion. Those experiences may be placed along a subjective continuum of engagement. One pole of the continuum represents the experiences of participants with lower levels of engagement, such as those who report resignation, inactivity and poor sense of agency and control over their health. The opposite pole represents the experiences of participants with high level of engagement in their health promotion who described themselves as attentive, committed to adopt healthy aging lifestyles and legitimate themselves as responsible for their physical and mental health promotion. These insights are in line with the results of a study on the effect of lay perspectives of the role of successful aging in fostering personal and community wellbeing [34]. This study [34], by emphasizing the balance between self-contentment and self-growth in later life, suggested that reaching high levels of health engagement is related to higher levels of self-growth, self-contentment, and individual and social fulfilment. Our results showed that individuals' subjective experiences and meaning-making processes frame the way in which they are able to manage health. Moreover, our data provide an insight into the complex and challenging nature of older people' experiences of engagement in health promotion conducts. The experiential trajectories that emerged from our study revealed the importance of supporting older citizens' positive sense-making process to improve their aging and health promotion. For instance, participants in a "locked position" reported the protective role of positive emotions on their physical and mental health over time by confirming evidences from positive psychology literature [35-38]. Considering the emotional conflict between being aware of the importance of assuming healthier conducts and the difficulty in translating this knowledge to concrete behaviours of health prevention and health promotion, which characterize the "awakening position", behavioural education may be useful for these older citizens, as it can foster a greater psychological integration between "actions and thoughts". For instance, planning daily habits, setting goals and activating social support are all useful strategies for improving older citizens' engagement in health promotion. In this direction, technologies might be particularly useful for planning healthy behaviours and connecting with other members of community with whom older

citizens could share health practices.

Older citizens in the "climbing profile" may maintain their engagement in health promotion by sustaining their mental and psychological tenure, for instance, with exercises or counselling aimed to foster their self-efficacy, self-empowerment, cognitive reinforce, self-worth, and purpose in life. These factors are indeed crucial for "optimising aging well and enhancing the quality of later life, enabling older people to feel confident in living with wider benefits to society" [39, p.9]. Older citizens' ability to maintain meaningful social relationships is also important in the "climbing position" and needs to be supported because playing an active social role in the community was conceived as a way to have a purpose in life and to be "part of something bigger", which can give sense to life and death. These results suggest that interventions aimed at promoting health in aging should consider the subjective experiences of older citizens and the elements that may sustain or hinder their engagement in healthy conducts. In particular, our results emphasized the importance of favouring the emergence of older citizens' positive psychological attitudes towards health and ageing (e.g., positive emotions, motivation and goal setting, fulfilment and self-improvement) to improve their engagement in health promotion. Currently, different studies and interventions are available to confirm the effective value of working on such psychological states to foster health behaviour change [40-46]. Most studies considered populations with chronic conditions; thus, they mainly aimed to improve medication adherence and disease management [40, 42-45] and did not specifically target older samples [40, 42-44] and health promotion initiatives. The few studies carried out with older populations mostly aimed to enhance mental wellbeing and quality of life [37,38,45]. 

#### Study limits and future research

The findings of this study contribute to deepen the subjective experience of older citizens' health promotion by underlining the elements that may sustain or inhibit their engagement in such conduct. The study focused deliberately on exploring how older participants individually contribute to their engagement in their health promotion. The social context was only marginally explored, although it can play an important role in individual health engagement trajectories [47]. Surely, social health promotion initiatives should be grounded in expectations and needs of citizens, but a balance between individual needs and common needs has to be considered when designing and delivering such initiatives [47]. Furthermore, the study reported on the reflections of participants on their health actions. Thus, although the method adopted allowed us to understand implicit meanings related to individual experiences by studying language used by participants, techniques to give voice to the unconscious aspects that can potentially influence an individual's behaviors and actions were not adopted. A limitation of our study concerns the characteristics of our sample. Older adults living in other parts of Italy (and in other countries) may have different perceptions and experiences. However, through the analysis of the experiences that the participants recounted, only themes that all participants endorsed were extracted with an aim to include only the most common beliefs. The inclusion of participants younger than 75 years of age at the time of the interview was deliberate in order to explore experiences of and needs towards health promotion initiatives of a population that may best benefit from health prevention and promotion initiatives. We are aware that health promotion experiences and needs would change in an older segment of the population. Further studies are needed to explore the specific needs and experiences of older populations. Furthermore, the choice of the Ethnoscience method required that participants enrolled in the study had sufficient linguistic and reflexive skills to complete the q-sorting tasks. Further explorations are needed to assess the health promotion experiences and needs of citizens with different levels of educational and cognitive skills. Finally, further studies are needed to investigate factors (i.e., demographical, clinical, personality,

cultural) that might influence the process of older citizens' engagement in health promotion. We are aware of these limits of the study and for this reason, we plan to conduct a wider quantitative study on a larger sample to further verify our results, to collect further information of the experiences of older people' engagement in health promotion, and to verify the variables (sociological, demographical and psychological) that may predict such experiences. Future research should seek to support ecological, feasible, and effective interventions with an aim to foster older people's engagement in health promotion. Similar results would guide the development of interventions that would successfully involve older citizens in healthy aging conducts.

#### **Conflict of interests**

The authors declare no conflict of interest.

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#### **Contributorship statement**

JM conducted interviews and all analyses, wrote the first draft of the manuscript and rewrote new drafts based on input from co-authors. GG designed the research project, planned the analyses and provided input and revision of manuscript drafts. All authors read and approved the final manuscript.

DB and AP assisted with the interviews, transcribed them, and helped with analyses of the data.

#### **Competing interests**

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497	
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499	All authors have completed the ICMJE uniform disclosure form at
500	www.icmje.org/coi_disclosure.pdf and declared that all authors had financial support from Catholic
501	University (Faculty of Psychology - Project "D3.2. Crescere da anziani: Attivare risorse per stili di
502	vita sostenibili") for the submitted work; had no financial relationships with any organisation that
503	might have an interest in the submitted work in the previous three years; and had no other
504	relationships or activities that could appear to have influenced the submitted work. The funder had
505	no role in study design, data collection and analysis, decision to publish, or preparation of the
506	manuscript.
507	
508	Data sharing statement
509	Original quotes and audio data of interviews are available upon request by emailing the
510	corresponding author. Consent for the data sharing was not obtained, but the presented data were
511	anonymised and the risk of identification was low.
512	
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636	
637	Figure Legend
638	Figure 1. Taxonomy of older citizens' experiences of health promotion
639	Figure 2. Semantic areas and domains of subjective meanings of older citizens' experiences with
640	health promotion

Semantic areas	<b>Experiential domains</b>	Locked Position	Awakening Position	Climbing Position
	Physical activity	I spend more time on the couch then in activity	Anytime I have the chance I take a walk, but I surely have to stay more active	I do the physical activity that I have to do and that is good for me
	Diet	Paying attention to what I'm eating is a waste of time	I pay attention to my diet, some food is bad for me but I however eat it	I pay attention to follow a healthy diet
Daily Lifestyle	Bad habits	I have some bad habits (alcohol, tobacco) that are by now in my routine and it's ok for me		I rarely make an exception and when it happens is important for me to manage and balance it
	Daily activation	I do not decide on committments	I'm active but I don't plan it	I plan my day to be committed to useful activities
	Bound respect	I always exceed the limit	I do not always follow what I have to do to be well	I listen my body to consequently regulate my habits and be well
	Disease emotions	I'm not so worried when I feel some pain	Feeling pains frightens me and I don't know how to manage this emotions	Feeling pains frightens me but I know how to manage this emotions
W - 10	Disease management	When I'm sick I avoid to think about this and I do nothing	When I'm sick I'm a little bit worried, I try to have some rest and to wait until it ends	When I'm sick I activate myself to collect information and take care of myself
Physical Care	Health mentalization	I barely do not think to my health	When I'm not well I manage my health, when I'm well I don't think to manage my health	Considering my age, I think to my health daily
	Prescriptions adherence	I'm not constant in following what others say to me and in carrying out the health checks	I adhere to what others say to me but I autonomously don't do nothing to manage my health	I autonomously check and seek information for my health, so I can prevent future health problems
Contact with ageing	Acceptance	I don't feel the years I have	Maybe I have not accepted yet my age and started to manage at best this phase of life	I accepted my age and I behave accordingly
Contact with ageing	Life objectives/satisfaction	I lall on what is now my life condition	I don't have many life goals hut, in general, I'm satisfied	I'm motivated to reach my life goals and this satisfies me
	Self-esteem	I'm not happy about my self	I live together with my self	I love my self
Soul care	Happiness	I'm not happy just as before	Sometimes I'm happy but it doesn't depend on me	I'm really happy and serene in this phase of life
Sour care	Perceived control	You don't decide your life	Destiny is important, but you have a role in this	My life depends on me
	Social relationships	I don't take care of my relationships and I don't' seek company	I've some good relationship but when I'm needy I prefer to stay on my own	I can rely on my actual and future relationships

Figure 1: Taxonomy of older citizens' experiences of health promotion 1237x874mm (72 x 72 DPI)

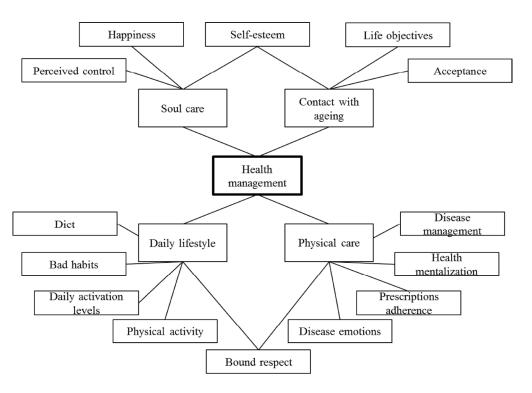


Figure 2: Semantic areas and domains of subjective meanings of older citizens' experiences with health promotion 742x524mm~(120~x~120~DPI)

## Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative studies (COREQ): 32-item checklist

#### Developed from:

Tong A, Sainsbury P, Craig J. Consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ): a 32-item checklist for interviews and focus groups. *International Journal for Quality in Health Care*. 2007. Volume 19, Number 6: pp. 349 – 357

No. Item	Guide questions/description	Reported on Page #
Domain 1: Research team		
and reflexivity		
Personal Characteristics		
Inter viewer/facilitator	Which author/s conducted the inter view or focus group?	Page 8
2. Credentials	What were the researcher's credentials? E.g. PhD, MD	MS
3. Occupation	What was their occupation at the time of the study?	They were working as consultant researchers for the University that promoted the study
4. Gender	Was the researcher male or female?	One male and one female
5. Experience and training	What experience or training did the researcher have?	Page 8
Relationship with participants		
6. Relationship established	Was a relationship established prior to study commencement?	No
7. Participant knowledge of the interviewer	What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research	Researchers did not disclose personal details before commencing the study
8. Interviewer characteristics	What characteristics were reported about the inter viewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias, assumptions, reasons and interests in the research topic	There was no bias evident from researchers when the study was carried out
Domain 2: study design		
Theoretical framework		
9. Methodological orientation and Theory	What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis	Page 7

Participant selection		
10. Sampling	How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball	Page 11
11. Method of approach	How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email	Page 6. Centers were approached via telephone/e-mail. Participants via face-to-face or telephone.
12. Sample size	How many participants were in the study?	Page 12
13. Non-participation	How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons?	None of the invited participants refused to participate
Setting		
14. Setting of data collection	Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace	Page 11
15. Presence of non- participants	Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers?	No
16. Description of sample	What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date	Page 12
Data collection		
17. Interview guide	Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested?	Page 9. The interviews' guide was tested with one volunteer participant before commencing the study and it was found to be useful and acceptable.
18. Repeat interviews	Were repeat inter views carried out? If yes, how many?	Page 8
19. Audio/visual recording	Did the research use audio or visual recording to collect the data?	Page 12. All interviews were audiotaped.
20. Field notes	Were field notes made during and/or after the inter view or focus group?	No
21. Duration	What was the duration of the inter views or focus group?	Page 9
22. Data saturation	Was data saturation discussed?	Data saturation was discussed among those coding the transcripts
23. Transcripts returned	Were transcripts returned to participants for comment and/or correction?	No
Domain 3: analysis and findings		

Data analysis		
24. Number of data coders	How many data coders coded the data?	Page 11
25. Description of the coding tree	Did authors provide a description of the coding tree?	No, documentation is available upon request
26. Derivation of themes	Were themes identified in advance or derived from the data?	Page 11
27. Software	What software, if applicable, was used to manage the data?	None
28. Participant checking	Did participants provide feedback on the findings?	No. Participants provided feedback on the main findings of the first round of interviews in the second round of interviews.
Reporting		
29. Quotations presented	Were participant quotations presented to illustrate the themes/findings? Was each quotation identified? e.g. participant number	Results
30. Data and findings consistent	Was there consistency between the data presented and the findings?	Yes
31. Clarity of major themes	Were major themes clearly presented in the findings?	Results
32. Clarity of minor themes	Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes?	N/A