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Food insecurity and the elder male: exploring the gap from needing food to the utilization of assistance programs

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FOOD INSECURITY AND THE ELDER MALE: EXPLORING THE GAP FROM
NEEDING FOOD TO THE UTILIZATION OF ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

An Abstract of a Dissertation
Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Approved:

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the qualitative study was to explore the relationship between the male elder's experience of food insecurity and the utilization of food assistance programs. Particular emphasis was placed on the meaning the men ascribe to their experiences in accessing food. In the review of the literature, the determinants of food insecurity, especially for the elder male population, were identified as having important implications for fulfilling food needs. Additionally, distinct characteristics of men, along with how they view their needs, surfaced as impacting their food insecurity. This study utilized participant observation and in-depth interviews with five elder men who had and/or have experiences with food insecurity. The first research question focused on how the men described their experiences with food insecurity, revealing that being poor was pervasive in their memories and thoughts. The men described how their pride contributed to their reluctance to utilize food assistance when responding to the second research question regarding what they view as the perceived barriers to seeking help and utilizing assistance. The theoretical framework that served as the lens through which these descriptions and perceptions were examined was the attribution theory (Weiner, 2000). A stigmatizing condition (poor), a cause (family resources), a responsibility antecedent (uncontrollability), and a response (survivor) provided the foundation for understanding how the men made sense of their experiences and how they view their situations today.

Several recommendations to address the barriers reported by the elder men were suggested. Future research using the qualitative approach is recommended in order to

increase understanding of the meaning of experiences of elder men in times of food insecurity. Additionally, there is a need to learn more about the men in this age group as they have different values from other generations. Further, those tasked with assisting this cohort of elder men must appreciate the role pride plays in how they approach situations such as food insecurity and whether or not they utilize assistance.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A significant number of households in the United States (U.S.) experience food insecurity where they have “limited or uncertain availability of nutritionally adequate and safe foods or limited or uncertain ability to acquire acceptable foods in socially acceptable ways” (Bickel, Nord, Price, Hamilton, & Cook, 2000, p. 10). Food insecurity is generally defined as the inability to afford nutritionally adequate and safe foods (Seligman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2009) or the opposite being food secure, which is considered to be when all people at all times have access to enough food for an active and healthy lifestyle (Coleman-Jensen, Nord, Andrews, & Carlson, 2011).

In 2010, it was estimated that 14.5% or 17.2 million United States households were food insecure (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). The prevalence of food insecurity was significantly higher than the national average in households living near the federal poverty line where a single woman (35.1%) or man (25.4%) was the head of the household, in Black (25.1%) and Hispanic (26.2%) households, in large cities (17%) and rural areas, (14.7%; Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). Also in 2010, children were sporadically food insecure in as many as 9.8% of households.

Food insecurity can be delineated into categories such as low food security or very low food security. These two categories are differentiated by the extent and character of the modifications they make in consumption patterns, specifically with the amount and types of food eaten (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). Low food security households report multiple indicators related to food access problems but indicate that

they have had only a few or no incidences of reduced food consumption. However, very low food security households report multiple indicators related to decreased food consumption and alterations to their eating patterns as a result of inadequate food resources. The very low food security survey respondents reported typically being hungry at least some time during the preceding year and not eating due to the lack of money to purchase food (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011).

Food insecurity consists of many population subgroups, such as African American, Hispanic, children, and elders. Each group has characteristics that represent a unique set of needs. Children have been the subject of many studies related to food insecurity. Their dependence on others naturally implies research attention. Women, often researched in conjunction with children, also garner much research consideration. Ethnic minority groups such as African American and Hispanic populations also have unique characteristics deserving of study. Elders, persons typically classified as adults greater than 65 years old, have characteristics that have not been as widely researched. Elder females have been studied more often as they represent the larger of the male and female older population groups (see Appendix A).

Causes of Food Insecurity

Income levels are considered strongly associated with food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). Barrett (2010) added that chronic and episodic poverty are the most common factors related to food insecurity. The federal poverty line in 2010 for a family of four was \$22,113 per year; the United States Department of Agriculture's (USDA)

report for 2010 indicated that 40.2% of households living below the poverty level were considered food insecure (Barrett, 2010).

Even though poverty is used as a key determinant of food insecurity, it is actually not as sensitive of a measure as one might think due to the fact that 50% of households who have some degree of hunger live above the poverty line (Rose, 1999). Additionally, Rose pointed out that income-based poverty measures are static and do not account for sudden and potentially devastating assaults to a household's income such as the loss of employment, serious family illness, or loss of food assistance.

Maxwell and Smith (1992) noted that poverty, undernutrition, and vulnerability interact closely when considering food insecurity. These are overlapping characteristics of this phenomenon that provide a setting for potential degrees of food insecurity.

Maxwell and Smith (1992) explained that it "is possible, in principle, to experience the three conditions alone or in any combination: to be vulnerable, for example, without currently being either poor or malnourished; or poor and vulnerable, without being malnourished; or simultaneously poor, malnourished and vulnerable" (p. 17).

Realistically, people who are poor can be considered vulnerable because of their susceptibility to large fluctuations in income in a brief timeframe paired with a lack of coping mechanisms that would serve to offset a decrease in purchasing power and food intake (Maxwell & Smith, 1992).

According to Lovendal and Knowles (2006), "the probability of becoming food insecure at a future point in time is determined by present conditions, the risks potentially occurring within a period defined, and the capacity to manage these factors" (p. 4). One

must consider safety nets and risk management strategies and their interrelationship with potential food insecurity. These authors continued by saying that people who are far above the minimum threshold for food security and those who are far below that threshold are not as likely to move their position over time. People living at the edge of this threshold are very susceptible to the negative effects of even a slight change in their status.

Impact of Food Insecurity

In looking at food insecurity from 1999 to 2009, a picture of this phenomenon over a decade is revealed. Food insecurity was listed at 10% in 1999, 12% in 2004, and 11% from 2005 to 2007; it then increased to 14.7% in 2007 and was 14.6% in 2008 (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011).

As noted earlier, according to the USDA report, in 2010 14.5% of U.S. households were considered food insecure at some time during the previous year. Roughly two-thirds of these households were able to avoid significant modifications to their food intake, oftentimes because they relied on a few basic foods and decreased the number of food choices in their diets (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011).

At any time during the prior year, according to the USDA report, 14.5% were food insecure and 5.4% were reported as very low food secure (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). At any time during the prior 30 days to responding to the survey, 8.2% were considered food insecure and 3.1% were considered very low food secure. However, according to Rutten, Yaroch, Colon-Ramos, Johnson-Askey, and Story (2010), there is likely a persistent stigma associated with food insecurity which affects the number of

people who report problems with food access; hence, we do not necessarily know the full extent of the problem.

Certain groups experience higher rates of food insecurity than others. According to the Federal Interagency Forum on Aging-Related Statistics (2016), these include households with children that are headed by single parents (women, 35.1%; men, 25.4%), Black households (25.1%), Hispanic households (26.2%), low income households that fall below 185% of the poverty line (33.8%), elderly (age 65 and older, 7.9%), those living in urban areas (17%), and those living outside of the city (14.7%). The average percentage of all households with children that experienced food insecurity was 20.2%. However, elderly persons aged 65 years and older, made up 13% of the United States in 2010. This number is expected to double by 2030 to make up 20% of the population (Federal, 2016).

The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) conducts data collection annually on food access and adequacy, food spending, and sources of food assistance for its citizens (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). The Current Population Survey (CPS) is used to gather data on a representative number (54,000 people in December 2010) of civilian, noninstitutionalized people in the United States. The homeless are omitted from this data. The household food security status is determined by answers to questions regarding conditions and behaviors reported by the participants. Food secure households are considered those who report zero to two food-insecure conditions in one year (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011).

As noted earlier, statistics do not tell the whole story. Households and their members can be affected differently by food insecurity. Children in food insecure households may not feel the effects of food insecurity as their experience is often buffered by the adult(s); (Hamelin, Beaudry, & Habicht, 2002). Children are typically the last household members to have decreased amounts of food or go without food; thus the adults are more likely to suffer more serious consequences in their attempt to shield the children from hunger. Since each household is different and the impact of food insecurity is not static, it is more accurate to describe these populations as persons living in food insecure households rather than naming them as food insecure persons (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). Also, it is not surprising that households with lower incomes spend less on food than households with higher incomes. A household considered to be below the poverty line will typically spend 6% less on food than those who have incomes above 185% of the poverty line. A typical food secure household spends 27% more on food than the typical household of equivalent size and composition that would be considered living with food insecurity (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011).

It should be noted that the numbers and degree of food insecurity “almost certainly vary across subpopulations” (Nord, Andrews, & Winicki, 2002, p. 200). One must be careful in generalizing data to the population as the groups are not easily defined. Anderson (2013) noted that there are high rates of food insecurity in the mentally ill, homeless, and legal immigrant populations which are not adequately represented due to the difficulties in measurement. These populations can only be adequately identified and assisted at the community level.

The Effect of Food Assistance Programs on Food Insecurity

It may seem logical that persons in need of food would utilize any assistance that was available. Studies have shown that this is not necessarily realistic (Guthrie & Lin, 2002; Tower, 2009). A look at food assistance programs provides context for potential resources that may be available to individuals living with food insecurity.

The five largest food assistance programs in the United States that reflect 96% of federal dollars spent in this area are the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP), previously referred to as Food Stamps; the National School Lunch Program (NSLP); the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC); the School Breakfast Program (SBP); and the Child and Adult Care Food Program (CACFP). The SNAP program has eligibility requirements where the applicant must meet guidelines on income, work, assets, and immigration status. The other 14 programs of this nature have at least some eligibility requirements that must be met but the programs are also subject to adequate funding by Congress (Anderson, 2013).

The USDA funds programs for food assistance but the administration is carried out by state and county agencies (Cohen, 2002). These programs, many of which came about as a result of the war on poverty during the 1960s, attempt to combat poverty issues—one being food insecurity. Participation in such programs fluctuates as the United States' economy changes. However, as the population has grown, so has the coverage of the targeted groups.

Holben (2006) reported in a position paper on food insecurity and hunger in the United States by the American Dietetic Association (ADA) that the U.S. Department of

Agriculture Community Food Security Initiative tasked the country to decrease the degree of food insecurity by half by 2015. This did not happen.

In 1996, the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) was enacted which had significant impact on families of low socioeconomic status (SES; Holben, 2006). A few of the changes from this act included a change in the eligibility standards for certain disability benefits, establishment of the Temporary Assistance of Needy Families program, creation of new restrictions on legal immigrants, and imposition of alterations on eligibility criteria for child nutrition programs and SNAP. Families who utilize any of these assistance programs were faced with new real and perceived barriers to attending to their food acquisition issues.

Borjas (2004) noted that the intent of assistance programs was to aid needy households in their attempts to reach an adequate level of consumption with regard to housing, health care, and food. The author continued by explaining that even though literature exists that addresses the social and economic costs of assistance programs, only a handful of studies look at how successful these same programs have been with respect to their stated goals. In other words, do the programs actually assist people in avoiding homelessness, illness, and food insecurity?

Determinants of Food Insecurity

Substantial research on risk factors of food insecure populations is available but only scant research on the key determinants of the lived experiences and perceptions of those who experience food insecurity was identified. A brief introduction to key components follows.

Exploring some of the determinants of food insecurity may provide a better understanding of the person who may be considered food insecure. Determinants are those factors, exposures, behaviors, characteristics, or events experienced by people that shape their lives (Stanhope & Lancaster, 2012). Living in poverty, living in a very large extended family, rural living, low education, level of stress, level of self-efficacy, hunger, decision-making skills, and level of nutrition are examples of determinants that could affect food security and food insecurity.

Poverty, living at or below the poverty line, as identified earlier is one condition that often appears in the research of this population; however, while poverty is highly related to food insecurity (Bhattacharya, Currie & Haider, 2004; Hadley, Mulder, & Fitzherbert, 2007), it is not as clear how other factors related to food insecurity affect these individuals and their families. A closer look at other factors is essential.

Self-efficacy, a person's estimate that a certain behavior is achievable (Bandura, 1977), may be negatively impacted when food insecurity exists combined with those stresses associated with difficult life tasks. Self-efficacy has been used to describe a person's ability to feel confident in a task or situation (Bandura, 1977). Food insecure people who experience stress from problematic obtainment (difficult decisions) of food are believed to experience reduced self-efficacy (see Appendix B).

Surprisingly, participation in one or more of the federal food assistance programs was reported by only 59% of those classified as food insecure (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). This figure is significant due to the estimated percentages of the population that live within the parameters of the descriptions of food insecurity. The Midwest had an

average of 13.3% of its population living as food insecure with the Northeast region of the country having the lowest figure at 12.4% (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). In Iowa, it was estimated that 12.1% of the population lived in low or very low food security in 2010 (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011; see Appendix C).

Besides the more visible and acknowledged determinants stated above, there are the unseen determinants for each individual that impact quality of life and influence one's mental and social well-being. Food insecure individuals often have multiple life problems, reflecting chronic stress that takes a toll over time and these remarkably stressful life situations impact everyone with whom they interact (Graham, 2002). It is not just a personal struggle, but equally important may be the effect on others in indirect ways. Dean and Sharkey (2011) noted that an individual's subjective view of their experiences while attempting to access resources will provide some insight into the choices people make. Learning what feelings and thoughts these individuals embrace is valuable for a nuanced understanding of their experiences. Further research into the psychosocial consequences of food insecurity is needed to better understand if food needs are being met (Dinour, Bergen, & Yeh, 2007), particularly focusing on how food choices are made, the individual needs of food insecure individuals, obstacles to obtaining food, and the impact that mental and emotional stress has on self-efficacy of those affected.

Food Insecurity and the Elderly

Some characteristics of the elders who are considered food insecure are limited income, decreased health, disability, impaired mobility, high medical and prescription costs, available transportation, social implications, poor nutritional intake, level of

education, minority status, rural location, lack of insurance, and high morbidity. With the growing elderly population, their impact on their communities, and their unique set of characteristics, it becomes clear that while many studies have been conducted on women and children, a crucial need is for expanded study on the elderly, especially males.

Wolfe, Olson, Kendall, and Frongillo (1996) noted that food insecurity in the elderly population has only been the focus of recent studies leaving gaps in knowledge that deserve attention. Several attributes of this phenomenon have been recognized for the elderly and the elder male more specifically (see Appendix A). For example, factors related to this population include limited income, poor health, lack of transportation, and others (Wolfe et al., 1996).

Elder Males

Elder males have some unique qualities that contribute to their potential threat of food insecurity and thus the need for additional study. Generally, older men have poorer dietary intakes when compared to older women, consuming fewer beneficial nutrients. Historically, elder men have seen a smaller role in the preparation of the household food. Additionally, if living with a spouse, elder men are less likely to cook. This may lead to poor cooking skills and a decreased motivation to make adjustments towards a healthier diet when faced with cooking for oneself. If living alone, elder men tend to rely more on relatives or support agencies where they can get food cooked for them (Hughes, Bennett, & Hetherington, 2004).

Men's masculinity, which posits them as strong and invulnerable with inhibited emotions, leads to the perception that they are not as likely to be viewed as needing help

(Gough, 2006). Courtenay (2000) suggested that how men are viewed via traditional masculinity precepts potentially plays a negative role in their overall health.

Characteristics of the elder males' sense of community are less often considered in regards to food insecurity. Elder males can be more socially isolated with fewer connections, especially if living alone (Malta, 2005). The life transition of widowhood "eliminates access to perhaps the most rewarding of all social ties" (Cornwell, Laumann, & Schumm, 2008, p. 187). Other transitions of the aging adult such as health problems and increased socioemotional selectivity may contribute to decreases in social networks (Cornwell, 2011). At the elder stage of the male's life, social activity outside the home may require an undesirable level of commitment to integrate with others (Cornwell et al., 2008). Attending a congregate meal or seeking assistance from people unknown to the male may be undesirable and rejected. Elder males' bridging or connecting ability is less refined preventing them from reaching out to others. Related to decreased connectedness is the increased need for community services such as congregate meals to meet food intake needs (Malta, 2005). The increased use of outside the home services by elderly males has an impact on the greater community landscape by way of government or agency budgeting and funding of services (Malta, 2005). Considering these less tangible social male characteristics may allow a more well-rounded view of this vulnerable population.

The United States' aging population is growing and is expected to present challenges to many sectors of society: namely health care, community resources, families, and many others. As the elder population continues to grow, it becomes

imperative that greater emphasis is placed not only on capturing data that allows professionals to appropriately care for and support all populations groups, but more importantly places new emphasis on the elder male who faces food insecurity (United States Census Bureau, n.d.).

Description of the Problem

The problem is a lack of experiential data on the elder male who experiences food insecurity. With new data an improved understanding of his view of his situation and his ability to utilize resources that may be available to him may surface. One cannot fully understand and assist others until a clear picture of the person, his experiences, and his answers is revealed.

As noted earlier, food insecurity is a complex multidimensional issue (Rutten et al., 2010; Wolfe, Frongillo, & Valois, 2003). Historically, measuring and addressing food insecurity has focused more on the supply of food rather than on the associated personal elements (perception of one's situation, perception of public's view) that play a part in livelihood strategies and eventually affecting outcomes (Carr, 2006). Other difficulties in measuring food insecurity such as geographic location and the use of less effective measures (anthropometric and national expenditure data) do not accurately describe the phenomenon (Frankenberger, 1992). Rutten et al. (2010) added that food insecurity entails several additional factors such as available resources, environment, and the ability to obtain food that impact each experience affecting physiological, psychosocial, and behavioral health components leading to decreased health outcomes, whether directly or indirectly. Additionally, Frankenberger (1992) pointed out that more quantitative

measures have been used frequently due to their ability to be aggregated, rendering them easier to evaluate. A clear picture of food insecurity, especially in the elderly male population, is therefore deficient and warrants an enhanced portrayal.

Food insecurity in the elderly is typically related to income and represents a significant barrier (Guthrie & Lin, 2002). “Poverty is a persistent problem among the elderly” (Wu, 2009, p. 1). It is estimated that almost 10% of elderly adults live below the poverty line with nearly 26% considered low income (Kamp, Wellman, & Russell, 2010). Fortunately, the number of elderly living in poverty has dropped in the past 50 years, but 40% of individuals in the age range of 60-90 years will still, at some point, experience an incidence of food insecurity (Wu, 2009). Poor elderly often adjust their spending on food to make purchases of prescription medications, negatively impacting the amount and types of foods consumed (Falcon, Tucker, & Bermudez, 1997; Gundersen, Kreider & Pepper, 2011).

Elderly males who live alone are more likely to be food insecure (Quine & Morrell, 2005). Elderly men are less likely to have a strong social support system, thus negatively affecting their obtainment of food from friends and family. Elder males are more likely to have a high sense of pride and an ability to get by leaving them less likely to admit they cannot afford to buy food (Quine & Morrell, 2005). They also are less likely to utilize assistance programs that are intended to aid persons having difficulty accessing sufficient amounts of food. Hence, multiple considerations of the character and experiences of the elder male make further study worthy and vital.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore the relationship between the male elder's experience of food insecurity and the utilization of assistance programs. Particular emphasis was placed on the meaning he ascribes to his experiences in accessing food.

Research Questions

Within this study, two research questions were formulated to guide the work.

They were as follows:

1. How does the elderly male describe the experiences associated with food insecurity?
2. What is the relationship between the experiences ascribed by the food insecure male elder and the perceived barriers in accessing food through food assistance programs?

Conceptual Framework

When considering the concepts of food insecurity, one must seek those that are "people driven" according to Maxwell and Smith (1992, p. 51). It is imperative that researchers take a closer look to attempt to uncover the individual's meaning of food insecurity. What is the experience for the individual in this situation? This state of existence is not just a singular event in many cases. The "cycle of poverty" may be ingrained in the lives of individuals in these circumstances (Hadley, Mulder, & Fitzherbert, 2007) where they live in a chronic state of inadequate survival essentials,

depicted by episode after episode of food insecurity. What is the impact? It is very personal.

A key conceptual theory was examined that helped guide this research. This theory provided guidance and assistance in the data collection phase of the project as well as the subsequent data analysis process.

Attribution Theory

As noted previously, food insecurity has context beyond how much food a person possesses. The food insecurity phenomenon is ripe with personal and social components yet to be adequately characterized lending itself suitable for applying the attribution theory. Attribution theory advances this glimpse into the food insecurity phenomenon due to its foundational premise of seeking answers to questions about why things happen within social relationships. It looks closely at why people behave as they do and seeks explanations for what is happening to gain a better understanding of interactions among people and of social perceptions (Kelley, 1973; Miller, 2005). Attributions, or acknowledgements, are the center of this theory. These acknowledgments comprise a person's understanding of his or her world and are therefore key determinants of the subsequent interactions he or she takes within that world (Kelley & Michela, 1980). What a person recognizes as truth in his situation plays a defining role in how he interacts within his experiences. The elder male experiencing food insecurity answers these questions uniquely from other groups of individuals thus providing nuanced understanding and enhanced insight of his phenomenon. A deeper look into the

connection between the attribution theory and food insecurity of the elder male begins with a closer look at the key mechanisms.

Causal properties. Contributing factors, or causal properties, according to Weiner (2000), are the underlying mechanisms of a phenomenon that help explain how motivation impacts outcomes. There are three key properties of the attribution theory: locus, stability, and a person's ability to possess control in a situation. The locus component refers to where the person's perceived cause originates, either internally or externally. Does the elder male take responsibility for his experiences (internal) or does he assign outside (external) fault for his experiences? Stability helps to explain how the person defines the duration of the cause. Does the elder male view his experience as chronic (long lasting) or acute (short term)? Are there certain implications to long term vs short term experiences of food insecurity? Causes can be stable, unstable, or temporary. An elder male may perceive his experience will last forever (stable), episodically (unstable), or briefly (temporary). Lastly, causes can be within a person's control or they cannot be altered. Can the elder male do anything to make changes in his situation (within his control) or is he a helpless victim without options (no control)?

Causes are complex due to the tripartite nature of their existence. Through interpretation of events an accumulation of deficits over time occurs that adds yet another dimension to the potential health impact (Miller, 2005; Wadsworth, 1997). "Once a cause, or causes, are assigned, effective management may be possible and a prescription or guide for future action can be suggested" (Weiner, 1985, p. 548).

Social context. Interpretations of events can be conscious or unconscious. It is important to understand the food insecure person's perception of their situation within the social context which includes their assignment of their position. This assignment, often a descriptive name, may provide insight into the feelings these individuals possess about themselves and their potential for improved obtainment of food in the future. If they feel outcast or forgotten, they may not feel their value is worthy of efforts for change. If they feel that their situation is beyond their control (external locus) and feel there is no end in sight, they may have little or no motivation to make changes. If plausible explanations are provided and potentially achievable outcomes are presented, this person may be able to visualize a revised future. Weiner (2000) explained that actions related to the success or failures of an event are based on behavioral reactions.

Inferences. Attributional inferences related to the stimulus and the responses predict the behavioral outcome for the elder male. There is an affective component to an individual's reaction giving a personal touch to the outcome. Success and failure give rise to thoughts of why the outcome occurred as it did. Typically, if an individual was successful, little thought is given to the events precipitating the outcome. However, if the outcome is negative, the individual asks why. Causal antecedents, such as affective input from others, can influence the individual's perception of the cause of the negative outcome (Weiner, 2000). What are the reactions and input received by the food insecure individuals? The very personal component of food insecurity, whether an isolated incidence or episodes over time, may cause the person to ask why this is happening. The reactions or input from others may add negatively to their thoughts and feelings.

Causal properties tell much about motivation and how a person finds success. Their assignment of locus (internal or external), the view of its stability, and the degree of controllability all factor into how a person perceives their potential degree of success in accomplishing a task. The individual's perception of the cause "how it seems to me" (Weiner, 2000, p. 5) may be seen as either controllable or uncontrollable.

Expectancy and value are two determinants related to motivation. An individual uses expectancy to anticipate future outcomes of endeavors. Value is considered the emotional significance of reaching or not reaching a goal. Positive expectancy is likely related to past positive outcomes where negative expectancy is likely related to past failures. Aptitude, or a person's ability (internal locus, stable, and uncontrollable), can influence expectancy where luck, the uncontrollable factor, can also be considered causally related (Weiner, 2000). The food insecure person may view his situation as uncontrollable so his expectancy and value for the future are low. If he had poor past performance or failed at obtaining food, he is unlikely to expect positive performance in the future. The Attribution Theory, therefore, provides a framework for understanding how the person who experiences food insecurity assigns meaning to his situation.

Significance of the Study

The conditions and contributing factors for food insecurity have been reported (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2010; Frankenberger, 1992; Lovendal & Knowles, 2006; Maxwell & Smith, 1992; Misselhorn et al., 2012) for the general population. Studies on the impact of income, typically using the poverty line as the significant measure, are available (Bhattacharya et al., 2004; Gundersen et al., 2011; Nord & Parker, 2010). Lack

of access to food, knowledge of food and nutrition, food preparation skills, and available resources are also noted as important correlates in studies of food insecurity (Anderson & Cook, 1999; Bhattacharya et al., 2004; Gundersen et al., 2011; Mello et al., 2010; Walker, Keane, & Burke, 2010). Some studies are available that reported on food insecurity in the elderly population (Bhattacharya et al., 2004; Martin, Cook, Rogers, & Joseph, 2003; Wolfe et al., 1996) but few of them focused on one subset of that group—males. Additionally, studies reported on the low utilization of assistance programs (Alaimo, Breifel, Frongillo, & Olson, 1998; Allen, 1999; Cook et al., 2006; Daponte, 2000; Gundersen et al., 2011; Huffman & Jensen, 2003; Martin et al., 2003), but less is known about the experiences of the elder male population using these programs. Lacking is research on the elder male and his experience with obtaining food.

Food insecurity can be associated with a variety of outcomes especially when focusing on the elder male adult. It has been noted that there can be both personal and social repercussions related to food insecurity for elder males including but not limited to depression, personal stress, and exacerbation of disease (Fuller-Thomson & Redmond, 2008). Additionally, Sharkey (2008) reported that poor nutrition, a potential outcome of food insecurity, has implications for functional impairment which in and of itself may be a precursor to functional impairment and further health decline.

Social repercussions (stigma) of food obtainment (assistance programs) may be associated with how connected the elder male feels in his environment. With decreased connection, ill effects can be anticipated. According to Malta (2005), “social connection in the aged provides a powerful protective effect against ill health and an equally

protective effect against mortality” (p. 9). Additionally, Malta (2005), reported that those elder adults who are socially connected may have a decreased need for community assistance services. Thus, with the anticipated rise in the aged population, the impact to government services may emerge as a substantial cost, eventually trickling down to the community level (Malta, 2005). While men have a decreased ability to connect with others as they age, aging women tend to have larger social networks and maintain more ties or connections to people outside of their household (Cornwell, 2011). Hence, there is a need to focus on the elderly male population and food insecurity.

Without an expanded lens used to study this food insecure population, we are less likely to understand the individuals reported in research. Policy makers and professionals of health promotion need to know about the person of food insecurity in order to develop programming and interventions that are beneficial and more effective for the future. Therefore, a new degree of understanding of the elder male population is relevant.

This topic has significance related to potential interventions that may improve attempts to decrease food insecurity. Nord and Parker (2010) asked why food insecurity remains an issue in our society when so many food assistance programs exist. New knowledge about the impact of food insecurity on the elderly male that can translate into stronger prevention and advocacy can provide key individuals with better insight enabling them to develop meaningful and appropriate interventions. Interventions can be more person-focused and reach beyond the dollars and food items consumed as has been the prior emphasis. An expanded view of this social problem may provide enhanced understanding and improved interventions (Seccombe, 2002).

As noted earlier, a significant problem is the gap in existing knowledge regarding the barriers elderly males report in using food assistance programs to boost their food supply in times of need. Studies have reported factors related to the elderly population with regard to barriers but few have focused on elderly men. The goal of this study was to gain a better understanding of the elder male's experiences with respect to obtaining food via assistance programs. A closer look using subjective rather than objective data were intended to provide insight into what was happening (Dean & Sharkey, 2011). Undoubtedly, a fresh new insight obtained through subjective means was expected to open up opportunities for public health, policy makers, and others to increase understanding and develop appropriate strategies and interventions that may assist this group of food insecure individuals.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Chapter II presents a review of the literature where key elements related to food insecurity are identified for the elderly population. Males are a particular subgroup deserving of attention; therefore, the focus of this review of the literature is narrowed to that population. This look at the elder male living with food insecurity is presented along with study findings regarding his perceived barriers to improving his experiences. Discussion on the elder male's sense of community and its impact on his ability to connect in order to assist himself are presented to provide a grander context for his experiences. It is proposed that an improved understanding of the elder male, within a food insecure environment viewed with his sense of social/community, is critical to assisting this growing sector of society.

Elders and Food Insecurity

Food insecurity has been described as a complex phenomenon (Wolfe et al., 1996). This concept has experienced some evolution over the past few decades beginning with measures of agricultural productivity to focusing on children's nutritional status to more recently food access constraints (Webb et al., 2006). The expanded focus of the study over this time frame has provided varying views of different sectors of the population. The complexity of the food insecurity construct connotes a potential range of terms used when providing context to the experience. While researchers do not agree on the characteristics, some recurring descriptors and qualifying factors have surfaced allowing for some understanding of the label.

Studies on food insecurity directed toward the elderly population (Coates et al., 2006; Lee & Frongillo, 2001b; Stuff et al., 2004; Wolfe et al., 1996) pointed to risk factors for those who are considered food insecure. These factors include minority status, health problems, decreased mobility, Medicaid recipient status, and eating alone. Additionally, limited income, physical and/or mental disability, high medical bills, and prescription expenses are often contributors to this experience. Social isolation and participation in food assistance programs are associated with food insecurity. Risk factors not as easily assessed include cultural and social differences such as how ethnic groups view their needs and what is acceptable for managing those needs. The lack of adequate physicians and not having access to employer-provided health insurance may be contributing factors to elders facing food obtainment difficulties.

Other studies looked at the experience of food insecurity through the lens of the participants' voices attempting to capture the phenomenon from a different perspective (Gallant, Spitze, & Prohaska, 2007; Hamelin et al., 2002; Hamelin, Habicht, & Beaudry, 1999; Wolfe et al., 2003). Their findings highlighted what they refer to as 'core characteristics' of the experience of food insecurity. Characteristics identified included issues regarding access to food, worrying about food, lack of control over the situation, and others along with 'social implications' such as psychological suffering, family perturbations, and the thoughts of utilizing socially unacceptable means to obtain food.

Contributing factors to the elders who are faced with food insecurity were captured by studies that looked at the larger picture of this phenomenon. The lack of transportation, services and business, and other means to fulfill the duty of obtaining food

surfaced as significant to elders. Additionally, physical disabilities and functional impairments, common to the aging population, contributed to deficits in obtaining food (Lee & Frongillo, 2001a; Wolfe et al., 1996).

Of particular concern is the effect of food obtainment on nutrient intake and nutritional status of the elderly. Also, those persons who are food insecure often have poorer health (Bhattacharya et al., 2004; Lee & Frongillo, 2001b). Seligman et al. (2009) more recently identified that those who are considered food insecure may report diagnosis of hypertension and hyperlipidemia.

Self-Efficacy

A particularly interesting set of studies highlighted the role of self-efficacy in the sphere of a food insecure elder adult. This aspect of food acquisition is less well known, yet has significance when considering this population with their ability to access sufficient quantities of food.

Study findings indicate that self-efficacy is highly predictive of health behaviors, notably eating (Bandayrel & Wong, 2011; Beverly, Miller, & Wray, 2007; Clark & Dodge, 1999; Conn, 1998; Gittelsohn et al., 2006; Havas et al., 1998; Smith, Johnson, Beaudoin, Monsen, & LoGerfo, 2004). Contributing to the elder's sense of efficacy was their educational level, their perceived ability to control the foods obtained, their knowledge of food, and their active participation towards future outcomes (Bandayrel & Wong, 2011; Gittelsohn et al., 2006; Havas et al., 1998; Smith et al., 2004). Chen, Acton, and Shao (2010) added that elders are subject to decreased self-efficacy as they age,

potentially leading to a deficient diet. The addition of chronic disease and loss of independence only compounds this problem.

Clearly, there are concerns with this population due to their age and other characteristics related to the aging process. When focusing on the male gender of this subgroup, less research is available that provides data allowing for greater understanding of his unique characteristics and qualities that are important when seeking understanding of this phenomenon.

Elders Using Food Assistance

As noted earlier, more than half of those persons who qualify for food assistance programs actually utilize them. Little research, specifically on elder males, was found that illustrated their perceptions of programs and using them as resources.

Common themes of the elderly subgroup of food insecure individuals surfaced through this search of the literature. Themes included: poor view of using food stamps, low rate of initial adoption of an assistance program, lack of knowledge and information, lack of community resources, location of residence, feelings of embarrassment and potential loss of independence, lack of social support, and perception of actual need (Arcury, Quandt, Bell, McDonald, & Vitolins, 1998; Frongillo, Valois, & Wolfe, 2003; Guthrie & Lin, 2002; Lee & Frongillo, 2001c; Quandt, Arcury, Bell, McDonald, & Vitolins, 2001; Wu, 1996).

Additionally, geographic and cultural themes surfaced. Perceived barriers to obtaining adequate food and using assistance programs included: differences in attitudes related to location, family structures, economics, racism, ethnic conflict, elder

stereotyping, community reluctance to provide services, ignorance, and resistance to change (Arcury et al., 1998; Guthrie & Lin, 2002).

Elder Males and Community

As noted earlier, men have social characteristics that may inhibit or preclude them from obtaining food via assistance programs. Their connectivity may be critical to interacting with others and utilizing assistance to get food. Elements such as community, social cohesion, and connectedness seem to play a role in how participatory these individuals are in meeting their food related needs. This chapter also provides a view of other closely enmeshed concepts such as membership, influence, fulfillment of needs, bridging potential, autonomy, selectivity, and self-efficacy. Empowerment or the process by which individuals gain mastery over their lives (Minkler & Wallerstein, 1998) is believed to be critical to the successful incorporation of assistance utilization. Additionally, it is proposed that the desire and/or ability to effectively utilize food assistance in times of need is connected to the elderly male's sense of community: his degree of connection to others, his feelings of influence, control, and perceived ability to act. When elderly males have a high sense of community, it is believed that they are more likely to seek out and make use of the resources that are available to them.

Community is often seen as the geographical and territorial area surrounding one's neighborhood, possibly even one's town or in some cases a whole city (Gusfield, 1975). Another interpretation, in more modern times, considers the relational component featuring human relationships as the focus, rather than the location (Durkheim, 1964; Gusfield, 1975). The relational characteristics may be centered on spiritual, professional,

volunteer, and other groups. Four key components that have been proposed to describe community include membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. Essentially, community is felt when members feel that they belong, that they matter, and that their needs and the group's needs are met (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Critical Components of Community

A closer look at the four key components of community serves to assist in understanding how an elderly male may position himself where he lives and with whom he does or does not feel comfortable. Sense of community (SOC), which refers to the psychological variables of beliefs and attitudes, is proposed to be significant in understanding how men perceive their fit and the role they assume during their interactions (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Membership. When an individual considers himself to be a member, he has a feeling that he has invested himself in the group or activity and that he deserves to belong (Aronson & Mills, 1959; Buss & Portnoy, 1967). This feeling of membership affords the individual with some degree of emotional safety that may at some point produce comfort, allowing feelings to be exposed (Bean, 1971; Ehrlich & Graeven, 1971; Wood, 1971). Community membership is often summarized as a very personal mental territory (Puddifoot, 1995, 1996). People need to feel a part of the community in order for any changes to be productive which positively affect the quality of life (Sarason, 1974). Hence, an increased sense of community leads to increased well-being and quality of life.

Boundaries. Boundaries are a natural element of membership, containing both positive (protection) and negative (deviant) characteristics. Boundaries, in regards to communities, play a major role when considering communities. At times, boundaries may serve to include, as well as to exclude, residents or members. These boundaries often are subtle lines, that serve to separate those close and others who cannot be trusted (Bernard, 1973). Additionally, boundaries provide a sense of security as the individual feels he possesses an identity within his community, he feels accepted, he has some degree of emotional safety, and his investment in the group is valuable. He becomes willing to stand up for other members (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Influence. Influence can be viewed in part as one's feeling that he has some power over others in his group but also that the group has some power over the group's members (Kelley & Volkart, 1952; Kelley & Woodruff, 1956; Peterson & Martens, 1972; Solomon, 1960; Zander & Cohen, 1955). Men tend to be more attracted to a community group when they feel they possess influence. The feeling of cohesion and community influence leads members to conform, leading to validation. It is expected that both influence of the member and influence of the community occur simultaneously as the natural sense of a close community group (McMillan & Chavis, 1986).

Integration and fulfillment of needs. Reinforcement is another word used to depict integration and fulfillment of needs. Group membership must entail some degree of reinforcement to retain disciples and motivate behavior. Maintaining positive feelings of "us" is paramount. The level of authority placed, either intrapersonally or defined by the

group, and competence, favorable skills or attributes, are two reinforcing aspects of group membership (Kelley, 1951; Zander & Cohen, 1955; Zander & Havelin, 1960).

Shared emotional connection. Individuals who share some history often share an emotional connection. Even if the individuals did not share the exact same history, they must identify with it (McMillan & Chavis, 1986). This sharing of actual events or just the ability to relate to another's story is thought to strengthen feelings of community. The greater number of interactions, the more likely individuals will become close, which is an important feature of a shared connection (Allan & Allan, 1971; Festinger, 1950; Sherif, White, & Harvey, 1955; Wilson & Miller, 1961). Positive interactions strengthen bonds and facilitate cohesion (Cook, 1970).

Social Cohesion and Empowerment

Social cohesion has been rendered a construct that considers relational participation through elements such as trust, commitment, reciprocity, and shared emotions (Kawachi & Kennedy, 1997). Participation, through the relational experience of connection, is thought to be germane to understanding empowerment.

Gender in relation to community. Empowerment, the social action means by which individuals feel they gain some sense of mastery, is typically regarded as critical to one's sense of quality of life (Minkler & Wallerstein, 1998). Empowerment is considered to be a complex multifaceted process that most likely manifests itself differently in women than in men (Zimmerman, 2000).

Much of the research on gender with regard to empowerment has been focused on women (Swift, Bond, & Serrano-Garcia, 2000). Significant for this study is to understand

that “unconnected” males, those who have lower community and participation in groups, are more likely to be less connected and have increased negative feelings of community (Peterson & Hughey, 2004). Men are proposed to experience connectedness in ways other than relational within the community; therefore, lower relational ties appear to be predictive of low empowerment (Peterson & Hughey, 2004).

Men may optimize their connectedness by participation in action oriented connections, which may be attributed to the societal norms of power and resource utilization for men and women (Peterson & Hughey, 2004). Historically, men have known privilege and status that leads to their perceived sense of empowerment. With this privilege comes the ability to produce actions towards an end that often are not relational in nature. This dynamic attributed to men lends itself to viewing connectedness through a certain lens, focused on male needs.

Aged in relation to community. The experience of older men and eating needs study to better capture their attitudes, beliefs, and feelings, not adequately revealed through quantitative methods (Hughes et al., 2004). Men differ in their approach to food compared to women. Much of the differences can be attributed to the traditional and historical roles men and women have played over time. Older women tend to do more cooking than older men, likely due to that being their role in most families. Older men tend to rely on food and meals from outside sources, such as community group meals and family (Hughes et al., 2004).

It is also thought that women may fare better in older age as a single person due to their household duties over time and the fact that they often live longer alone compared

to men. These factors skew the thinking that women likely eat a healthier diet as older adults compared to men.

Connectedness. According to Putnam (2000), social connectedness is without doubt the most powerful component of well-being. Social involvement boosts the sense of cohesion leading to increased networking and positive community health outcomes. Significant to understanding connection for the elderly male population is to know that social connection, through participation and networks, has been identified as a key component to older adults' overall health and sense of well-being (National Institute on Aging, n.d.). Since the United States is facing increased life expectancies in the next decades, it will become imperative that appropriate planning occurs to assist with managing the resources to provide for those in need. These needs will place a significant burden on government programs and agencies to provide services and support (Malta, 2005). When elderly adults are more socially connected, they have better means for access to community groups, services, and resources (Malta, 2005).

Summary of the Literature

This review of the literature has presented a knowledge base for understanding the elder male who is considered food insecure. The characteristics surrounding this population and phenomenon such as the uncertain access to reliable amounts of food, the barriers to utilizing assistance, and the larger overriding consequences of his sense of community stand to illustrate the experiences for a growing elderly population. Without greater knowledge of his meaning and how he attributes his experiences, there is a potential for increasing numbers to become part of the food insecure phenomenon as they

age. “The proposed characterization of household food insecurity emphasizes the need for sufficient food in the present and in the future, and for people to sense that they can have control over their food situation to achieve not only survival, but also self-respect and social integration” (Hamelin et al., 2002, p. 128). An understanding of how the elder male views his experience (attribution) sets the stage for improved resources with gender and age appropriate interventions to be developed.

Chapter III describes the research methodology used in this qualitative study. The methods, procedures, and selection of the participants are discussed to provide context for a study on this elderly male food security topic.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Chapter III investigates the definition of qualitative research used as a method for data collection and explains the method phenomenology, the type of qualitative research most suited to this study. Discussion follows that addresses data collection methods with a description of the data analysis process to close the chapter.

Qualitative research is characterized as a type of research that seeks to gain some understanding of how people make sense of their life and the experiences they encounter in their world (Merriam, 2009). Qualitative research focuses on “uncovering the meaning of a phenomenon for those involved” (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). The emphasis is on the value of the inquiry and the intent to better understand the social experience (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). It is a desire to understand the essence of each experience, rich with unique details and multiple perspectives, not just to identify its existence. The focus for this study, therefore, is to understand how the elder male makes meaning of his experiences with food insecurity.

There are five essential components of qualitative research, according to Bogdan and Biklen (2007). These components begin with conducting research in the natural setting where the researcher is the research instrument. Bogdan and Biklen (2007) pointed out that data is collected in the location of the study participants, and the researcher’s keen observation skills combine to aid in the analysis. This process is instrumental for acquiring context and the gathering of accurate data on site as it occurs.

Secondly, this research can be referred to as descriptive, where the written word provides a picture that enables the reader to visualize the intended meaning in the words. The qualitative researcher looks at everything in the environment and attempts to write a narrative that provides the reader with a clear and complete picture of what is happening (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The third component focuses on the process of the study rather than on the outcome. The researcher is looking for the meaning of the experience ascribed to by the participants, rather than seeking the answer to a question.

The fourth component of qualitative research is the inductive nature of the data analysis process. The qualitative researcher is not seeking to find an answer to confirm or confound a question, but is instead seeking to build a representative description of an experience as the study proceeds through data collection into data analysis (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). This inductive means of analysis is used to form a picture that becomes clearer with the addition of each piece of data. One takes the large set of data at the beginning, asks newly realized questions, and moves towards narrowing these new findings, leading to a more focused representation of the study findings and possible answers to the research questions (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). The fifth component views understanding of the 'meaning' of other's experiences being critical and the point of the researcher's study. This is how the participants make sense of their experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007).

Moving forward the intent is to, through concentrated listening, capture how participants make meaning of their experiences (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Through this approach, the phenomenon speaks for itself, detailing each unique context, the

ambiguities, and the complexities leading to a future description of some meaning of the personal aspect of the food insecurity phenomenon.

A phenomenological perspective, seeks to document each person's perception. According to Moustakas (1994), phenomenology focuses on the appearance of things just as they appear, in their wholeness with examination from many angles, sides, and perspectives. He explained that phenomenology is committed to descriptions of experiences, keeping as close as possible to the original texture of the happening.

Participant perceptions of their experiences were invaluable in potentially constructing meaning from the findings, as this is the primary source of knowledge and cannot be doubted (Moustakas, 1994). As the perceptions of each account of the stories are recorded, one becomes closer to capturing the phenomenal qualities for each participant. The perceptual process seeks to reveal each aspect in a new way until all possibilities are exhausted. The goal, therefore, is that dense and rich conversation will lead to understanding how participants make meaning of their experiences.

The phenomenological approach also involves a deep look at the experience with the intent of obtaining a comprehensive description that allows the essence of the experience to be revealed (Moustakas, 1994). According to Moustakas (1994), "The human scientist determines the underlying structures of an experience by interpreting the originally given descriptions of the situation in which the experience occurs" (p. 13).

In this study, interviewing the senior meal participants was intended to allow descriptions to emerge. The descriptions provided by the participants unveiled some understanding of what it feels like to experience food insecurity. The approach for this

study was grounded in the words of the participants and not a personal construct or interpretation. It was with this intent that the search for authentic feelings and descriptions revealed the essence of the food insecurity phenomenon.

Moustakas (1994) added, “The understanding of meaningful concrete relations implicit in the original description of experience in *the context of a particular situation* is the primary target of phenomenological knowledge” (p. 14). This research component required a careful look for meanings solely from the participant stories.

Intentional experience, as described via an analogy by Moustakas (1994), is the key to understanding this approach to inquiry. Moustakas explained these experiences as acts of consciousness. He described a perceived tree which consists of the physical appearance of the entity as well as the consciousness of it in his mind, derived from images, memory, and his meaning. His memory meanings of the tree entity are easily verified as others can view a tree with their eyes. Any additional meaning of this tree is not so easily confirmed. All of his experiences and subsequent tree meanings are resultant of perceptions and internal meanings, not outwardly verifiable to others. There is no absolute construction of this tree and therefore it cannot ultimately be ascribed a constant and universal meaning. Such are the experiences of others, such as the food insecure population. One can see and verify their participation at a community meal site but one cannot see into their perceptions and verify their personal experience, as only they can see it. Since one will never be able to fully know the meaning of the experience of food insecurity as viewed in this context, this study used intentional consciousness

through open and nonjudgmental conversations with the participants to capture their perspective, and not the perspective of the researcher.

Research Methods

Research Questions

This study's research questions formed the basis of how the data collection process proceeded. The first question focused on the elder male's experiences associated with food insecurity by capturing his understanding through his words: (1) How does the elderly male describe the experiences associated with food insecurity? The second question guided the interview by searching for words and descriptions from the participant that assisted the researcher in recording his experiences of accessing food through assistance or how he may reveal his lack of utilization of resources: (2) What is the relationship between the experiences ascribed by the food insecure elder male and the perceived barriers in accessing food through food assistance programs?

Participants and Recruitment

Participants. Four to six male meal participants were recruited for this study. Participants were recruited based on the following two criteria: (1) elderly male 65 years of age or older and (2) some degree of food insecurity experienced. The participants best suited for this study were elder males who attended the senior meal at the community site who felt they had or do experience food insecurity to some degree. Males aged 65 years or older were recruited since this age range is typically used when the term 'elderly' is the descriptor. This type of recruitment is considered purposive sampling, which is a method used by qualitative researchers and is suited for this study. According to Patton

(2002), purposive sampling, is powerful for this type of study due to the “information-rich” cases available (p. 230). The participants provided insights and deeper understanding rather than generalizations. This type of sampling was appropriate for this study since these participants were the experts on their experiences and were most likely the richest sources of data.

Gaining access. To gain access to this group, I contacted the agency to share about the research project and invite the agency to assist in recruitment. In accordance with the Human Participants Review for the Institutional Review Board (IRB), as the researcher I obtained a formal letter of cooperation from the appropriate person authorized to approve such a request.

Recruitment plan. Once the formal letter of approval was obtained, it was submitted along with the required supportive documentation to the IRB. Once IRB approval was obtained, I followed up with the center director to schedule a day for me to speak to the noon meal group. As the researcher, I provided a personal introduction and explanation of the project and the criteria for participation (see Appendix D). An invitational flyer was passed around and also made available at the center information table (see Appendix E). Accompanying the invitation flyer, my business card was readily available at the front desk of the local agency.

Willing participants were instructed to pick up one of my business cards at the front desk or use the flyer information to contact me. The participant would then be instructed to set up a time for the initial meeting. Otherwise, at any time, if an elder male was willing to participate, he could alert me in person of his interest in being a

participant. If a participant informed me that he was interested, I would set up a time to meet with him.

Participants were asked to consent to take part in this study by hearing a formal informed consent verbalization of the purpose and process of the study and signing their first name only on the form (see Appendix F). Proposed participants were asked if they had understanding of what was being asked of them and if they had questions. Each participant was assured that every effort would be provided to ensure his privacy. Each participant confirmed his freewill agreement to take part in the study prior to any data collection. His right to refuse was supported and the right to stop an interview at any time was granted without hesitation.

Setting. The site chosen for this study was a senior community agency in a Midwestern city. The agency was a local affiliate of a larger organization that provides services to the “senior” population. This senior population participates in the free meals served weekly midday Monday through Friday. Also, this site provides additional services to the population such as Meals on Wheels and on-site activities such as Bingo and educational programs. This site was in a convenient location with easy access for the contact, observation, and interviews (if desired). Familiarity was gained with the agency, its staff, and the meal activity.

Data Collection

Two key data collection methods were used in this qualitative research study. They were participant observation and interviewing. It was expected that participant interviews would comprise the greatest source of data for this study, but observation

would also provide additional insight into the participants. Participant observation was expected to capture the interactions and setting of the participants. A research log was utilized as a supportive document to assist with organization and thoroughness (see Appendix G).

To determine if the interview process would move forward, an introductory statement that explained food insecurity, the purpose of the project, and the qualifications for participation were read. I then asked if there were any questions and asked the prospective participant if he felt he qualified based on the description. If he indicated that he felt qualified, as the researcher I proceeded with a beginning introductory conversation. I then explained that the intention was to conduct at least three interviews that would provide opportunities to get to know each other better, to begin the discussion on experiences of food insecurity, and to pursue thoughts and ask additional questions to gain clarity. If the participant was agreeable to these intentions, the process began. The participant was given the consent form and signatures were requested. Explanations were provided as needed.

Interviews. Interviews are purposeful conversations between two people where descriptive data consists of the subjects' words that provide insight for the researcher to interpret his thoughts and/or experiences (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007). Interviewing the participants was the main source of data. This collection method was intended to produce rich conversation allowing the participants to explore and describe their experiences.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted using a semi-structured question format with four men at a senior center and one in his home. Four of the five men were interviewed three times and the fifth was able to be interviewed twice due to a hospitalization. The interviews lasted 40 to 55 minutes and were conducted in private. Observations of the center occurred prior to and throughout the time of the interviews. The data collected from these observations and interviews was transcribed and coded using a constant comparison method. It was proposed that the data that emerged from the 14 sets of transcripts and the observation notes would reveal connections between many experiences and current day views of how to address food insecurity.

Trustworthiness was accomplished through prolonged exposure and engagement at the center and at one participant's home; triangulation, which included observation at various times on several days, extensive researcher interviews, anecdotal conversation notes from participants at times other than the interviews, and feedback from center staff; peer review during the coding process; member checking with all participants; and rich description of the field notes and interviews.

Semi-structured interviews were used to gather comments from the participants. Interview questions were formulated in advance of the study, but modifications were made based on the observations and after the first and second interviews. Semi-structured interview questions offered the flexibility needed in this setting to encourage dialogue between the participants and the researcher. Three of the four participants were interviewed three times. The fourth participant was only interviewed twice due to a hospitalization. The interviews lasted 45 to 60 minutes.

The process of interviewing entailed three phases. The first phase was the introductory or getting to know each other phase. The second phase was intended to produce more history of the participants' experiences. The third phase was intended to use the expanded personal relationship between the researcher and the participant to gain deeper and richer conversation. A greater level of comfort at this point produced additional sharing and provided me, the researcher, with increased clarity in recording the participants' comments (see Appendices H, I, and J).

To begin, I shared as much about myself as possible to allow the participant to get a good idea of my background, experiences, and personality. This was intended to show the participant that I had a sincere willingness to be revealing, showing my candid self. This openness was intended to provide a context for the participant to also feel comfortable exposing his feelings and being candid with the researcher. Again, an underlying premise was that if, at any time, the participant divulged that he was uncomfortable or unwilling to proceed, the researcher would cease the interview without question and indicate that the participant preferred to end the process. Throughout the study, however, this did not happen.

As the researcher, I needed to be conscious of the population's needs, such as potential hearing and sight difficulties. Therefore, checking for voice tone and volume was important. A move to the best location for participant hearing was made to accommodate that variable. An important aspect of this introduction and explanation was asking for questions from the participants. Allowing for time to process and formulate

questions for adults in this age group was important as some of this population took longer to absorb the information and formulate comments and/or questions.

After the first and second interviews, I looked back at the comments of the participants and searched for words that provided some insight into how future questions might be worded. This reflection on the participants' comments was intended to shed some light onto a more personal and sensitive wording of future interview questions.

The interviews were conducted in a mutually agreeable location. It was important to commence the interview sessions with some degree of conversation to help relax the participant and gain trust. The contact needed to feel informal and be interactive to produce an atmosphere of conversation. The participants needed to feel that they could tell their stories without judgement. Nonverbal communication was open and inviting and verbal communication was gentle and welcoming. Without these elements, it would be less likely that a revealing conversation would occur (Moustakas, 1994).

Questions were prepared that aimed at provoking a comprehensive account of each participant's experiences, realizing that phenomenological interviews are varied and require alterations in questions or complete omission of questions based on the direction of the conversation (Moustakas, 1994). The questions were, therefore, only a starting point since this type of interview does not typically follow a prescribed course; it takes on a nature of its own. With appropriate and perceptual guidance from the interviewer, the participant was able to share his experience in detail and with richness.

With consent of the participants, the interviews were audiotaped (see Appendix F). The audiotaping device was in plain view of the participant. Audiotaping allowed for

greater accuracy in documenting the interview, and the transcription of that interview served as an additional record of the event. All of the audio taped interviews were transcribed on my personal computer to which no one else has access. Participants were identified by pseudonyms and no personal identities were included. (See Appendix K for one transcribed interview).

Observation. Observation of participants, used frequently in qualitative research, was characterized by the researcher carefully observing, experiencing, and then making conscious records of the situation. These records were detailed and reflected every aspect of what was being observed. I constantly analyzed my observations, checking for meaning and authenticity and not allowing personal impressions to cloud the records (Glesne, 2016).

Observation can be characterized by the role of the researcher and the intention of the study. The observer may focus on solely recording data with no interaction with the participants. In that case, the participants usually do not know they are being observed. The next step on this scale of different levels of observation is the observer as participant. In this observation scenario, the researcher observer may have some interaction with the participants. The next level of observer is the participant as observer where the researcher is actively involved and interacting with the participants. Lastly, the full participant is characterized as a full member of the observed community with considerable investment in the participants' activities (Glesne, 2016). The level of observation by the researcher is determined by the research questions, the context of the study, and the theoretical perspective of the study, according to Glesne (2016).

In this study, observation was ‘observer as participant’ and observation occurred prior to interviewing. The intention was to gain some perspective about the general overview of the facility and the attendees of the meal. This observation was recorded afterward in the form of journaling, which allowed me to represent the people and place through concentrated reflection. Journaling, according to Janesick (1999), is a “great vehicle for coming to terms with exactly what one is doing as the qualitative researcher” (p. 507). This method of reflection “produces meaning and understanding that are shaped by genre, the narrative form used, and personal cultural and paradigmatic conventions of the writer” (Janesick, 1999, p. 507). A particularly important role of journaling is the checks and balance it provides for the project. It can serve as a means of triangulation or verification of the facts (Janesick, 1999).

The first observation began with me attending the site before a community meal. This allowed for observation of the facility, its layout, and the people as they arrived for the meal. Observation focused on the male attendees: how they arrived, with whom they arrived, their physical appearance, and other descriptive notes. Observations included interactions between all participants, the staff, and the volunteers. These types of observations give me as a researcher a sense of the community within this facility. Other observations aside from these listed provided additional perspective on the participant environment.

Recording of these observations occurred afterward, as explained previously. In the format of journaling, I dedicated time to record as many recollections of the observations as possible. A journal notebook was dedicated to this data collection. I

secluded to a quiet setting at home and wrote until as many recollections as possible were noted. Journal entries were produced to record the two observations.

Data Analysis

Data analysis is a systematic process used to find meaning through the organizing, analysis, and synthesizing of the data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). As the conversations, words, observations, and all of the notes were reviewed, it was important to remember that this aspect of the study holds an important key to unlocking a nuanced understanding of the experience of food insecurity and self-efficacy. The goal of this portion of the study was to analyze the data through a process that would actually occur through the data collection. The organizational method was intended to keep track of what was seen, heard, and read so it would be possible to sift through it with the intent of finding some meaning of the experiences. A research log (see Appendix G) on my computer was the method of keeping the fieldwork in an easily accessible and readable format. The research log assisted with organization and record keeping. If a note or question triggered some thoughts of a possible connection or meaning, it was written down for future consideration and/or follow-up. It was important to realize that not all notes would be usable but with the notation of each potential thought or connection, stimulated open thinking and possible connections and meanings were possible.

Throughout the data collection process, simultaneous data analysis was performed (Glesne, 2016). This allowed for focus and redesign while shaping the next steps of the study. Taking multiple reviews and looking for common themes were the hallmark of this process with the end result being identification of some meaning of it all.

During the data collection process, new data were added that required close consideration leading to yet another review and then again with each subsequent addition of data. In this manner it was possible to capture the rich texture of each participant's experiences. Since the process sought to unlock meaning, an open mind was critical in allowing for commonalities and themes to surface in a rich and dense manner (Strauss & Corbin, 1994).

Open coding is typically used in the early stages of qualitative research analysis (Patton, 2002). It is characterized by the researcher making notes of bits of information that seem to be relevant to answering the research questions, which will eventually be sorted into clumps of words showing commonality that are repeatedly reviewed (Glesne, 2016). Additionally, the notes obtained through observation may add clarity to the organization and data reflection. After transcribing the interviews, the data were organized into readable documents using any other notes included during the data obtainment. The data were sorted, organized and labeled into meaningful categories. Searching for themes occurred throughout the process. These themes and common significant topics helped to direct the formulation of the meaning of the experience of food insecurity.

Ethical Considerations

It was important to keep in mind that a member of this population might be protective of his experiences and subsequent feelings. The approach, therefore, was to be respectful of his potential apprehension about discussing such a sensitive experience. Ethical considerations accounted for the age group, gender, and history. As noted in

Chapter II, this cohort was expected to possibly not be forthcoming with sensitive personal information, so care was provided to protect the participants' sensitivities as perceived by the researcher or voiced by the participant.

Five principles of ethics, as described by Glesne (2016), were appropriate for this study. Do no harm, the first of these principles, required me, the researcher, to search for all means by which the study might cause harm to the participants. I had to eliminate potential harm to protect the participants. Also, I was open and honest when describing and explaining my study. Transparency was a key to an ethical approach to the participants. Third, informed consent and approval from the vested parties were essential to conducting a quality study. I recognized my ethical obligations to the study participants as primary over my obligations to others who may have interests in the study. Fourth, I understood that the results of the study need to be promptly disseminated. Lastly, I understood the gravity of protecting and preserving anonymity and records to ensure confidentiality of the participants. These ethical principles were tantamount to conducting a worthy study of this nature.

While seeking to capture the participants' experiences, it was essential that a process was used that would help to facilitate the derivation of knowledge gained from this study: *epoché*. This Greek word means to refrain from judgment, to look beyond everyday reactions, and to discard everyday perceptions when conversing with the participants (Moustakas, 1994). Knowing that it was critical to look for the nature of what was said and portrayed, this researcher looked carefully to *see* what was in front of her, not just record it.

As the primary researcher, it was important to acknowledge and understand that personal perceptions and attitudes must be acknowledged. When the primary research instrument is the researcher, it is imperative that personal experiences, judgements, and realities are revealed and disclosed in order for the participants' reality to be revealed.

The above techniques were woven throughout this study to seek validity and trustworthiness. The observations and subsequent interviews were used to validate the study findings. Peer review or external audit was conducted by the dissertation committee to ensure the coding of themes was appropriate while all exceptions were sought with genuine intent. Member checks occurred with the participants (providing confidentiality) and the facility staff with generalizations provided by the researcher to solicit participant input. The subsequent writing has been presented with rich and thick intent.

It was anticipated that participation in this study might result in participants reflecting on unsettling or emotional times in their lives. This reflection was thought to be potentially uncomfortable. If, at any time, I felt the participants appeared to be in distress, I asked if the interview should cease. At no time did any of the participants respond that they preferred to end an interview or change any questioning. I was aware that it was possible that the participants might reveal personal medical, psychological, and/or psycho-social conditions that could be considered a risk for that individual. I knew that I would re-iterate that confidentiality would be maintained and, if appropriate, I would make referrals to professionals. No referrals were needed.

Ensuring Validity

To ensure credibility of a qualitative study, validity must be a concern. Eight verification procedures are commonly used in qualitative research (Creswell, 2007) to ensure a quality product. These procedures (summarized below) assisted me, the researcher, to produce trustworthiness or validity of the study.

1. Prolonged engagement and persistent observation. The researcher engages in a lengthy time period with the participants to develop a rapport, learn about the culture and to test 'hunches'.
2. Triangulation. Multiple methods of data collection that include multiple sources, multiple investigators, and the consideration of multiple theoretical perspectives are used.
3. Peer review and debriefing. An external look at the data and input from others is used to locate additional perspectives.
4. Negative case analysis. A purposeful attempt to seek any negatives or exceptions is useful in seeking a valid study.
5. Clarification of researcher bias. Personal reflection is used to check for subjective bias.
6. Member checking. The sharing of interview notes and transcripts and paper drafts is used to obtain a true representation of the verbalizations.
7. Rich, thick description. Deep and thoughtful writing that captures the full meaning of the experience.

8. External audit. An outside source reviews the research process, field notes, coding schemes, and other components of the study (p. 207-208).

Summary

The methodology for this study was presented in Chapter III. A description of the components often used in qualitative research was presented. Research methods were then outlined, including research questions, participants and recruitment, data collection, and data analysis. Ethical considerations were presented and efforts to ensure validity were outlined. Chapter IV presents the data in the form of descriptions and quotations. It begins with demographic information and is followed by a snapshot of each of the participants. Themes are noted related to common components of the interviews.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Seeking to understand the population of elder men faced with food insecurity was the aim of this study. Five men volunteered to be interviewed three times about their past and current experiences when accessing food was compromised. The participants met the study criteria of being 65 years old or older and having had experience with food insecurity. All of the men were Caucasian and lived near a senior center where the recruitment of participants was conducted. After each interview, transcripts of the conversations were completed. Revisions to the interview questions were made upon completion of those transcripts based on what the men revealed and discussed. Once all of the interviews were completed, the transcripts were coded. Observation was used in conjunction with the collection of data from the interviews. The observation notes and interview transcripts were reviewed multiple times in search of commonalities that eventually led to themes.

The results of this study follow. The themes representing the men and their memories are provided in order to make sense of how they have experienced, and some still experience, food insecurity today.

Poor Folks

The participants in this study associated food insecurity with “being poor.” As they described what it meant to be poor, they shared early memories that pointed to the importance of family and shared responsibility. These key components provide insight into what the men described as “being poor” and food insecure.

Deep rooted family ties surfaced as a commonality amongst the men. Family memories often led to fond recollections of their mothers. The mother of each of these gentlemen was described with a very soft tone of voice. Clearly, there were tender memories of their mothers. William, in a matter of fact manner, recalled:

When I was about 5 years old, my mother had a gas water heater blow up in her face.....there was a fire.....and the only place she wasn't burned was her eye lids and the bottoms of her feetI understand she was pregnant at the time. I didn't find that out until later.....different things will trigger things, certain smells every time I smelled it I thought of my mom.....the first recollection I have was that when you think of something you think from your perspective, your simulation of experiences, it was that she looked like a mummy in a horse tank cause she was all wet and it looked like a horse tank.

Then, he added:

She was a stay at home mom and when she got burned she didn't do anything. She was in and out of the hospital ...off and on for three years...The place where she was really scarred was her shoulders. She couldn't put her arms down like that...she was in her late 20s. She had snow white beautiful hair. I can remember and I never saw her in a short sleeve shirt...or ever saw a low neckline on her chest.

William's comments about these times were never complaining or depressing—just a man with vivid memories who today retells the scenes with a rather matter of fact style. It was what it was. He also explained that his companion during this time was his dog, by saying, “The only friend I really had growing up was my dog.” William had no siblings and he moved many times relating that “until the second semester of fourth grade I went to about 35 or 40 elementary schools...because my father worked as an itinerant construction worker.” He added:

We lived ...in a trailer...probably wasn't 12 feet long...there was a couch, living room, my bedroom...and what I call a galley kitchen...an island down the middle, a bathroom and in the back was my mom and dad's bedroom.

Picturing winters in Nebraska, William explained, “We put bails of straw around it to skirt it with straw...to keep the wind out...we used space heaters.”

He further explained that:

What it was mostly was lonesome because you don't have a lot of friends and if you go somewhere and make friends and leave that's how my best friend was a little black dog named Smokey.

He recalled the times in melancholy tones; it was his family life—all he had.

Charles shared about standing in line with his father to get commodities:

I felt sad for my Dad because he had to stand in line for all this food but there was at times a long line maybe a block long and there were other people there with boxes so I knew what they were there for but I felt bad for my Dad because he had to do this.

They had some memories of sad times but conveyed true love when recalling their family experiences.

Ensuring that the family had food to eat required that everyone contribute to the effort. For example, most of the men described their mothers as working outside the home to earn extra income while also being primarily responsible for preparing meals, caring for the house, and preserving extra food. Each man also described his role as a boy. A poignant illustration came from Charles. He described with some sadness, looking down as he spoke, how he had a paper route so that he could give his dad money.

He shared:

I had a paper route. I had 150 customers at one time....double bag over each wheel and one over my shoulder. And my brother had a route and so whenever Dad needed some extra money we gave it to him to help buy groceries and food and so this went on until I was probably about 17 or 18 years old and then I went to work in Waterloo.

One man began working as a caddy at age seven. Sam remembered fondly the days that he worked at the golf course and got to caddy and work as a greens keeper explaining, “I started caddying when I was 7...was making \$30 per week...then I worked in the pro shop...and on the ground crew.” Sam quickly noted that the money “helped the old man, too.” Butch worked on the farm. He shared some fond memories of working with his grandfather:

I got to work with my Grandpa and that was neat ...yeah he showed me all the tricks about fencing and some of the farm work ...we had a four row planter...now they have 16 or 24 row planters ...we baled 3000 squares ...and we had to pick up rock...it's a big thing on 500 acres...you don't want to hit a rock or bust a blade on your combine...you had to milk and do your chores before school...then when you get home you gotta do your chores (after school).

Leo commented that “I kinda babysitted my kid sister, I could take care of her.”

William explained what happens at age five when your mother cannot tend to the house and your father is gone working. He said, “I cooked...spam and mashed potatoes.”

Poor and how the family managed were significant to how the men described their experiences with food insecurity. Strong mothers, commodity food, and moving frequently were just some of the profound characteristics of being poor. Plainly, these circumstances defined these poor folks.

Deep-Rooted Values

A number of values informed the men's early lives. They remembered having to be practical; they learned that you had to make use of everything. They learned the importance of work; everyone did their part and often that meant working hard at difficult jobs. Finally, they knew self-sufficiency as the way of life. They learned that families take care of their own and that hand-outs were frowned upon. These values guided the

men's early lives and their experiences living as poor folks with little food. Values defined what they knew.

Use What You Have

A sense of resourcefulness and practicality surfaced when the stories described how families got by when money was short. Leo and Charles explained that they learned that "you do it yourself...and ...you make it work or do without." William talked about money after his mother's accident. In response to whether the hospitalizations caused financial hardship he stated "Oh hell yes...you didn't have a lot of expensive garish things, just the basics."

Charles explained how his mother used to make soup:

That soup we would put together in a can and we used...progressive...hodge podge...I remember Mom putting it in a big can...everything off the supper table went into that can...and she'd put it in the freezer and she'd freeze it and when that can got full she'd put it in a great big roaster and I tell you that's good soup...I remember that all the time.

He continued by explaining:

We had a lot of powdered milk, it came in those commodities...I'll stick with regular milk (today)...but I thank the Lord many times for that powdered milkmom would make it the night before and make it nice and cold. You really didn't complain because we knew.

And a secret pancake recipe Charles explained was:

We had a lot of cornmeal and pancake batter that came from those commodities. Every morning I still have one pancake.....yeah one morning she said boys I've got a new breakfast for you, get down here. We went down there and I said well that's just pancakes and she said, there's cornmeal mixed in that pancake. I'll still do that to this day.

Explaining how the family used every piece of food they had helped to articulate how vital food was when finances were uncertain or deficient. Even though soup could

actually be completely leftovers, that idea was not problematic to Charles. It was his mother's way of using everything they had to avoid wasting food. Commodity milk was a blessing at times so the family learned how to drink it and be thankful. Additionally, creativity with the foods on hand met some needs and left a mark on a child's memory that even today serves as a pleasant memory.

Work Hard

Overwhelmingly, the men early on began to talk about their "Dad" and how hard he worked. As the stories mounted it became strikingly clear that Dad's work ethic, even though his employment may have been unstable at times, was solidly rooted in their value system.

Leo's father worked in textiles which was a dirty and difficult job. He clarified, "Most of them worked I won't say slave labor but you didn't get big prices like John Deere...it was industrial...mother and father worked their butts off to make a living."

Charles spoke about how his father worked hard but in a split second he had tears in his eyes. He recalled how his father had several jobs before he was hired at Viking Pump where he worked until retirement.

Immediately upon talking about his father, Sam began to cry. His face became sullen and he looked sad. He paused and said, "We were on welfare ...he lost the gas station ...it was during the depression he lost a lot of money but he worked for the WPA...worked on the road."

And then with a much brighter facial expression he declared, “And then he got a job at Rath’s and worked there until he died.” It was obvious that the Rath job was a proud memory for Sam, much fonder than thinking about when they lived on welfare.

Clearly, a significant component to the men recalling how their families managed through difficult times was remembering that their father was the center of their efforts to feed the family. Their fathers’ ability to work hard and even take multiple jobs to provide for the family represented their memories. They learned that working, often times working at hard jobs, was what the man did to take care of his family. They acknowledged tough times and even living off welfare, but they all preferred to focus on thinking about how hard work was the preferred means to care for their families.

Be Self-Sufficient

Clearly, families had to be able to meet their needs even when finances were short. Sometimes, as the men explained, outside help was the undesirable solution. Charles shared how he knew that the huge Christmas basket that landed on their front porch came from the pastor at their church. His father did not want the children to know where it came from but this man knew:

Great big baskets, but Dad would never let us go to the door to see who was there...the pastor told my Dad...I’ll bring a box over today and I’ll sit it outside the door ...there was a knock on the door...because Dad knew who it was...so after a minute or two he was gone and we’d go....Dad a big box!

Charity was unpleasant when considering that they were supposed to be self-sustaining.

Charles recalled the act of getting commodities:

I remember doing that lots of times with my Dad. We’d stand in line. I remember a time when he had to actually go and count crowd’s feet that people would bring

in...he got paid \$.02 a foot...and my Dad had to pick them out of the box and count them....that was his payback for all of his commodities.

They should not rely on others as Butch recalled. He noted that “you should be a plumber, and electrician, a crop manager, and then a herdsman for the cattle and pigs.” It was not likely you could get one of these tradesmen to come to the farm, but more important, they could not afford to pay someone to do these tasks. They should do it themselves as Sam recalled. He and his six siblings helped in their large garden. He said, “I remember pulling the plow.” Leo and Charles explained that they were raised to be independent. Dropping out of school was not what their parents meant when they taught the boys to be independent, as they explained. But, today, this story was related as an example of how they learned to think on their own. Self-sufficiency easily correlated with their ability to use what they had whether it was from a garden, left-overs, or commodity food. However, underneath these skills of using what they had on hand and being self-sufficient, the reality included charity, hand-outs, relying on others, and needing help. These were tangible and ugly memories for each man.

Life Experiences Shape Current Beliefs

Decidedly, the experiences of each man contributed to how they shape their beliefs today. A survival tone surfaced as one listened to their stories. As Leo commented, “I made it this far.” An indication of a certain determination arises as the men explained how they lived throughout their lives. They recalled sad memories of living as different, living with whatever was available, and hanging onto pleasant stories of a solid family life. Greater understanding of how they have become the men they are today comes from how they have framed those memories and experiences.

Hope for the Best

Each man spoke about how he had many memories, some bad and many that were very good, but each one was quick to say that they have not let the bad times define them. They sought to use a positive attitude when facing challenges over the years. Leo probably mentioned his attitude more than the rest saying, “Don’t worry about it, cause it don’t help...take it day by day...hope for the best...go with the flow...yeah cause everyone has problems and it’s not their fault...it’s not about all of us.” He offered many quips that seemed to tell about how he had to look at life to stay positive, even when times were tough.

Butch offered, “Yeah, I try to stay happy...you can’t be jealous and you know like our next door neighbor drives a brand new pickup.” He explained about not getting food stamps saying, “I should get food stamps...yeah, but I’m way below the poverty line...yeah, they say I make too much money.” He did not sound upset or angry, just matter of fact. He went on to explain what happened when his roommate lost his food stamps and how that affected the collective pool of resources to obtain food. Butch commented, “Well we gotta make do with what we got.”

Some of the men talked about using a sense of humor as a means to face tough times. William’s dry sense of humor and way of talking about himself was comical. He said, “I got in trouble once, maybe twice,” and then he smiled. Then he talked about how his band introduces themselves to their audiences. He said that Tom “will always say that long haired country boy down there on the end is William and he’s from Rock Island and they sure as hell don’t want him back,” and he smiled. In talking about his pets he

reported that “she (his dog) and I have some very interesting conversations,” and he smiled. Then he spoke about a song by Frank Sinatra saying, “I do wish I would have been born rich instead of so good looking! Well I look like I’m brain damaged.” He laughed loudly. He did not take himself seriously. Leo commented, “See that’s what I learned now...go with a sense of humor.”

While reminiscing about hard times, it was interesting and refreshing to hear the men talk about the value of a positive attitude and a having a good sense of humor. They may have shared some difficult stories but they were able to wrap up an interview with comments about being happy, staying happy, having hope, going with the flow, and just making the best of a situation. A healthy sense of humor ran hand-in-hand with this positive attitude. Joking about one’s appearance, life experiences, and looking light heartedly on past times surfaced often throughout the tough stories.

Recognize the Pride

The word that surfaced most often when reflecting on how they viewed their life experiences and how those experiences may have brought them to where they are today was pride. When asked why they worked hard or why they did not want any help, the first word in response was “pride.” Charles explained:

I think I just said I can’t do this no more. Because I remember my Mom and Dad, they was , they would do anything, just to get food on the table, but we still had those commodities, see food stamps I mean commodities turned into food stamps, so it was easier, but it was still the idea and my Dad said son you gotta work to make a living. I did it twice, but couldn’t do it the third time (get food stamps) ... you could hit me and hit me and it couldn’t have been worse.

Leo said, “I wasn’t poor but I wasn’t a rich person and then when I did grow up I managed to make a success out of myself.” He added, “I never went to discount stores. I

still don't, not yet." He explained that he tries to keep himself in a frame of mind that he is not that hard up even though he explained multiple times how little money he had and he did not know how he was going to pay his bills the next few months. When asked if he would apply for more assistance he responded, "Probably not...it's not where I want to be...I'm not one who's gonna go downhill...well, I am downhill." He laughed. He continued with saying, "I won't let myself go if I can help it." Again, I heard contradictory comments. Then, he added, "It's O.K. to bite your pride." In reference to others he said, "They won't ask for it (charity) and that's the thing." They all clarified that they still see "charity" as unacceptable. William generally does not eat the noon meal at the center because he said, "It kind of seems like charity." When asked if he did not feel he needed it his response was, "I made it this far." Pride remarkably surfaced as the confounding factor to this population's response to accepting charity. It was patently unpleasant.

Find a Place to Belong

The men all recalled feeling outcast as a child and how making connections with others was strained. Undeniably, as they matured, there was a need to ameliorate these feelings. The men sought ways to feel as though they fit in as well as find ways to be connected. Currently, giving back is a means to amend these struggles.

Overcoming Feelings of Being Less Than

Sharing about how they felt different from the other boys growing up was marked by being called names and examples of trying to fit in. They experienced the repercussions of how their family lived and how they were seen by others. They felt

degraded or less than the others and collaterally struggled with getting along. These memories underpinned their actions today.

Observation of Leo at different times during the interviews and listening to his stories hinted at a man who experienced many incidents of feeling lower class or less than others. He would look away with a blank face when talking about being young. He noted that he felt others made fun of him. He offered, "I guess there were jokes. I guess they claim that Polish is lower class." He often commented that he was different from others. "We had a weird life," he said. Leo pointed out that he had darker skin than others he knew which he felt made him stick out from the other children. He explained, "I was the black sheep of the family. My skin is kind of a darker color than most people's so all through school I was being called Blacky." He spoke often about how he saw his family compared to other families relating, "I was a poor boy blending in with the rich ones so it wasn't so good." Leo had no shortage of names he called himself.

William shared his remembrances of being different related to being poor. He shared how he was different and had to distinguish himself by being the one who was "tough." William saw himself as the poor kid and quickly learned a means to address that label. He explained how he established himself as the toughest kid in the multiple schools he attended growing up. He told about finding the toughest kid in the grade and then he would re-establish the pecking order:

Like who is the smartest kid in the class? Who is the dumbest kid in your class? Everybody knew. Who was the prettiest girl in the class? Everybody knew. Which guy in the class is the best athlete? Who's the toughest? That always had to be reaffirmed every time somebody new came in. Half way through I quit waiting for them to come to me so I went to them. That's why I look like this...it

was see if you don't find them, they'll find you. That's why you don't have to walk around with temerity.

The men certainly had intense memories of how they perceived themselves growing up in a poor family. They did not feel like they fit in with the other children, but they had their families as the soft spot to land.

Finding People When Family is Not Around

Even though family memories clearly marked the stories of growing up, surprisingly, four of the five men today have little or no close tie with their families. Only Charles talked extensively about his wife, children, and grandchildren. William sees his daughter once or twice a year. He has grandchildren but did not really talk about them. Sam has some contact with his children but when talking about them he mostly wanted me to know that they had his driver's license taken away for a while because they did not think he was safe. He was proud to relate that he has had it reinstated so he can drive to the center. He also revealed that his wife likes it when he goes to the center because then he is out of the house for a few hours. Leo has three children but is not sure where they live saying, "I can't tell you where they are because I have no idea... the last I knew one was in Massachusetts, one was in Florida, and one was in Connecticut." Butch does not have children. Interestingly, he did mention that he saw his brother at their mother's funeral.

Even though early memories were shaped by family, there are certainly relationship gaps in their lives today. They talked about the need to reach out to someone or someplace because they needed some type of social interaction—some connection. Each of them ended up at the senior center from a desire to be around others. Sam shared

that if he had known about the senior center he could have attended twenty years ago. He was unaware that it existed and said a neighbor told his wife about it and that is how he got the connection.

Leo got to the center because a lady friend told him:

I needed to quit being a stick in the mud and start socializing cause ...well I was working 7 days a week...I was either working or staying home...at that time I decided I needed to come down and start socializing.

Now, with little family connection, the surrogate family at the center may fill a void and serve as a place to find significance. William talked about how he likes to play pool with the guys and gals at the senior center even though he is a terrible player. He commented that he did not care if he lost every time; he just liked the social aspect of being around the pool players. Sam likes being at his table for the noon meal because it gets him out of the house and he can visit with others. Charles has the “Sergeant” neighbor who shows up almost daily to let him know it is time to walk. Butch likes the staff at the center because they are people he feels comfortable around. Each man felt some commitment to these people and some type of connection. They felt like they had a duty to show up as they might be missed.

Giving Back

Reaching out to others through volunteering their time when a paycheck would actually be helpful is an ironic twist to how these men have shaped their experiences into a life where they feel important by being around others and helping. Leo talks about his volunteering at the center with great pride and compassion. He works many hours a week without pay. His only compensation is the noon meal he receives at no cost. Leo even

helps to deliver meals for shut-ins and without any reimbursement for the gas. He helps run the center activities. He pointed out how he watches out for those who may have some difficulty such as problems talking or walking. He explained, “I was ridiculed in my life and I know I don’t have the disfigurement like they do but it’s not their fault that they are...most of them had strokes or accidents like that.”

William shared about his band, the Knitpickers, a group of guys who get together and play and sing at nursing homes and other places where older adults live or socialize. He explained:

Yeah it’s like we decided as a group that you know the good Lord gave each of us a set of skills others may not have or due to some infirmity or old age can’t do it anymore so it’s almost like stewardship ...cause you know and I don’t mean to sound like a Baptist preacher but lots of times you go to those nursing homes and there’s nobody because nobody gives a shit what they think, have you noticed that nobody really talks to them?

He said their band is not good, but they have fun. He talked a lot about how they will play a song and see an older adult begin to sing when that person rarely talks. He said they just light up and you can tell they are happy. He said, “We help them rediscover themselves almost.” Charles talked about the Open Bucket church that used to be a tavern. He said, “They just went with the theme and the name and everyone knew where it was.” He was happy to tell me:

See our church helped a lot of them put together a Christmas box. Last year we had 6 big boxes and we took them over to the elementary school and they have a list of people who can really use that so we took our boxes over there and let them distribute them.

Clearly, for Charles, his church connection was and is a significant part of his story. Church was not common to all of the men, yet it was unmistakable in describing experiences, especially with food for one man.

The men humbly shared about tough times when they were short on money or had family struggles. The people described were often not family but people who were neighbors, people they lived with, people they are acquainted with, and others they did not know but just knew about.

In helping others, the men felt influential, that they were important and valued. They had purpose when helping and advocating for others. It was obvious that relating these stories was important for each man. They revealed how their helping mattered, yet in some instances their realization of this importance seemed to surprise them as they listened to themselves speak; humility was shared by all. Lastly, they truly care about others, as their compassion was revealed in every interview.

Chapter IV presented an overview of the study participants, the five men who offered to reveal their stories about their life experiences, especially with food. They remembered being poor, having strong family ties, and values being shaped through being resourceful, working hard, and attempting to avoid charity. The renditions of how their lives played out shaped how they present themselves today: as a survivor, as a positive person, and as a prideful man. Additionally, after feeling less than others as youngsters, the men appeared to rise above those old ill feelings and find connections, without close family in the picture, where they can give back and help others.

A qualitative study seeks to know more about how people explain their experiences and how they make sense of those experiences. The men in this study candidly told their stories, shared fond and ill memories, and tried to explain their experiences. Now, in Chapter V, a discussion of those findings provides thoughts on what their experiences may mean, especially concerning food insecurity. Implications follow this discussion where considerations and suggestions are presented for the future when elder males are in need of food and hesitate to utilize assistance.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND LIMITATIONS

In Chapter V, I use Attribution Theory to make sense of this study's two research questions. To begin, I discuss the first research question which examined how the elder male describes the experiences associated with food insecurity. In regards to this question, all of the men reported multiple instances from early childhood memories to some having more recent times when they have experienced food insecurity. First and decidedly significant in their descriptions was being "poor." This moniker was the common word used to describe how they remember living as a child. Whether they were called names at school or just felt different, they all had recollections of being different, the "poor kid."

Then, the second research question explored the relationship between the experiences ascribed by the food insecure elder male and the perceived barriers in accessing food through food assistance programs. In response to this second research question, the word "pride" was used by every man. The men did not hesitate when asked to talk about using assistance to explain that "charity" was not acceptable from their frame of reference due to how they were raised. Even though all either received assistance as children, currently use assistance, or both, none were pleased to reveal this.

Next, I apply the attribution theory to this study's findings. Following the theory application, I share implications related to this study and then, I describe the study limitations.

Attribution Theory

Attribution theory is often used when seeking to answer questions about why things happen and why people behave as they do (Kelley, 1973; Miller, 2005).

Attributions are acknowledgments or what the person understands about his world leading to how he understands his subsequent actions based on that understanding (Kelley & Michela, 1980). Hence, a person's actions are a result of how he views and understands what he is experiencing. Interestingly, according to this theory, that person's understanding may be based on information from multiple observations and experiences or he may just use a single observation (Kelley, 1973). I propose that the experiences of these men over a lifetime were the foundation for how they understand their stories today.

Bernard Weiner's (2010) attribution theory on behavioral changes focused on how the past influences current and future behaviors. Weiner contended that how a person perceives what was responsible for past events will determine how he makes decisions in the future about actions to be taken. The cause of past experiences or the perception of why they happened as they did (causality) is actually more important than the outcome of the event (Weiner, 2010). Cause (causality) will be explored further later in this section.

Specifically related to this study are four components of the attribution theory that help explain how the men make sense of their experiences with food insecurity. Initially, the men had a stigmatizing condition, followed by a perceived cause for their experiences of food insecurity. Next, a responsible antecedent or to what they attribute these

circumstances, can be identified. The final premise (response) resulting from the above factors identifies how they see themselves today—as survivors who feel good about who they are and what they do. The attribution evidence related to the men’s experiences point towards how the men make sense today of what they know. Subsequently, it becomes reasonable that they are focused today on others and giving back rather than dwelling on hardship and uncomfortable past situations.

Stigmatizing Condition

In feeling “poor,” or the outsider child in school or in their community, these men indicated that they were not part of the “normal” group of children; hence one may say they were stigmatized. Goffman (1963), in his seminal work on stigmatization, provided some context for what it feels like to be different. He described stigma as a socially defined characteristic where people are discredited and viewed as not fully accepted. In being “poor,” the men explained that they were different.

Consequently, a stigmatizing *condition* occurs when one feels that they are part of the outcast group, or in the case of these men, poor families. The men lived through what they often called difficult times as poor families; using commodities, eating Spam and mashed potatoes, working as children to help enhance the family finances, etc. Figure 1 shows the components of this theory beginning with a stigmatizing condition.



Figure 1. Components of Attribution Theory (Weiner, 2000)

Interestingly, the men revealed additional attributes about their personalities that may correspond with the identified stigmatizing condition of being poor. According to Phelan, Link, Moore, and Stueve (1997), stigma has negative consequences for self-esteem and mental health and those who feel stigmatized may also face discrimination socially. Stigmatization, whether it was self-imposed or assigned by others seemed to have broader implications for the men. Cartwright (1950) argued that:

The group to which a person belongs serves as primary determiners of his self-esteem. To a considerable extent, personal feelings of worth depend on the social evaluation of the group with which a person is identified. Self-hatred and feelings of worthlessness tend to arise from membership in underprivileged or outcast groups. (p. 440)

Certainly, unfriendly feelings were remembered when the men looked back.

Social awkwardness with the peer group was mentioned multiple times. Leo talked about the name “Blacky” he was called because of his dark skin color. He related several times how he was scared of the girls; he was very uncomfortable around them. He called

himself several names, seemingly a constant reinforcement of his years of ridicule. He recalled trying to fit in with the “rich kids” that he remembered did not go smoothly.

In yet another way, William felt different and needed to find his place each time they moved. He had to establish the pecking order of the school children so he knew his place. This need to establish his place is proposed to be his way, as a child, of maintaining his self-esteem, finding some sense of social inclusion, maybe not such an outsider; he was trying to eliminate some of the connotations of the “poor” stigma.

With a noticeably high self-esteem, William may have been the recipient of negative feedback over the years, but in keeping with self-esteem theory over the lifespan, he managed to remain at a high level, shrugging off the naysayers (Robins & Trzesniewski, 2005; Robins, Trzesniewski, Tracy, Gosling, & Potter, 2002). This theory contended that often as people age, their self-esteem decreases. Leo felt stigmatized which may have impacted his self-esteem in earlier years, but today he manages to reflect and see himself as efficacious and worthy. Butch, in addition, without hesitation, revealed his time of homelessness and barely making enough to buy food but does not let that inconvenience burden him today.

Another interesting aspect to add to this discussion comes from Robins and Trzesniewski (2005). These authors noted that people often review their lives as they age leading to a revised sense of self-esteem, which commonly is a negative interpretation. These reflections may be stimulated by life events such as retirement, a spouse’s death, or becoming a grandparent. Interestingly, at times, a shift occurs during the aging process (Robins & Trzesniewski, 2005), where the added self-reflection produces an increase in

their self-esteem. Further, Robins and Trzesniewski (2005) suggested that individuals who have fairly robust self-esteem at some point in time are more likely to have high self-esteem in their later years. It becomes apparent that the men must have had high self-esteem at some point in their lives since they display that same quality in the present. William felt empowered when he could re-establish the pecking order in any new school he attended and today is part of a band that he feels helps people. Butch talked about being homeless but he was not diverted by that burden and today works and manages just fine.

Cause

The next component used from Weiner's theory is cause. Cause or the reason for the stigmatizing condition primarily focuses on the perception of the person. Weiner (2010) explained that there are internal and external loci of control when considering cause perceptions or how a person assigns the reason for why something happened as it did. An internal locus of control stems from something innate that a person may feel they cannot control, such as intelligence (Weiner, 2000). An external locus of control may be attributed to societal influences such as the Great Depression where a person may not have felt in control. Both of these can be viewed as either negative or positive. Significant to these loci of control is that they are personal perceptions. Others could see these two examples in a different light and have different interpretations. Markedly, it is not uncommon that people with an internal locus of control where they attribute a negative cause (low intelligence) have a negative response to their situation. It is proposed that the men assigned an external cause to their stigmatizing condition (family

finances) which would lead one to expect them to have a negative perspective of their situation.

The men's condition (cause) of being poor could be attributed to many factors, whether it was their father losing his job or just not having sufficient means to support the family, it remained significant to how they made sense of how they lived. Charles talked about standing in line to get commodities because his father did not have one of the high paying jobs in the area. Sam's father lost the gas station which had a profound effect on the family. William's memories of his mother's accident shaped his childhood memories. These causes delimited how they lived.

Responsibility Antecedent

This component of the attribution theory focuses on whether or not the cause of the stigmatizing condition could be altered. It considers whether the person had the means to make a personal choice to change their situation or whether they were bound by the circumstances of the event(s). Typical consequences of this sense of lack of control, perceived or real, may lead to reactions such as sympathy or pro-social behaviors (Weiner, 2000).

The men, when they were children, were in uncontrollable circumstances or what Weiner referred to as the responsibility antecedent (Weiner, 2000). When a person attributes his conditions to uncontrollable circumstances, he may not feel ownership of what he experienced; he could not affect the outcome differently (causal uncontrollability). The men lived in families that struggled with finances and experienced food insecurity. They were able to contribute at times via working and giving money to

their parents, but, as children, they could not significantly change the struggles their families experienced. When this occurs, that person may see himself as purely a survivor of those conditions; hence, he does not feel shameful with his outcome. Meager contributions through paper route money when the finances were short helped the family but Charles knew their situation was not shaped by this money. William talked about how he moved so many times as a child related to the nature of his father's work. These were not situations that a child could change.

The family's ability to provide for the household varied amongst the men, but consistent was the fact that each struggled. The men as children clearly recalled that their situations were a product of employment, work capabilities of the family members, and how resourceful they had to be. They shared how their mother and father may have expressed concern about finances, but they made it work and their memory was that it was just the way it was. As children, they were not able to affect a substantial change for their family's situation.

Another explanation of how people may work through such life circumstances is provided by Weiner (2010). He explained that the cause of a person's condition may be primarily externally attributed, but the person may still maintain a positive internal locus of control. The men described times where they possessed a positive internal causal locus of control leading to success, even though they experienced difficult conditions; William and Leo talked about struggling to submit to going to the senior center, yet found it a pleasant place once they attended. A high sense of pride may result from such circumstances. They have had to be motivated to succeed and, in their minds, they lived

through tough times and continue to strive to move forward today. Subsequently, they have that sense of pride.

Not Responsible

The final component pertinent to this study is how the men responded over the years to their stigmatizing condition, assigned cause, and responsibility antecedent (uncontrollable). Since the men viewed their experiences through the lens of the first three proposed attributes of Weiner's theory, they arrived at a "not responsible" outlook with the clear sense of being a "survivor" as the end result. They have managed to deal with the stigma of being "poor" through understanding what the family had to do to maintain solvency and they were not able to change the situation. Because of these factors, they can arrive at the mindset of being not responsible, leading to their survivor outlook with their self-esteem intact.

Yet, further examination of this phenomenon yields additional context to how these attribution theory components melded to form current perspective. Beutel, Glaesmer, Wiltink, Marian, and Brahler (2010) explained that those who resist stressful experiences and manage to maintain positive psychosocial functioning may be considered resilient. The men seem to be able to frame their life events and experiences in a manner that saves their pride. Even though the men suffered strains during their lives that could have caused on-going emotional or mental distress, they seemed to have overcome those pressures or minimally they were able to view those experiences as just what they were—experiences. They did not blame anyone. They did not attribute their experiences to someone else or even to their own possible shortcomings. They were able to view these

experiences, literally moving forward without regret or blame and survive whatever had happened. This sizeable protective factor (resilience) seems to be significant for the men in this study.

All of the men recounted stories of doing without and being food insecure, yet they seem to have risen above those shortfalls and thrived leading to some degree of satisfaction with their lives. Wagnild and Collins (2009) suggested that those who have successfully coped with hardship throughout life may realize increased resilience as they age. The men seemed to have suffered difficulty, yet through time have learned how to frame those feelings and circumstances allowing them to entertain successful life reflection. Their resilience, their ability to move forward despite difficulty, is proposed to have provided some insulation between times of food insecurity and needing assistance. They have survived worse.

Response

Today, the men have certainly survived some difficult times in their lives, yet those times have not defined them. It was evident that their balance today does not focus on how much or little money they have, but solely focusing on who is around them and what impact they can have on their world. As survivors, they have experienced hardship, felt less than others, and lived with little means at times, yet they do not dwell on these things. They seek to move beyond what life threw at them and find what makes them happy. Today, happiness comes from the people around them and what they can do for others much like others have done for them over the years. They know how it feels to be

outcast from the popular group so today they have a heart for others who may feel the same way, so they give back.

Those people around them form the connections that play an important role in their lives. The men talked about playing pool, playing in a band, walking with the neighbor (Sergeant), spending time with people at church, and eating at the center. In earlier years, they remembered neighbors who gave them food. They remembered the church that dropped off a food laden basket. They knew they had family and friends who would help in times of need. Throughout their lives they have had others who stepped in and helped when food was in short supply. Now today the senior center provides a place to be with others. They did not call the people at the center their friends, but one could easily see that they have a connection of sorts with at least a few people at the center. Gallant, Spitz, and Prohaska (2007) noted that friends have a significant role in providing emotional support to older adults. In their own way, the men found meaning by interacting with others at the center. They were sparing in their descriptions of others, yet it was noticeable that they felt good when speaking about their cohort.

Collateral to the people connections is interaction. The men have opportunities to interact via a game or conversation or maybe to help with an activity. They may even just observe an activity, yet they are part of a place with people—a community of sorts. Peterson and Hughey (2004) noted that when people are afforded the chance to become part of a meaningful community organization with activities, they are exposed to potentially empowering opportunities. Engaging in *action* oriented activities fulfills one of the senses that improves feelings of connections; the other two senses being *trust* and

commitment. Trust was not mentioned by the men, nor was commitment. These two senses were without a doubt inferred even though not voiced. There were people at the center that they trusted, whether it was staff or volunteers or other attendees. They felt a commitment to their pool partners, to their meal tablemates, and to their regular conversations. They take pride in directing their attention today towards others and give back whenever they are able. They possess a certain sense of contentment. See Table 1 where a recap of the attribution theory and the study findings are matched, providing context for the specific theory components.

Table 1.

Attribution Theory Components with Evidence*

	Stigmatizing condition: poor	Cause: family resources	Responsibility antecedent: causal uncontrollability	Response: survived
Evidence	Collateral to being “poor” were deep rooted values: use what you have, work hard, be self-sufficient	Financial status of the family, father’s job status: losing the station, multiple jobs, low paying jobs, not enough money to adequately provide food for the family	Children: not able to assist enough to change the family’s situation, not responsible	Hope for the best, Prideful feelings, Desire to belong and connect with others: related to past feelings of being less than, and wanting people around when family is not close, Desire to give back reflecting how it feels to be the receiver of help.

*Attribution theory (Weiner, 2000)

Finally, attribution theory was used to make sense of the men's stories, helping to explain how they see themselves today. The four components identified as applicable to this study were: (1) stigmatizing condition, (2) cause, (3) responsibility antecedent, and (4) response. These four components provide a means of making sense of their experiences and reflections. They are survivors who do not focus on themselves, but choose to put their energy towards others. Their connections are the driving forces for feeling good about themselves.

Next is discussion of the two research questions from this study. First, how does the elder male describe the experiences associated with food insecurity? The second research question asked about the relationship between the experiences ascribed by the food insecure male elder and the perceived barriers in accessing food through food assistance programs. The attribution theory was applied as a means to make sense of the stories from the participants. In regards to research question number one, a stigmatizing condition or "poor" surfaced as the key component of how the men described their experiences with food insecurity. This is the first component of the attribution theory. Next, because the men were part of a family that struggled with finances leading to times of food insecurity, they had to use what was available. The men as boys had no control over the family situation so their response over time became one of survival, without responsibility for the boyhood times. The ability to maintain a high self-worth through some degree of resilience has allowed them to feel good about themselves today. Even though they have a heightened feeling of self, they are not inwardly focused. They see their focus as more outward, as one of connecting with others and giving back. They

know what it is like to go without and to feel outcast, so they do not want others to feel that way as well.

In response to the second research question it is proposed that the men experience an ameliorating circumstance through connections at the senior center. This condition, a potential barrier in reality, may actually inhibit them when considering the utilization of assistance for food. If the men have been able to view past experiences as just events of their childhood (causal uncontrollability) without assigning blame or having feelings of regret or anger, feel comfortable (positive self-esteem as response) in their environment, and see themselves as survivors (response), it seems they see themselves as able to manage without assistance. The gap of needing assistance and utilizing it may be more difficult to close than expected.

Implications

Future Research

An interesting study by Lee and Frongillo (2001c) shed light on the fact that little research has been done that seeks to understand how food assistance is used or not used by the elderly population. Typically, studies have gathered data on the numbers of people who fit into certain categories or who use assistance. This quantitative study by Lee and Frongillo indicated that this population and phenomenon is in need of alternate means of capturing the data, more of a qualitative approach if seeking to better understand how elders view and use or do not use food assistance. Lee and Frongillo looked at how the needs of elderly persons are assessed when considering assistance program participation. This quantitative study found that nutritional and other factors related to food insecurity

for persons age 60-90 years are not clearly understood. They concluded that using this type of study design and statistical analysis cannot adequately represent the phenomenon of elders and the use of assistance programs due to the type of data collected. They contended that “this problem cannot be corrected by statistical control, selection models or matching” (p. 772). Further, they noted, “Understanding the dynamic needs along with social psychological dynamics of help-seeking behavior among elderly person is fundamental to assessing the impact of food assistance programs” (p. 772). They suggested that different study designs and methods (qualitative research) are needed to more clearly represent the factors affecting how elders use or do not use assistance programs. I propose that qualitative research, which is noted for seeking to understand experiences, is a more appropriate and useful means to gaining greater understanding of elderly persons and what impacts their decisions to use food assistance programs. My study contributed to the body of knowledge on this subject as it sought greater understanding of behavior when utilizing assistance is warranted and available. It also added to the concept that utilizing assistance is much more about what drives people’s decisions, than about how many people fall into a certain category. It is imperative that further research is completed into why people see their situation as they do leading to certain actions.

Other questions that arise from this study begin with looking at the aging process more closely. Is it possible that this phenomenon is inherent with people as they age? If so, then will we ever really understand a cohort enough to help them or keep them nourished adequately when they do not accept assistance?

Secondly, do we need to dig deeper into gender as a key factor in how this phenomenon is addressed? More knowledge on males as they age may provide insight into how they view their needs and then how they address those needs.

Third, it seems appropriate that more research is conducted on different generations as they age and face obstacles as an aging adult? Do we know enough about Baby boomers, Gen-Xers, and Millennials? What unique characteristics might they possess that provide insight into how they will view not having enough food and whether or not they use assistance? In knowing more about these groups, might we better understand the elder male cohort?

The next question focuses on the need to look more closely at the societal impact of food insecurity and how it is addressed. In gaining more insight into how society views food assistance it may be possible to better appreciate the experiences of those who utilize it. Then, how do we address the lack of interest in this topic and population. When is a good time to start worrying about food insecurity and our older population? What is the time sensitivity of this issue? Is it when we have a family member who is struggling or going without food? Is it when it hits home that we begin to ask more questions and want to learn more?

For Practice

When considering how a person views himself, especially if their lens is a life of being poor, special considerations are needed when attempting to provide assistance. One cannot miss the personal side of someone's identity, as how he sees himself is paramount to how he conducts himself. Further research focused on practice

considerations should begin with the aim to learn more about the man in need of assistance. Who is he? He is not just a name with an address. Building relationships is not a minor endeavor. We are tasked with learning how to gain a deep understanding of individuals and their needs (Peterson & Hughey, 2004), so rather than one casual polite conversation, it will likely require conversations over more than one occasion. I propose that a local university social work group or group of counseling students be asked to come to the center to have conversations with this age group—especially the men. Topics could range from sharing beloved stories about their life to jobs or pets, to name a few topics. In conversing and sharing, the men may feel more comfortable and more willing to talk about themselves, opening up conversations of important aspects of their self.

Further, students and workers in any helping profession or related areas must be educated on how the elder male's innate values drive his life and decisions. I recommend that multi-generational activities be created to provide opportunities for different age groups to interact and learn more about each other. An activity could be having the men share their interests with other generations such as Charles sharing about the Bible and his faith. Leo has a heart for people who have disability so an activity could be combining different generations where they can share about their physical struggles so people can become more knowledgeable to possibly then be more understanding. Leo would be a good facilitator as he sees many people with these types of struggles and has a heart for helping them. Sam could talk to others about his experiences working at a golf course. This sharing of knowledge and skills might be beneficial to others and also to the men, leading to greater generational acceptance.

At the same time, we must realize that with greater comfort in the elder male while talking with professionals, his values may surface, providing a glimpse into how he sees himself. Since his values define him, allowing him the time to let them surface shows him that he has significance and it is appropriate to reveal these important aspects of his personality. Prior to any conversation such as this, I propose that all facilitators must be educated on value systems, especially related to different generations. With this preparation, the men may become comfortable sharing about what is important to them.

Next, we must realize that pride is probably the greatest component to how these men view themselves. Through understanding the role of pride, greater skill in helping the men to consider and possibly accept assistance may occur, especially when obtaining food is the need. We need to learn how he defines his pride to better understand how he views the need for assistance. Then, we can learn ways to encourage assistance that does not hurt his pride. We need to seek strength-based means to promote male-oriented meaningful actions that support his character and desires, supporting his prideful nature. Introducing him to new people at the agency or site and talking with them to open up the lines of communication and decreasing the unfamiliarity barrier will be crucial. Offering him a task, such as greeting people, coming to the center, leading the noon meal prayer, or taking attendance, is another idea. These minor yet important opportunities may give him a feeling of significance and uplift his pride.

On another note, yet equally important, is gaining understanding of his community and connectedness. Inquiring about his social network to learn who he interacts with and what role they play in his life is important. The senior center staff can

be engaged in the effort of creating an environment where he feels less resistive to utilizing assistance by knowing the connections and encouraging other connections. By keen observation and interaction with all attendees of the center, the staff can facilitate introductions and new relationships. At the same time, ancillary issues must be considered for this age group when seeking to boost connections: transportation, disability, financial, loss of friends and family, etc. With this in mind, the focus should be directed at the greater community (city) where the center is located. The city should be tasked with increasing services for this age group. Facilities and operations that provide services to elderly people should be supported financially so they can provide services and assistance at affordable costs. This might mean that those aged 65 or older get free bus/van transportation and enhanced access to other services such as home care assistance and senior companions. Professional advocacy for this age group and proposed services would be monumental in accomplishing this endeavor.

Seemingly obvious yet under-appreciated is the training of professionals to increase their knowledge of this population so they can interact with skills that encourage and assist elder males in feeling comfortable and feeling it is acceptable to use assistance. According to Gallant, Spitze, and Prohaska (2007), efforts to help older adults may have greater success if professionals pay more attention to the positive and negative influences people receive from their social networks and then include influential network members into the steps for change (utilizing assistance), which may produce more positive results. Suggested ways might be to provide trips locally to various agencies and facilities for seniors to become familiar with options in the community. Bringing individuals from

these local agencies to the center to interact regularly with the seniors is one idea. These people should be friendly, empathetic, and knowledgeable of the age group so their interactions are pleasant and potential lines of communication may be opened. The regular visits are proposed to show the men that these visitors are interested in them and may also allow conversation in a non-threatening manner. This may give the men more opportunity to discern confidence and trust in those visitors. These visitors can also seek to gain an increased understanding of his network of friends, acquaintances, and current relationships which are proposed to provide insight into his relational preferences and comfort level. Once this understanding exists, appropriate and helpful assistance or guidance may positively impact his decisions about how he gets food.

Next, it will be important to seek ways to educate elder males on what resources are available and what it means to utilize the services. Gallant, Spitze, and Prohaska (2007) indicated that giving people skills to produce a positive social network may help to minimize the barriers towards initiating a change. Visitors from agencies can model positive networking potentially leading to reduced resistance. Options should be presented not with aggressiveness and little compassion, but instead with stories of men much like themselves who benefited from assistance (confidentially). With caring, these interactions can help them understand how these services can be viewed to break down their inhibitions towards their potential use.

Additionally, senior advocates, senior center staff training, social workers, case managers, nurses, and others should be educated so they can present these options for food assistance utilization leading to greater acceptance and fewer feelings of

offensiveness for the men. Incorporating discussions of food into the care of elder males, especially if they do not live with another person, is important. It is necessary to develop teaching points for all of these professionals and have them incorporate the material into visits, discharge planning, follow-up meetings at home, senior center activities, and more. An obvious point to begin is at a local site such as a senior center. This agency has much potential to assist this age group but may not be effectively reaching out to provide help to the many who are in need. It is suggested that those in administration for the senior group who operate such a senior center be asked to advertise more heavily about who they serve and the impact their services currently have on seniors. Most importantly they need to educate the community on the needs of this age group. I suggest that this community need is not fully realized and appreciated by its citizens. A campaign for increased funding by interested persons will be needed. Presentations by these senior center administrators as well as compassionate volunteers to the United Way and other area grant sources must be a priority. Once people are more informed and understand the need in their community, it is hoped that more attention and subsequent funding will result.

In view of this, senior center staff should be provided training about the age group, including their beliefs, values, characteristics, and what drives their decisions. It is believed that often times people think most people can work with and care for the elderly, but I propose much is lacking in the attention afforded to the education of some who are entrusted with working with and caring for this population. It is understood that

training costs money so increased funding would be imperative. Raising awareness to community leaders may open paths to additional funds.

Further research is recommended into this elder male population who may face food insecurity. A nuanced understanding of how they make sense of their experiences will undoubtedly provide insight into how to increase the utilization of assistance in times of need as well as provide additional data and insight for future interventions. Moreover, further qualitative research is recommended on the food insecure elder male in his “community” to better understand how he functions and how he connects or why he does not connect with others thus impacting his potential use of assistance. It is important that further research digs deeper into how the elder male experiences food insecurity and what factors drive how he maneuvers this hurdle. Increased understanding of the network where he operates will provide opportunities for improved relationships potentially leading to increased utilization of assistance in times of need.

As noted earlier, this study focused on a small number of participants leaving more to be researched to gain additional insight into this food insecurity phenomenon and population. This study may not have captured the full meaning of the stories as with human interpretation there is the opportunity to insert one’s biases. Different questions in other settings may bring about additional data that could provide even greater insight into food insecurity and elder men. It is evident that this study only touched on the topic for this group so further study is recommended.

Suggestions are offered that relate to greater understanding of men in the older than 65 years group so professionals can anticipate a need and then proactively break

down barriers for them in accepting assistance when pride and their values may hinder their engagement. Social workers, public health professionals, senior center staff, home health nurses, case management personnel, family, and others can use this information to encourage elder men to broaden their understanding and then to consider and accept help when it is appropriate and available. These implications indicate that with increased understanding and empathy, encouraging words, suitable terminology, and compassion strides can be made to decrease the incidence of food insecurity in elder males.

Study Limitations

This study was limited by the nature of how the participants were recruited. The recruiting site was a senior center where all of the participants attended. The participant pool was a sample of convenience since all of the men came from onsite (senior center) which inherently inferred that they had some similar characteristics. The men who participated in this study volunteered and were not chosen. If they met the criteria of being 65 years or older and felt they had experience with food insecurity they were eligible to participate. The five men who volunteered were the only ones who offered to be in the study. All of the men were Caucasian and lived near the senior center. These factors would possibly preclude the collection of data that might more fairly represent the 65 years and older population of men.

A challenge I experienced during the interviews was keeping the men on a topic. They often drifted into stories that were related but not necessarily answering my questions. This may have limited the amount of applicable data, in some respects, leaving possible weaknesses in the analysis

Conclusion

Food insecurity in the elder male population is a reality. Assistance programs and other means to acquire food exist at sufficient levels in the area where this study was conducted, yet some men do not utilize these means of assistance even when they know about them. This study sought to better understand why this gap exists.

Food insecurity, or the inability to afford nutritionally adequate and safe foods (Seligman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2009), was the premise for this study. It has been estimated that approximately 14.5% of U.S. households were considered food insecure at some time during the previous year (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). For the elderly group, it was estimated that 7.9% experience food insecurity. Little research is available that focuses on the population of men aged 65 years or older who experience food insecurity. This age group comprises 13% of the U.S. population but is expected to reach up to 20% by the year 2030. Assistance for obtaining food is available in the form of a variety of options with SNAP (formerly known as food stamps) being the most recognized. Surprisingly, it is estimated that only 59% of households considered food insecure use food assistance programs (Coleman-Jensen et al., 2011). With this increasing number of elder individuals growing, it becomes paramount that more is understood about the determinants that impact why this group experiences food insecurity and why they do not utilize assistance when it is available.

Difficulties in measuring food insecurity were noted in Chapter I. Often, this phenomenon has been captured by numbers of individuals in different categories of food insecurity. What has been lacking is the lived experiences of the people, elder men in this

study, who can best articulate what they know about their situations. A qualitative study provides the opportunity to capture the words of men who have and continue to experience food insecurity. Through interviews, their stories were recorded leading to analysis and conclusions about what they shared. The attribution theory was applied providing a means to make sense of the participants' experiences.

This study adds to the body of knowledge on food insecurity, especially pertaining to the elder male population. The very personal stories shared by the study participants assisted with gaining greater understanding about how they experience food insecurity. With commonalities revealed, reliability was obtained.

Additionally, one asks how we best convey the needs and experiences of those who experience food insecurity. Since the men in this study were very prideful and hesitant to use assistance, it becomes apparent that gathering data will continue to be difficult leaving a continued gap in knowledge. They were willing to tell their stories, but it was revealed that their pride inhibited them from seeking assistance. How do we best learn more about them and their experiences and how pride factors into the equation?

Lastly, who are the key stakeholders in this phenomenon? I have suggested approaches for some professionals, but are there others who could add to the discussion? It will be important for gaining that increased understanding if those key people are identified and brought together to address the issues of food insecurity and the older population—especially men.

This study attempted to answer the two research questions noted earlier. The findings have added to the body of knowledge but much more is needed to gain that

understanding required when assisting those affected by food insecurity as elder males. I suggest that more research towards gaining greater understanding of this population and their experiences is crucial for any efforts to provide for their future needs.

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APPENDIX A

FOOD INSECURITY DESCRIBED

Food Insecurity Described			
Author, Year	Subjects, F/M, Age, Ethnicity	Data Collection	Findings
Wolfe, Olson, Kendall, & Frongillo, Jr., 1996	41 low-income rural white and urban black elderly in 35 households in New York state.	In-depth semi structured interviews from a purposive sample. Naturalistic inquiry (seeking to develop a conceptualization (picture) derived from a deep understanding of the experience).	Only recently has the elderly been studied for food insecurity. Risk factors for not eating were: minority status, males living alone, health problems, restricted mobility, receipt of Medicaid, and living in New York city versus upstate New York. Food insecurity is difficult to measure because of the lack of clarity on what was being measured. Factors contributing to food insecurity in the elderly include: limited incomes, poor health, physical disabilities, high medical bills, high prescription costs, unexpected expenses (family emergencies, home repairs). A decrease in negative experiences of food insecurity was noted when there was use of public and private food programs, savings accounts, children able to assist, and life experience is handling difficult situations. Transportation capabilities or services and the location of grocery stores were important community factors. Finally, the person's world view and/or religious beliefs affected their actual experience. Major health problems and physical disabilities were identified as the major contributors to the experience of food insecurity for this population.
Frongillo, 1999	Analyzed the FSS= to determine if questionnaire based measures provide valid data	Used the Food Security Supplement (FSS) =, a series of questions to assess food insecurity.	Concluded that Food Security Supplement provides a good understanding of the phenomenon and it is a valid tool to measure food insecurity, and is dependable and

	on food insecurity and hunger.		accurate at the individual and group levels. Further study is needed to measure subgroups.
Hamelin, Habicht, & Beaudry, 1999	French speaking single and two parent households, urban and rural, Quebec City, n=98 (83 women, 15 men), 77 households were found to be food insecure.	Purposive and progressive sampling (determined by theoretical saturation), group interviews (focus groups), individual semi structured interviews, Fall of 1996	The experience of food insecurity classified into two categories: 1) Core characteristics (not having enough food currently, worrying about having enough food in the future, expressing feelings of alienation, 2) Consequences from interactions with the environment which often result in "social implications".
Hamelin, Beaudry, & Habicht, 2002	98 low-income households, urban and rural, Canada	Group and personal interviews	Two classes of manifestations that characterized food insecurity: 1. Core characteristics- Lack of enough food (shortage, unsuitability of food, preoccupation with continuity of lack of access, lack of control over food situation), 2. Socio-familial perturbations, hunger and physical impairment, psychological suffering. The unacceptable becomes the acceptable.
Lee & Frongillo, 2001 (American Society for Nutritional Sciences)	Elders aged 60-90 years (NHANES III n=6596), NSENY n=553).	NHANES III* (1988-1994) and NSENY (1994)+ data used to analyze the extent to which elderly were likely to have decreased nutrient intake, changes to skinfold measures, self-reported changes in health status and increased nutritional risk.	Food insecure elderly have poorer nutrient intake and nutritional status, and poorer health status than food secure individuals of the same age group.
Lee & Frongillo, 2001 (Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences)	Elders aged 60-90 years (NHANES III n=6596), NSENY n=553).	NHANES III* (1988-1994) and NSENY (1994)+ data were used to examine how functional impairments, sociodemographic and economic factors contributed to elders and food insecurity.	Low income and education, minority status, participation in food programs, and social isolation were associated with elder food insecurity. Functional impairments were cited as significant factors within this phenomenon for elders.

Wolfe, Frongillo, & Valois, 2003	46 elderly households from 3 large cities in New York using purposive sampling. Recruitment was conducted through subsidized housing programs, churches, congregations and home-delivered meals and a Latino community worker.	In-depth interviews, grounded theory. Four components of food insecurity in elders were: quantitative, qualitative, psychological, and social. An augmented version of the U.S. FSSM++ with 14 new items was administered by telephone.	Results suggested that items should be added to the survey to capture more accurately the experiences of elders. These include 1) “couldn’t afford the right food for health”, 2) “couldn’t get the food I needed” and 3) “unable to prepare”. Further testing was suggested.
Bhattacharya, Currie, & Haider, 2004	N=nearly 34,000 respondents, aged 2 months and older	Data from NHANES III * October 1988-October 1994	Poor food insecure elders have less healthy diets and are more likely to have a low BMI than other elderly suggesting that food insecure elders lack access to calories (the opposite occurs in the young). Large impact of food insecurity on elderly Hispanics and whites.
Stuff, Casey, Szeto, Gossett, Robbins, Simpson, Connell, & Bogle, 2004	N=1488 households.	List-assisted random digit dialing telephone methodology, with subsequent households selected and screened, then a randomly selected adult was interviewed within each household (in the Lower Mississippi Delta). Data collected using the U.S. Food Security Survey Module and the Short Form 12-item Health Survey (FS-12).	Conclusion was that there is an association between food insecurity and reports of poor health and mental status by adults. In this Delta region of the U.S. (Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi) food insecurity was associated with lower self-reported scores on the FS-12. In this region, obstacles were noted that contribute to the above findings. They are economic factors, cultural, social differences, educational deficits, rural location, fewer physicians, and decreased likelihood to have employer-provided health coverage or prescription coverage.
Coates, Frongillo, Rogers, Webb, Wilde,		Survey data from 22 scales and related ethnographies from 15 countries. First time studies have used	There is a common core experience of food insecurity that transcends cultures. It is no longer necessary to develop food insecurity scales from

<p>& Houser, 2006</p>		<p>valid, experience-based scales that were assembled and subjected to an analytic process to identify commonalities and differences in how the elements were experienced, expressed, and managed across cultures. This should be considered the starting point for household food insecurity assessments, measurement attempts, and program designs.</p>	<p>scratch but should focus on building from a common set of domains, subdomains, and other items listed in this article. Additional elements of food insecurity are being noted as important such as insufficient food quantity, inadequate food quality, and uncertainty and worry about food were significant to the food insecurity experience in all sampled cultures. Social unacceptability surfaced from all ethnographic accounts. Subdomains were concern over food safety, meal pattern disruption, and potential consequences to physical and psychological well-being.</p>
<p>Frongillo & Nanama, 2006</p>	<p>Multistage sampling method using both purposive and random sampling to obtain a representative sample. Households had to contain children less than 5 years of age. Total of 126 households.</p>	<p>Qualitative and quantitative (longitudinal) study with in-depth interviews to obtain an understanding of the concept, experience, and dynamics of household food insecurity in the Zondoma province (Africa) along with questionnaires to gather additional data.</p>	<p>The data allowed examination of changes in household food insecurity through the best and worst of the food seasons. The article states that strong evidence was obtained that the food insecurity score (using experience-based responses) was valid for determining seasonal differences in household food conditions.</p>
<p>Webb, Coates, Frongillo, Rogers, Swindale, & Bilinsky, 2006</p>	<p>Papers studied that stemmed from a household food insecurity measurement initiative sponsored by the USAID**, funded by the FANTA ^project , and managed by the AED^^</p>	<p>Approached represented in these papers originated in the US HFMS working closely with the USDA and anti-hunger advocacy groups.</p>	<p>Prefaced by explaining how Amartya Sen’s redefined concept of food insecurity related more to constrained access to food rather than unavailable food. Now, measuring access is the more preferred means of determining food insecurity. Proxy measures had been typically used such as agricultural productivity or children’s nutritional status. But, the authors determined that food insecurity is much more of a larger multifaceted phenomenon.</p>

Seligman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2010	Population-based sample, n= 5094 poor adults ages 18-65	NHANES 1999-2004 waves.	Food insecurity was associated with self-reported hypertension and hyperlipidemia.
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=**FSS** included a number of questions to assess the complex food insecurity phenomenon and was based on concepts, methods and items for two previous measures developed by Radimer/Cornell and the Community Childhood Hunger Identification Project (CCHIP). FSS was specifically intended to be used to estimate prevalence and to monitor populations but may have additional uses.

+**NSENY**, 1994 is the Nutrition Survey of the Elderly in New York State conducted by the New York State Department of Health in conjunction with the State Office for the Aging to gather information to improve the effectiveness of services provided to the Elderly Nutrition Program in that state.

++ **FSSM** is the Household Food Security Survey, a national measure of food insecurity based on research in younger persons.

***NHANES III** is the National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey. This National survey includes demographics, income, self-reported health, subjective food insecurity and hunger questions, and substantial health information not normally found in surveys (physician physical exam data, blood and urine tests, dietary intake).

****USAID** is the United States Agency for International Development

^ **FANTA** is the Food and Nutritional Technical Assistance

^^ **AED** is the Academy for Educational Development

^^^ **CPS** is the Current Population Survey

APPENDIX B

SELF-EFFICACY AND FOOD ASSISTANCE AND ELDERLY

Self-Efficacy and Food Assistance and Elderly			
Author(s), year	Subjects	Data collection, study type	Findings
Conn, 1998	N=225 community-dwelling women aged 65-92 years who were independent, mobile, and had sufficient verbal skills	Descriptive study with cross-sectional data collection. Personal interviews—all items were read to the participants. The Food Habits Questionnaire which contains 20 items to assess food intake was used.	Self-efficacy was the strongest predictor of each of the studied health behaviors (one being diet).
Havas, Treiman, Langenberg, Ballesteros, Anliker, Damron, & Feldman, 1998	N=3122 women enrolled in 15 WIC**** sites in Baltimore and 6 other counties.	Self-administered written questionnaire was used. Ten items asked how sure the respondent was about carrying out specific behaviors (self-efficacy).	Sociodemographic variables were not strong predictors of produce consumption. It was noted that higher levels of education and being in school were significant predictors of produce consumption. Self-efficacy was shown to be a significant factor in this area of food consumption.
Alaimo, Breifel, Frongillo, & Olson, 1998	NHANES data from 1988 and 1994, noninstitutionalized persons age 2 months and older living in a household (no homeless included). Persons age > or = to go were over sampled	Household interviews in the home and an interview and exam conducted by a mobile clinic.	Most (98.6%) reported the reason for their food insecurity was lack of money, food stamps, or WIC**** vouchers. Food stamp participation was associated with an increase in food insufficiency. Persons who use government assistance reported greater food insecurity than others who did not use assistance. This was attributed, most likely, to self-selection or households apply for assistance only after experiencing significant difficulty in obtaining food. In other words, for persons at

			the same income level, those who receive assistance are more likely to be more food insecure than those who do not.
Clark & Dodge, 1999	N=570 women (aged > or =60 years, noninstitutionalized ambulatory adults participating in a large heart disease management study.	Cross-sectional. Telephone questionnaires covering four areas: self-efficacy, outcome expectations, use of monitoring techniques, and behavior.	Higher outcome expectations were found to be consistently associated with higher self-efficacy scores.
Smith, Johnson, Beaudoin, Monsen, & LoGerfo, 2004	N=27 participants, self-selected from recruitment flyers. \$10.00 incentive was offered. Participants from the Seattle SFMNPP***June-October 2001	Semi-structured interviews with participants in their homes	Perceived self-efficacy to consume more fruits and vegetables increased with the direct delivery of produce to the home.
Henry, Reimer, Smith, & Reicks, 2006	N=420 low income African-American mothers ages 18-45 who had children < 12 years old	Cross-sectional questionnaire design. Used think-aloud data to measure self-efficacy, processes of change and positives and negative to eating more fruits and vegetables.	Perceptions of the benefits to health by eating more fruits and vegetables occurred when women were in the later stages of the Transtheoretical Model.
Gittelsohn, Anliker, Sharma, Vastine, Caballero, & Ethelbah, 2006	270 randomly selected households on 2 Native American reservations in Arizona. Mean age of 42 years old. 70% of households had at least one member on some form of food assistance. 29% of the household had an income < \$15,000/year.	Cross-sectional. Part of a baseline collection for an intervention trial.	The only significant predictor of food self-efficacy was the food knowledge possessed by the respondent.

Cook, Frank, Levenson, Neault, Heeren, Black, Berkowitz, Casey, Meyers, Cutts, & Chilton, 2006	17,158 caregivers of children ages 36 months were interviewed between 1998 and 2004.	Interviews included demographics, the USFSS**, child health status, and hospitalization history.	Household participation in the Food Stamp Program reduces the effects of food insecurity on fair or poor health of children.
Gallant, Spitzer, & Prohaska, 2007	84 African American and white men and women ages > or = to 65 years with one or all of three chronic diseases.	Qualitative study, focus groups of 4-9 members, recruited from a variety of community sources. One focus group facilitator conducted 11 groups and a supervised grad assistant conducted 2 groups	Explored the positive and negative influences of family and friends on self-management of health. Overall, many more positive social network influences were identified than negative influences.
Beverly, Miller, & Wray, 2007	Intensity sampling (a form of purposive sampling), participants were screened by telephone, couples used aged > or = to 50 years old, 30 couples with one or both being diabetic , varying race/ethnicity, occupation, all lived in Pennsylvania	Qualitative study	5 core themes surfaced: control over food, dietary competence, commitment to support, spousal communication, and coping with diabetes. The themes were further categorized into two key social cognitive constructs: reinforcement and self-efficacy. Since the numbers of older adults living with diabetes is growing, more aggressive measures are needed to address the psychosocial needs of these adults.
Selgman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2009	5094 poor adults aged 18-65 years old who participated in NHANES* (1999-2004)	Participants completed an English or Spanish interviewer-administered questionnaire in their home.	Programs that assist adults with food acquisition might have the potential to prevent the development of diet-sensitive chronic disease and improve health outcomes.
Chen, Acton, & Shao, 2010	156 participants randomly selected	Correlational, cross-sectional study	Age is negatively related to nutrition self-efficacy and nutritional status which is

	from 2 public health centers in Taiwan.		consistent with Bandura's self-efficacy theory. Chronic disease and loss of independence for older adults may negatively impact their mastery levels leading to lower self-efficacy.
Bandayrel & Wong, 2011	15 studies using randomized controlled trials involving community based older adults	Systematic literature review followed by data extraction and critical appraisals for the studies that met inclusion criteria. Used NEDLINE, CINAHL	Generally, nutrition counseling involving active participation in developing goals, self-efficacy and collaboration showed the greatest potential towards affecting positive outcomes in community-dwelling older adults.

*NHANES is a cross-sectional, nationally representative survey of the noninstitutionalized U.S. civilian population.

** USFSS is the U.S. Food Security Scale that measures household and child food insecurity separately.

***SFMNPP is the Seattle Senior Farmers' Market Nutrition Pilot Program in King County, Washington

****WIC is the Women's, Infants and Children program.

APPENDIX C

ELDERS AND USING FOOD STAMPS

Elders and Using Food Stamps			
Author(s), Year	Subjects,(F/M),Age, Ethnicity	Data Collection	Findings
Wu, 1996	Elders age =or> 60 years (Food Stamps rules), n=3889 participated in the survey for 3 years	PSID (Panel Study of Income Dynamics) from 1980-2005, March Current Population Survey (CPS) & data from Elderly Nutrition Program & Continuing Survey of Food Intakes (CSFII) and Consumer Expenditure (CE) Survey	Elderly poor do not accept food stamp benefits due to: low initial rate of adoption of the program, lower financial benefit level along with relatively better financial status , lack of information, Elderly Nutrition Program (home-delivered meals) is substituted for Food Stamps
Falcon, Tucker, & Bermudez, 1997	Hispanic elders age =or> 60 years, in Massachusetts	Massachusetts Hispanic Elders Study (MAHES) 1992-1996, 2 stage cluster sampling, 600 interviews completed (45.2% Puerto Ricans, 11.5% Dominicans, 16.7% other Hispanics, 26.7% non-Hispanic whites).	Food Stamps participation is very low for Hispanic elders. Factors include poverty, older age, lower education, living alone, limited resources, recent immigration, less likely to have pensions, chronic illness, and mobility limitations.
Gilbride, Amella, Breines, Mariano, & Mezey, 1998	40 elders in New York City. 13 who received congregate meals, 27 did not receive congregate meals. Limited participation due to length of time needed to be part of the study.	Pilot project, interdisciplinary approach, obtained comprehensive assessments of participants who did and did not participate in congregate-site meals. 2 interviews conducted.	Additional community resources are necessary when problems are uncovered that may adversely affect the nutritional or health status of community-residing elders.
Arcury, Quandt, Bell,	73 leaders and experts in North Carolina perceptions of patients in counties (2	In-depth interviews to gain perceptions of barriers to adequate	3 Themes: barriers are geographic and cultural with different needs and attitudes in different locations,

McDonald, & Vitolins, 1998	rural) with 50% aged > 70 years and minority, approximately 29% have incomes < poverty line	elder nutrition. Purposive snowball sample of community leaders and experts in each county.	barriers are social related family structure, economics, racism, ethnic conflict, and community reluctance to provide services to certain citizens, barriers related to elder stereotyping as ignorant and resistant to change leading to creation of their own problems mentality of providers. Those who do understand the programs and services, the limitations of programs, and the causes of limitations understand better the society and culture of the community and are better equipped to help. Many “experts” do not know well their contacts. Since many different people provide services, more communication and understanding needs to occur.
Lee & Frongillo, 2001	NHANES, n=6596 aged 60-90 years NSEY, n=553 aged 60-96 years, LSOA, n=7527 aged = or > 70 years	Cross-sectional and longitudinal data, NHANES III*, Nutrition Exam Survey in New York State (NSEN, 1994, prospective study), Longitudinal Study of Aging (LSOA, 1984-1990, due to budget 2376 were not re-interviewed in 1986). The analysis focused on the 1984 and 1988 data.	Food insecure elders were more likely to participate in assistance programs if they were located in their community but only 50% actually used the services. The use of programs was influenced by availability, accessibility, and acceptability to the elders.
Quandt, Arcury, Bell, McDonald, & Vitolins, 2001	145 adults aged 70+ in rural North Carolina, males= 39%, minority= 66%	Ethnographic, in-depth interviews, data from Rural Nutrition and Health Survey (quantitative portion of study), observations	Participants complained about difficulty of qualifying for assistance programs and that the benefits were small. Congregate meals are not a natural social group which decreases attractiveness and they force socialization which may not be welcome. Food sharing is not taking welfare so it is more acceptable.
Guthrie & Lin, 2002	Low income males n=363 (age 60-69=37%, 70-79=40%, 80 & above=23%), females	Data from CSFII** 1994-96, Food Security Supplement	Despite “special rules” for elderly households, participation rates in the Food Stamp program is lower than for

	n=425 (age 90-69=36%, 70-79=41%, 80 & above=23%)	to the Current Population Survey (CPS) from 1999	other eligible groups. In 1997, estimated that 30% of eligible elders participated compared with 63% of other eligible of all ages. Reasons=lack of information, perceived ineligible, did not know how to apply, embarrassment, perceived benefits as too low, perceived lack of need (others need it more), perceived loss of independence. Food pantries more popular with elders—not perceived as government aid.
Wolfe, Frongillo, & Valois, 2003	53 low income urban elders	In-depth interviews, grounded theory	Elder experience has 4 components: quantitative, qualitative, psychological & social. May have money but lack ability to access due to transportation, functional limitations, or health problems.
Frongillo, Valois, & Wolfe, 2003	N=9 average age of 68, 7 Caucasian women, 1 Caucasian man, 1 African American man (2 received both Food Stamps and home meals , 3 received only home meals , 2 used congregate meals and received food from food pantries, 2 did not use any programs. New York state.	Concurrent events approach. Weekly telephone interviews for 4 months (Dec. 2000-March 2001) after 2 in-depth previous interviews for a prior study.	Social support in various forms was important to these elders even if they used assistance.
Keller, 2006	N=367 initially, n=2632 for follow-up interviews.70% participated in meal programs, Canada.	Cohort design, in-person interviews and follow-up interview after 18 months. Used the 15-item Seniors in the Community: Risk for Eating and Nutrition (SCREEN) questionnaire at 18 months	Meal programs can improve nutritional status of elders. Increase use of programs over time may indicate declining elder health. Elders should be encouraged to participate in meal programs.
Kim & Frongillo, 2007	1995-1996, n= 9481 for HRS, n= 6354 for AHEAD, mean age was 60.8 years for HRS and 79.6 years for AHEAD, 52.3% male for HRS and	Longitudinal survey data sets by NIA***, HRS^, AHEAD^^ , modified food	Participation in food assistance programs modified the relationship between food insecurity and BMI (body mass index) and depression. The positive impact of participation in food

	40.1% for AHEAD, participation in food stamps 5.1% for HRS and 4.6% for AHEAD, home delivered meals was 0.4% for HRS and 2.8% for AHEAD, modified food insecurity was 8.4% for	insecurity questions based on HFSSM^^^	assistance programs for decreasing or preventing risk of poor outcomes related to food insecurity will improve quality of life for elders and decrease healthcare expenditures.
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*NHANES, III = Third National Health and Nutrition Examination Survey

**CSFII = Continuing Survey of Food Intakes from the U.S. Department of Agriculture

*** NIA=National Institute on Aging

^ HRS= Health and Retirement Study

^^ AHEAD= Asset and Health Dynamics among the Oldest Old

^^^HFSSM=U.S. Household Food Security Survey Module

APPENDIX D

RECRUITMENT INTRODUCTION

My name is Gale Carlson and I am a doctoral student at the University of Northern Iowa. I want to share a little about myself. I live in the area with my husband where we both work. We have five children and ten grandchildren. We are outdoors people, but mostly in nice weather. Our hobbies include riding motorcycles and traveling.

I grew up in a middle class home in a very small town. My parents worked in neighboring communities. My mother was a teacher and my father was a pipe-fitter after he retired from the military. We were a pretty traditional household with a dog and other small animals.

I went to college after high school, got married and had two children. My husband was a salesman. For twenty years I worked with food in administration and management. I returned to college in my thirties and became a registered nurse. I have worked in the hospital setting on a medical-surgical floor and in the mental health unit. After obtaining my master's degree, I began teaching nursing which is my current profession. I desired a doctoral degree to further my position as a teaching professional. That leads me to this study and why I am here.

I have a keen interest in the meaning of food to individuals. My first bachelor's degree was in food and nutrition because I was and still am very interested in food. Over the years, I have become more aware of the needs and struggles of different groups of

people when trying to feed themselves and their families. That has led me to this research study.

My study is focusing on the elder male population because I have found that there has been little study of this age group and gender. Most studies are conducted on women and children. I have found that elder males have unique and interesting characteristics that may stop them from seeking assistance when they do not have enough means to adequate food. I also have learned that many elder males who qualify for assistance programs such as food stamps do not use them. This led me to this study where I want to learn more about what elder males experience if food is short and what may or may not influence them to utilize food assistance programs. I want to know more about their experiences and how they make decisions as to how to manage their situations.

APPENDIX E

RECRUITMENT FLIER

RECRUITING

 Research Participants

Gale Carlson, from the University of Northern Iowa, will be recruiting research participants for her study:

Food Insecurity and the elder male: exploring the gap from needing food to the utilization of assistance programs

The purpose of the research is to explore the relationship between the male elder's experience of food security and the utilization of assistance programs. This research is important because little is known about this age group and gender in terms of food insecurity and using assistance programs. The elderly continue to grow in numbers which will directly impact the interventions aimed at assisting this group to receive adequate nutrition as they age.

Participants will be males aged 65 years or older who have experienced or do experience some degree of food insecurity (difficulty obtaining enough food).

Explanation of Procedures: This study will use personal interviews of participants who meet the criteria for the study. Three interviews will be conducted at mutually agreed upon times, dates, and locations. Interview questions will focus on the participant's experiences and feelings about living with food insecurity and the utilization of food assistance programs. These interviews are expected to take place late January-April 2016.

If interested in more information or to ask questions,
please contact Gale Carlson at: [REDACTED]
(cell phone) or email her at [REDACTED].

APPENDIX F

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM HUMAN PARTICIPANTS REVIEW

You have been invited to participate in a voluntary research project conducted through the University of Northern Iowa. The University requires that you give your signed agreement to participate in this project. The following information is provided to help you make an informed decision whether or not to participate.

The **project title** is: Food Insecurity and the elder male: exploring the gap from needing food to the utilization of assistance programs.

The **purpose** of the research is to explore the relationship between the male elder's experience of food insecurity and the utilization of food assistance programs. Particular attention will be placed on the meaning he assigns to his experiences in accessing food.

Explanation of Procedures: This study will use personal interviews of participants who meet the criteria for the study. Three interviews will be conducted at mutually agreed upon times, dates, and locations. The interview purpose is to gather data from the participants regarding their experiences and feelings about their experiences with food insecurity and the utilization of food assistance programs. Participants will be assigned a pseudo name and all responses will be audiotaped and transcribed. All data will be viewed only by the researcher and will be kept in a secure location. The interview process is expected to take approximately three to four months with each interview lasting approximately 45-60 minutes. As a mandatory reporter, this researcher reserves the right to end any interview if reports of issues covered under that obligation (neglect, abuse, etc.) are revealed.

Audiotaped interviews (three) will be conducted at a location of the participant's choice and will take approximately one hour or as long as the participant is willing to talk. Questions will focus on the experiences related to difficulty obtaining food and using programs that provide assistance.

Risks to the participants are no greater than of day-to-day life. One risk could be the breach of confidentiality. However, information obtained during this study will be kept strictly confidential. Participants, staff, and volunteers will not have access to any responses. Only they the interviewer (researcher) will know what each participant has said. The information (without identifiers) may be published in an academic journal or presented at a scholarly conference.

Benefits of Participation

There will be no direct benefit to you for taking part in this study. However, your participation will increase understanding of the impact of food insecurity on those who experience it.

Participant Right to Refuse or Withdraw

I _____ (first name only), have been told that my participation is completely voluntary. I am free to withdraw from participation at any time or to choose not to participate at all, and by doing so will not be penalized.

Questions

I have been told that the investigator will answer any questions about my participation. I have also been advised that if I desire information in the future regarding participation or the study in general, I can contact Gale Carlson at 319-415-1542 or gale.carlson@uni.edu. I may also contact the University of Northern Iowa Review Board at (319)-273-6148, for answers to questions about rights of research participants and the participant review process.

Agreement

I am fully aware of the nature and extent as well as the potential risk to participation in this project and agree to participate.

I understand that I will be offered a copy of this consent form.

_____	_____	_____
Participant First Name	Signature	Date

_____	_____	_____
Researcher Name	Signature	Date

Audiotape Consent Addition

What follows is a consent statement for the researcher to utilize audiotaping during interviews. I agree to allow audiotaping of interviews between the researcher and myself.

_____	_____
Signature (First name)	Date

APPENDIX G
RESEARCH LOG

Researcher Name: Gale Carlson

FOOD INSECURITY AND THE ELDER MALE: EXPLORING THE GAP FROM
NEEDING FOOD TO THE UTILIZATION OF FOOD ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS

Project Introduction

Food insecurity is the inability to afford nutritionally adequate and safe foods (Seligman, Laraia, & Kushel, 2009). More and more people are facing difficulties obtaining enough food and the subgroup of elder males is a particularly vulnerable group. This elder male population is growing with the expanding numbers of adults who are living longer (www.census.gov), posing a particularly uncertain future for those who are of low income (Guthrie & Lin, 2002). It will be prudent for professionals to have a better understanding of this group who faces food insecurity as little research has focused on their explanation of their experiences and why they may not utilize assistance programs. Communities who will be caring for this group of insecure adults are proposed to benefit from increased knowledge of this phenomenon.

Project Goals

- To capture the descriptions of the experiences of elder males who are faced or have been faced with food insecurity
- To capture the descriptions of how the elder male makes decisions on how he will obtain adequate food.
- To capture the elder male's words and descriptions of how he makes decisions on whether he uses food assistance programs or not.

Primary Research Questions

1. How does the elder male describe the experiences associated with food insecurity?
2. What is the relationship between the experiences ascribed by the food insecure elder male and the perceived barriers in accessing food through food assistance programs?

Research Plan**Tentative Research Schedule****January 2016**

- Obtain center agreement letter (for IRB) from center director.
- Proposal defense, revisions
- Submit IRB

- After IRB approval, meet with Senior Center director to discuss research plan, how to introduce the researcher and schedule the time(s) for the introduction and commencement of recruiting
- Do observation of the noon meal setting and attendees
- Conduct introduction and explanation of the research project at a noon senior meal
- Communicate with any interested participants if contacted
- Set up first interview if agreeable

February

- Set up first interviews as possible
- Conduct first interviews
- Transcribe any completed interviews.
- Review transcriptions looking for commonalities, themes
- Make interview question revisions as needed
- Make arrangements for second interviews as possible

March

- Conduct second interviews as possible.
- Transcribe any completed interviews.
- Review transcriptions looking for commonalities, themes
- Make interview question revisions as needed
- Make arrangements for third interviews

April

- Conduct second and/or third interviews as possible.
- Transcribe any completed interviews
- Review transcriptions looking for commonalities, themes
- Meet with committee chair or committee members for a progress report

May

- Conclude interviews
- Transcribe completed interviews
- Review transcriptions looking for commonalities, themes

June

- Chapter four and five

Notes:

Table 1: Participants

Participants	First Interview	Second Interview	Third Interview
#1			
#2			
#3			
#4			
#5			
#6			

Observation

Date:	Notes:
Date:	Notes:

Research Methods

To carry out this research study, two methods of data collection will be used: observation and interviews. The following tools will be used to carry out each of these methods:

- Introductory script
- Interview questions for each of the three phases
- Observation notes
- Journaling after observation

These methods are intended to gather appropriate and useful data leading to a genuine description of the participant experiences.

Participant Interviews

Prior to interview:

1. Confirm with the participant the agreed upon time and location of the interview.
2. Review the interview questions. Mentally prepare for the conversation and questioning. Remember ethical considerations.

3. Be prompt, friendly, accommodating (hearing, functional ability, eyesight, etc.).

Interview Introductory Script

Hello, my name is Gale and I am working on a research project about experiences of men who have or do have some difficulties getting enough food. Were you at the noon meal the day that I introduced myself and described this project? Do you have any questions? Would you like me to explain any part of the project again? With your permission, I would like to tape-record our interview so that I can spend more time focused on our conversation instead of taking notes.

During the Interview:

As appropriate, the researcher will ask questions that probe for detail, clarify, and expand, such as:

- ❖ Can you tell me more about that.....
- ❖ Can you explain what you mean by.....
- ❖ Would you provide an example of.....

During the interview, the researcher will:

- ❖ Avoid summarizing (e.g. So, you are telling me,.....right?)
- ❖ Not interrupt
- ❖ Listen closely, ask for clarification if needed
- ❖ Provide plenty of time for responses---be patient
- ❖ Maintain focus, but do not be afraid to deviate from interview questions with a related purpose.

Closing Interview Script:

Thank you for taking the time to share with me about your experiences. I would like to set up the second interview today if that will work for you. Next time, if you think of anything that you wished you would have said at our first meeting, please let me know. In the second meeting, we will continue our conversation about your experiences.

Phase I Interview Questions

Type of Questions	Example Questions
Introductory	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Tell me about yourself. Where were you born? Where did you grow up? Where did you go to school? ○ Tell me about your family. ○ Tell me about life in your home growing up.
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What would best describe your family? Middle class? Upper middle class? Low? Wealthy? ○ How would you describe life for your family growing up? Easy? Happy? Difficult? Please explain. ○ Tell me anything that you think is important for me to know about you and your family growing up so I have a good picture in my mind about that time for you.
Experiences with food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What recollections do you have about the food you had as a child? Good food? Enough food? Mom was a good cook?
Experiences with assistance for food	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Tell me how food was obtained, if you recall, when money was short.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ What means did your family use to provide enough food for meals? Garden? Hunt? Other family?
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Follow-up Interview Questions-Phase II

Prior to the interview:

1. Review the transcript of the prior interview
2. Develop follow –up questions to gain clarity, additional information, or explore new areas
3. Confirm meeting from prior exchange or contact and schedule the next interview

Types of Questions	Questions
<p>Questions for clarity or to gather additional information</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Last time we met, you told me about your life growing up. Please tell me about life as an adult. How would you describe that? ○ How did you make a living as an adult? ○ How would you describe your ability to provide for yourself and/or your family? ○ What are your feelings about that? ○ What were the challenges that your family encountered? Please explain. ○ What were those experiences like? ○ What thoughts stand out for you in thinking about those experiences? ○ How did you manage through difficult times?

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ How do you think your experiences have affected you? ○ How would you describe your priority level for food as you moved into adulthood? ○ What role does food play in your life now? ○ What have you experienced with getting food as an elder adult? ○ What were your thoughts as you pondered how to get food? ○ How did you make decisions to get assistance with obtaining food? ○ How did you learn about the meals here? ○ What made you come to these meals?
Questions on new areas	

Follow up interview questions- Phase III

Types of Questions	Questions
Questions for clarity or to gather additional information	See Appendix J

Questions on new areas	

Observation

Prior to Observation:

Prior to observation, gather the following information.

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ General demographic information about the agency
<i>Types of programs offered</i>
<i>Number of participants in all programs</i>
<i>Requirements for participation in the programs</i>
<i>Average number of meal participants per week</i>
<i>Any available data on participant ages, gender</i>

<i>Other</i>

Post Observation Questions:

1.

Observation Guide

Environment
Population
Staff
Organization of the meal activity
Interactions

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Field Notes

Participant #1	Date, time, location

APPENDIX H

PHASE I INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Introduction

My name is Gale Carlson and I am a doctoral student at the University of Northern Iowa. I want to share a little about myself. I live in the area with my husband where we both work. We have five children and ten grandchildren. We are outdoors people, but mostly in nice weather. Our hobbies include riding motorcycles and traveling.

I grew up in a middle class home in a very small town. My parents worked in neighboring communities. My mother was a teacher and my father was a pipe-fitter after he retired from the military. We were a pretty traditional household with a dog and other small animals.

I went to college after high school, got married and had two children. My husband was a salesman. For twenty years I worked with food in administration and management. I returned to college in my thirties and became a registered nurse. I have worked in the hospital setting on a medical-surgical floor and in the mental health unit. After obtaining my master's degree, I began teaching nursing which is my current profession. I desired a doctoral degree to further my position as a teaching professional. That leads me to this study and why I am here.

I have a keen interest in the meaning of food to individuals. My first bachelor's degree was in food and nutrition because I was and still am very interested in food. Over the years, I have become more aware of the needs and struggles of different groups of

people when trying to feed themselves and their families. That has led me to this research study.

My study is focusing on the elder male population because I have found that there has been little study of this age group and gender. Most studies are conducted on women and children. I have found that elder males have unique and interesting characteristics that may stop them from seeking assistance when they do not have enough means to adequate food. I also have learned that many elder males who qualify for assistance programs such as food stamps do not use them. This led me to this study where I want to learn more about what elder males experience if food is short and what may or may not influence them to utilize food assistance programs. I want to know more about their experiences and how they make decisions as to how to manage their situations.

Beginning questions may be as follows.

1. Tell me a little about yourself like where were you born, where did you grow up, where did you go to school, etc.
2. How would you describe life for your family growing up? Easy? Happy? Difficult? Please explain.
3. Tell me about life in your home growing up.
3. How would you describe life for your family growing up? Easy? Middle class? Upper middle class? Poor? Wealthy?
4. Tell me anything that you think is important for me to know about you and your family growing up so I have a good picture in my mind about that time for you.

5. What recollections do you have about the food you had as a child? Good food? Enough food? Mom was a good cook?
6. Tell me how food was obtained, if you recall, when money was short.
7. What means did your family use to provide enough food for meals? Garden? Hunt? Other family?

APPENDIX I

PHASE II INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Last time we met, you told me about your life growing up. Please tell me about life as an adult. How would you describe that?
2. How did you make a living as an adult?
3. How would you describe your ability to provide for yourself and/or your family?
4. What are your feelings about that?
5. What were the challenges that your family encountered? Please explain.
6. What were those experiences like?
7. What thoughts stand out for you in thinking about those experiences?
8. How did you manage through difficult times?
9. How do you think your experiences have affected you?
10. How would you describe your priority level for food as you moved into adulthood?
11. What role does food play in your life now?
12. What have you experienced with getting food as an elder adult?
13. What were your thoughts as you pondered how to get food?
14. How did you make decisions to get assistance with obtaining food?
15. How did you learn about the meals here?
16. What made you come to these meals?

APPENDIX J

PHASE III INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

As mentioned in the previous segment, the questions and leading comments will be adjusted based on the participant responses, the information disclosed, and the direction of the interview. The goal is to seek some commonality with respect to the types of questions, with the understanding that their personal perspective and story will serve to drive each interview.

1. In the last interview you talked about your adult life. Please tell me more about life as a retiree.
2. How would you describe living as a retiree?
3. What is a good day?
4. What is a bad day?
5. What are your biggest struggles?
6. How do you handle these struggles?
7. What are your most important decisions?
8. What brought you to the Senior Community Center? Tell me about deciding to come here for the meal.
9. What other ways have you reached out to help you get the necessities you need? Tell me about making those decisions to reach out.
10. What would you like to tell me that is important for me to know so I have a good understanding of what it is like for a man such as yourself at this time in your life?

11. Have you shared everything that is significant to your experience? What other comments do you want to include about this experience?

(Moustakas, 1994).

APPENDIX K

TRANSCRIBED INTERVIEW

2/26/2016

G Is it ok if I audiotape our conversation?

C Sure

G OK, great.

You were just going to get started telling me about your income but can you tell me more about your family. Where you grew up? Where did you leave? Those kinds of things.

C Are you talking about Mom and Dad and that kind of thing?

G Yeah, Yeah.

C We lived up around XXXX, XXXXXXXX and we didn't move to XXXX until possibly when I was 15 years old. I do remember a time when my Dad went from XXXX,XXX and those other companies where you couldn't quite get 90 in and they'd lay you off. So I do remember time when my Dad was on, it was called commodities. Back there where you went over to the courthouse and you stood in line with others and you got your commodities.

G Is that like cheese, peanut butter...?

C Powdered eggs, pancake mix, cornmeal mix, stuff like that.

I remember doing that lots of times with my Dad. We'd stand in line. I remember a time when he had to actually go and count crow's feet that people would bring in. He got paid 2 cents a foot. And my Dad had to pick them out of the box and count them. That was his pay back for all of his commodities.

G Really? What do they do with crow's feet?

C They'd go shoot them and my Dad would go in and count them so that was to pay back for all these commodities.

G Was that typical, that other people had to do things like that?

C Whatever was assigned to my Dad from the courthouse at that time.

G How old do you think you were at that time?

C Oh I was 14 or 15.

G Teenager.

C There were 6 of us boys.

G 6 boys!

C Somehow they provided for food and that was one way.

G Did you boys have to work?

C We did. I had a paper route. I had 150 customers at one time. Double bag over each wheel and one over my shoulder. And my brother had a route and so whenever Dad needed some extra money (he cries) we gave it to him to help buy groceries and food and so this went on until I was probably about 17 or 18 years old and then I went to work in XXXXXXXX. I laid tile in the ditch and then I thought I was smarter than the teachers so I quit school but then I came back to school again.

G High school?

C Yeah finished high school.

Then in November, 1959 I got a job at Viking Pump and then I was able to help my dad do more .He had a good job at Viking Pump also so he was making he never did have to go back and do the commodities anymore.

G Which of the boys or what number are you?

C The oldest.

G You really knew what was going on.

C Yeah I could sit down and tell you a whole big story.

That was one of the things I remember. Then I got a job and it was easier 'cause I was living with Dad and Mom, and Mom was a worker and Dad was a worker and she was just every once in a while she'd go to a café out in XXXXX near XXXXXXXXXX XXX and she would work over there. Later in her life she retired from XXXX XXXXXXXX over up on the corner where right up there. They put all those mini stores in there.

G So she worked and she kept the house.

C She kept the house and did all the cooking.

G Was she a good cook?

C Yeah she could make some good rice pudding.

G For dinner, what would you have?

C Oh, um, well, you know we would have our meat, potatoes, and stuff to right now I couldn't tell you. I could tell you earlier what we had. We used to raise a lot of rabbits. We had fried rabbit, ground rabbit. Chickens; we raised a lot of chickens, a large garden, we had an acre out there so we were really poor but we had a lot of food coming in.

G Do you think you would consider yourself poor compared to other people?

C At that time but it never dawned on me.

G You didn't know any different. So you boys I assume you had to help with the garden and the animals.

C Yes.

G Did you have eggs?

C Yes we had banty chickens. They produced eggs and sometimes we got to give some away but we had our meat and eggs and no milk. We had a lot of powdered milk, it came in those commodities.

G So you grew up on powdered milk.

C Yeah.

G What do you think about powdered milk today?

C (talking to his wife) Honey what do you think about powdered milk? (Laughs) No, I'll stick with regular milk. But I thank the Lord many times for that powdered milk. Mom would make it the night before and make it nice and cold. You really sure we didn't complain because we knew.

G Wo you went with your Dad to the courthouse to get What do you think, what was that like for him? Did he ever talk about it?

C No, I felt for him.

G What did you think?

C Because I felt sad for my Dad because he had to stand in line for all this food but there was at times a long line maybe a block long and there were other people there with boxes

so I knew what they were there for but I felt bad for my Dad because he had to do this but other than that I never complained about that.

G Would that have been in the 40s?

C Well this was in 1950s, early 50s.

G OK.

C 'Cause like I said I was a boy in the 1940s. I was 12, 13, 14 when we moved to XXXX.

G How come you moved?

C How come we moved?

G Yeah.

C My Dad was a hired hand a lot of times on a farm. See every March people moved. We moved, oh my goodness. We moved lots of times. We probably moved 12-13 times in my entire life and then after we moved 3 or 4 or 5 times. We just moved here and then we moved in April.

G How come you moved so many times? Just?

C Because the jobs.

G Where he could get work. I see. He was always trying to figure out where to get the next job and the next pay check.

C Yup, yup because like I said XXXXXXXX, XXXX, XXXXXXXXXXXX, if you couldn't seem to get 90 days in and you got laid off and they'd say we'll call you back but that's a long time between getting laid off and getting called back so my dad would get another job and he liked that job and they'd call him back and he'd say well I like this job I'm here already. Many times I thought about. My dad mentioned that maybe sometimes he

should have gone back but he started back at XXXXX but the same thing happened but he said son if they call me back I'm going. He put in his 42 years at XXXXX.

G Oh my. So it did work out for him.

C Yeah it worked out this last time.

G And that's where you retired from XXXXX. You said, I put my 30 years in and when I turned 62 I put my notice in.

C Yeah.

G So early on did you ever think you wished you had different food back then?

You said you didn't think about it a lot.

C No, you never did. No I didn't. Mom this is a fine one. We had a lot of cornmeal and pancake batter that came from those commodities. Every morning I still have one pancake.

G You like pancakes.

C Yeah one morning she said boys I've got a new breakfast for you get down here. We went down there and I said well that's just pancakes and she said there's cornmeal mixed in that pancake. I'll still do that to this day. It was like I said we had eggs, pancakes, very little bacon that I remember if we did it was once in a while; there was pancakes, oatmeal, mush, lot of stuff like that.

G Did you have eggs?

C Yeah, cause we had banty hens.

We had a lot of food. We always had a way of fixing it up so it was just as tasty and even more healthier.

G She was a good cook.

C She was.

G She could bake?

C Oh yeah, she baked. When we were on the farm she baked most of our bread.

G That's probably most of the bread you had.

C It was yup, yup. So she always said she loved the crust. She said Charles, you're going to lose your hair someday. (Laughs) Because of the crust.

G That's something else. How about when you were a kid you were saying 12-14, I don't remember if I asked were there other kids having to go through things like you? How common was that? People would stand in line.

C Yes if I remember right our name started with a B for BXXXXX so each time during the whole month, say BXXXXX came up on a Tuesday for B, C, D, I don't remember too many kids in my own neighborhood that went there but I do know we knew of them because as kids we would talk about stuff like that.

G You probably knew but you weren't sure because the day they went would have been because they had a different last name.

C As kids we didn't talk much about it 'cause it was basically, it was the basic thing that had to be done each month

G So you didn't feel much different?

C No I didn't 'um maybe some other kids did but I didn't.

G What about your brothers?

C I think if anybody my younger brother, the next one, LaXX and I talked about it when we worked for our money we thought we were going to spend our money but once in a while Dad would I say I need some help. If we talked about it probably was the day he said boys I need help a little bit. You know in my own thinking now I think about, I think that only lasted maybe a half a day and off we go and then the next day we were doing our paper routes again.

G Yeah. Because you had to have the food and whatever for the family so you just knew that's what you needed to do. Your brothers know what was going on?

C I don't, I don't remember. There was 18 months between all of us so we were fairly close and but I don't remember if even today if my other brothers ever mentioned much about it.

G Did they end up working? As they got a little older.

C LaXX worked over in Waterloo. My other brother DXXX worked at a grocery store here in XXX where the sports store is over on the corner of XXXX Street. XXXXXXXX and XXXX Street but the rest of them was small. By the time they got old enough to work I was working full time work and then I got I went into the service for some time and when I came back they were all doing different work.

G You finished high school. Is that when you went into the service?

C Yes, well let's see '59, Oct 1959 that's when I went to work for XXXXX and then I had 2.5 years in there and then I went into the service in '60 and then was discharged in 1963. Shirley and I got married in August of '63.

G Did you go back to XXXXX?

C I did after the Navy but then I hated it so bad I couldn't see straight because of the job I was doing.

G Oh.

C I said you know what I gotta do something else so I went to work for XXXXXXXX XXXX drywall, some guys hanging drywall and then I really knew what work was like. But for 6 years and then in '69, '70 they would always lay off because there wasn't enough houses in the winter time so in the spring time here I told Shirley you know what I'm gonna go and see if I can find some work of my own. And so I did and so about 3 months later I went to my boss and I got 4 or 5 houses was gonna do on my own and I want to take some time off. And they said that I could. After I actually in a sense quit them they gave me a lot of little jobs and that went on until 1972. That was the first time I had to go get food stamps.

G Because you didn't have enough work?

C Yeah we didn't have enough money to pay the bills and buy the food. And I remember Shirley saying what are we going to do and I told her I'd go get some food stamps. I did and I think we got about \$100 worth because there was only about 4,5 or 6 days left in the month and we were out of food, so they gave me \$100 worth of food stamps I told her you know what hun I can't do this. I went back and reapplied on Monday and on Wednesday I was working at XXXXX .That was in Nov of 1972 and I continued there until I retired.

G You got food stamps twice?

C I think there were only 5 days left in the month of January and then in November they said I could get more and I told Shirley that I was going to do that because it was going to be 2 weeks before I got a check from XXXXX.

G Oh.

C So I went in there and they gave me the food stamps and we bought a bunch of food like I said my first check that was it.

G What was that like when you finally had to say I gotta go get food stamps?

C Oh then you could a hit me and hit me and it couldn't have been worse.

G Why do you think that was?

C How I felt?

G You knew what it was like as a kid. You had assistance

C It was just maybe my bringing up, boys we have to work to get food in here and not depend on everyone else to help us. I'll back up a little. As a kid out in XXXXXXXXX where we grew up there was a church there called the XXXX XXX XXXXX, it was a Baptist church. Smith was his name. Every December and Thanksgiving there was a knock on the door and I would say who is it and Dad would say I don't know and we'd go out there after a while and we'd get a great big box of food. So I remember that. Dad said boys we can't depend on that all the time. Do on our own. As I think back on it that was what probably motivated me was Charles you just you can't do this all your life. You can't depend on the government. You gotta make it on your own. So I did. Only 2 times and that was enough.

G That was tough.

C That was tough.

G Do you think people looked down on others who used food stamps?

C I think so. I don't remember anybody saying anything about it.

G Did anyone else know?

C Probably so but I don't remember. I don't remember if they did they never said anything to me about it but I'm sure in my own mind and thinking they know some how they know and so Shirley would help me go get the groceries but she would never go up to the counter with me. She said Charles I can't do this. I said honey I can't either so that's why I went back to XXXXX.

G And that was back in the day when they had those pieces of paper like.....

C Stamps.

G When people checked out they knew you had food stamps where today you have what looks like a credit card.

C You don't know now they are food stamps.

G What do you think the checker and the people in the store thought?

C Well if they did they never said anything 'cause it was money in a sense in their pocket. None of use smoked or drank and you couldn't buy any of that, that never fazed us, neither Shirley or I ever smoke or drank so everything went for food so if we got any cash back once in a while we'd buy a candy bar for the boys.

G And that was probably a big deal.

C It was. Yeah for them. Like I said we only had to do it twice. I think our oldest son knew a little bit more about it and I think he did but he's never talked to me about it. Someday I may just ask him about it. The times we had to buy food and that.

G You have how many kids?

C Two boys. That's our youngest son holding his boy. (Looking at photos on the wall). One is in Kansas and the other in Kentucky so I have to adopt a lot of kids around here for grandkids.

G Goodness. You mentioned church. Was there a sense in the church that people would give other people food if you had extra? Out of the garden? Did you give it away?

C I'm sure they did 'cause I've been going to that church since I was 15 years old and I'm sure there were times when they did but I don't remember right now, oh probably tomorrow I could.

G Maybe next time we talk.

C Yeah but I know Helen's mom and dad bought us a deep freeze one time because we had enough money to buy a half of beef but we had no way to freeze it so mom and dad bought us a freezer. We sold it in 2008. My folks, my Dad and Mom, I'm not saying my Mom and Dad had a lot. There were 6 of us boys and Mom and Dad, so my Dad never was able to help us out a lot so we knew what we needed to do.

G I'm sure they would have helped if they could.

C Oh yeah I'm sure they would have. There were times when my Dad would give me things and there were times when, one time I was in school and I said Dad could have what do you call it Dad give me 25 cents that's all I need.

G Allowance?

C Yeah and he said why son don't you know you already get more than that.

No he said and he said well you're getting your food and your mother's doing your wash, you live here, we take you everywhere and I never asked my Dad for another allowance 'cause I knew.

G It was a different way of thinking back then compared to nowadays.

C Yeah.

G I think you had a lot of respect for....

C Yeah you know in fact I'll show you a picture back there when we get done. There was a place at the end of XXXXX Street, the bridge, XXXXX XXXXXXXX was there, the house, the street, a bridge.

G That's where you grew up?

C Ever since I was probably about 17 years old.

G Did that get taken out in the XXXXXX?

C When they put in the new XXX in they took it out, somebody else moved in, and they put the XXX in, they tore it out. That picture is when it was there.

G When that was almost out of town.

C It was. XXXXX XXXXX

G Compared to now.

C It's called XXXXX XXXXX.

G So what was it like being in the service?

C I was in for 2-2.5 years. I went in the construction battalion Seabee's. I like working with my hands. I was working for XXXXXXXX Plumbing at that time construction work until I worked for the inspector of the XXXX XXXX sewer lines He mentioned to me that I should check out the Seabees and I did. Later on I did. Two or three years went by and I had enough information about the Seabees that I went so we spent I spent a year up in Alaska making airplane hangars and a month in Okinawa building new restrooms for that group over there about a week in Guam and Wake, and Midway. If I had to do it over again I would go back into the Seabees.

G Was that a good way of learning about a job and I've heard people say that, that it was a good way to learn a job. I'm just curious what was the attraction for you to go into the service? Good protection for you to go into the service?

C Well ok, Helen and I was we hadn't set a time to get married. She said one day I don't feel like I'm ready to get married. Oh O.K. I'm going into the service then. That's when I went into the service and like I said if I had to do it again I would. Seabees. It was a good time. I grew up I did. I was 20 years old but that time really made a difference in our lives. We both matured a lot and 3 years later we got married.

G The Korean conflict going on?

C It was the Laos situation.

G I thought that was a little later.

C Well over in Okinawa, it was called the Laos situation. Then Viet Nam came in.

G So this was after the Korean conflict.

C Yeah

G Interesting.

C Yeah so I remember 'cause I only had about 3 months to go and I was waiting to get discharged and we got our letters from the company saying that all discharges was cancelled but I didn't miss anything by that time Russia turn around and went back and Kennedy said you're not gonna go and Russia turned around and went back and it was just a few weeks after that.

G It delayed your discharge.

C It was called the Laos situation. I remember that 'cause it turned into the Viet Nam war after I got out. That cause I have 2 brothers who were there at that time. One spent time on a communication ship and one spent time over there in the other land itself and they both ended up getting that Agent Orange.

G They did?

H Yup.

G Do they have health problems?

C Yup that's something else.

G That is.

C You did your time.

G What did they think if it's going to get on people it's? (Referring to Agent Orange).

C That's right. I know that's really something. (Starts talking to his wife).

Shirley and I baked a loaf of bread. I do it every 10 days. I have to give them away.

G Thank you. If you have to touch bases..... (Referring to him talking to his wife).

C Bye Hun. See you after a while.

G That looks so good; chocolate chip pecan?

C We had this last night and the night before last so it's fresh.

G Looks good. I probably should share it right? Thank you.

G Ok, so you got out....

C March of '61 I got out I came back and started working at XXXXX and got married in '63 and I was still at XXXXX when Kennedy got shot so this is would have to be '65 I said that's enough of that and I quit and started working for a construction company hanging sheetrock and that's when they in '71 and '72 I had to get food stamps and said that's not good. That was when I applied at XXXXX and retired there.

G I'm curious after you had to do that before. What would have to happen for you to do that again?

C (Long pause) You know ...well I that's something I never thought about. That's good thinking for me. It would have to be what would have to happen uhhhhhhhhh well just the other day from AARP about this Social Security stuff. Will my Social Security wear out before I die, I suppose it could. What would Shirley do? She could get, she would get my Social Security 'cause it's bigger than hers. She would get better than half of my pension from XXXXX, so she could possibly get by. My pension I don't think much about that cause every time I see someone from XXXXX I say keep working so I get my pension. So Social Security that might be an issue sometime, I hope not 'cause my younger brother has 26 or 27 years down there at XX XXXXX in Arkansas and he's only 53 years old right now so he's got another 15 years before he has to retire. So will that pension still be there? That's something to think about. My youngest son XXXXX, he

retired after 20 years so he'll have a military pension. He's working as a security guard and a cook at a large motel down there in Kentucky. He'll have his military pension but he can't live on that alone. He's more like I am. He will scratch He will do whatever it takes. Both the boys will.

G Do whatever it takes.

C And XXXX will too, bless his heart. I'll give 'um credit for that. They'll work hard.

G Work hard and do what they gotta do.

C Yeah.

G Well, you taught them well.

C Back last every once in a while, XXXX our oldest son, we had to spank him pretty hard sometimes to get him in line.

G You had to be careful.

C I always told XXXX, Dad probably spanked you too hard sometimes and he said Dad I'll probably do the same with my boys. And I'm so sorry.

G He respected why you did it.

C And so that's it, it was with good intention.

G Yeah, well all of us think we couldn't have done things differently with our kids.

Nobody is perfect. Wow, very interesting. Well I think I'll let you go today .Can I come back in a few weeks? And if you think about some more things.

C Sure.

G If you think about some more things. Maybe I'll have some more questions and ask you.

H Shirley says I talk too much.

G No you don't.

C I can! There was a time, one time in my life. I accepted the Lord in 1986, last Sunday in September 1986. For the first 5 or 6 years after that I was really quiet. I didn't talk much. Something happened after that. I just started talking and talking and so like I said I probably could burn your ears.

G So you said you like to talk, before that were you likely to stay at home? Did you get out?

C What's your name G...?

G Gale

C Gale (he pauses) Shirley, I loved her but not for the right reasons. (He cries). I felt so bad how after I realized how I treated her and this was a time when I would cry. Actually I had thought about how my life had changed after I let the lord in my life. I just let it sink in.

G Very insightful, looking at yourself.

C But a I thank the Lord right now for what he did for me. I was on the downward slide and I don't know what would have happened. We got straightened out. It took about 2.5 years before we could really say I love you but you saw it a bit ago.

G You were of a generation where I don't think people said that. At least that's what my experience was. I didn't hear people say that as a kid so I don't.

C Shirley's Mom and Dad was kind of private even in front of the girls but my folks were wide open. They'd give each other a kiss and stuff like that and that's how we were.

Shirley, as I grew up in the family, I could see that her Dad and Mom was more private with their emotions. Shirley today said I'm glad...I learned from you....

G That's a nice thing to say. Very interesting. I'll give you a call.

C That would be the best way. Like I said I'm still healing. The doctors told me possibly from last Feb 5, 8- 10 weeks before they'll even think about letting me drive.

G Oh yeah.

C The therapist is coming today or tomorrow and I have a doctor's appointment and they're going to discharge me and they will go and x-ray my hip and see how it's coming and all that and the nurse said we'll see how it's coming so.

G Sure.

C Right now I just feel pretty good.

G Feel pretty good?

C I got 2 Sergeants in this complex here. They haven't yet today knocked on my door and say Charles, let's go for a walk. AA had her hip done about 1.5 years ago and Mz had her knee done. So...

G They come and get you.

C Yup.

G And they know you need that. That's good.

G Are there any men you can talk with?

C Bo and his wife, he lives there. In the summertime I know they go out a lot. There's a lady whose daughter is Patty, she's a therapist and she comes out here. She walks around this place. But the men somebody said that Shirley and I might be the youngest couple

out here. I don't know. For walking and that well I can't do that much now. I'm looking to get out.

G Are there a lot of women living by themselves or is it couples?

C Probably I would say more women right now by themselves. Most of my drill Sergeants are single. Their husbands passed away. Drill Sergeants.

G I like that. Drill Sergeants.

G I just wondered how many men are around.

C They are, yeah, they are a lot older than I am. I'm 75.

G You don't' look 75.

C I thank you for saying I don't look 75.

G You don't.

C Maybe they have misled me with their looks.

G You know that's true. How old is Shirley?

C She's 6 months younger than I am.

G She does not look.

C She'll be 75 in May.

G You guys don't look 75.

C I give you, well you know a lot of it, we talk neither one of us we never smoked, drank.

G Yup.

C We never caroused around, anything like that 'um I really believe in my heart I know the Lord is part of our life I know He is. He has to be because that's just the way it is.

G What church is that?

C It's the church XXXXXX out there on XXXXX toward XXXXXXXXX.

G I know where that is.

C After the XXXX XXXXXXX, it's right there.

G But it used to be called the what?

C It was the XXXXX XXXXXXXXX church.

G But you said something about a XXXXX.

C Ok as a kid where XXXX XXXXXXXXXXX used to be around that XXXXX when I was like well I had to be 6-7 years old. The pastor Baptist Smith cleaned that place up and made it a church and that's where I went to Sunday school and where I met Shirley. The bus driver was Mr. Anthony. In the winter time but that's how.

G So that was a church on XXXXXXXX?

C Yeah it was called the XXXXX XXXXXXX, see it was a XXXXXXXX. And they just went with the theme and the name and everyone knew where it was.

G Did that cause the church XXXXXXXX?

C But that's where I started as I said if there was a knock on the door at Thanksgiving my Dad would say I know who it is son. And later on I learned that the pastor would bring great big boxes of food. His son pastors a church out there by XXXXXXX. Baptist church it sits off XXXX XXXXX.

G I can't think of what that would be.

C Yeah.

G But I'm sure.

C Back of the XXXXXXXX, back in there.

G Ok I didn't realize it was a Baptist church.

C XX XXXXX, the son.

G It's a small world.