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Intergenerational Programs Review: Study Design and Characteristics of Intervention, Outcomes, and Effectiveness

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ABSTRACT

There is a growing interest in intergenerational connectivity through intergenerational programs. In this work, a review of intergenerational programs was performed, with focus on the program design and objectives as well as in their outcomes.

We used a systematic review method in which we screened 3,796 articles. After analyzing titles, abstracts, and full paper analysis, 16 articles were retained. Each study was reviewed, and data were extracted related to target population, study design, characteristics of intervention, outcomes, and effectiveness.

Intergenerational programs included educational programs and art, Information technology development, cultural heritage, health education, and therapeutic activities. Most of the programs collected both quantitative and/or qualitative data. Seven studies collected data in the beginning and at the end of the program. Significant diversity in sample size and intervention length was found. Measurement of outcomes was performed in both young and/or elderly group of participants. Programs impact evaluation varied between studies, including validated scales, interviews, observation, focus groups, and conversation analysis, narratives, videotaped sessions, and field notes.

Our study highlighted the diversity in the design of studies and in the program's effectiveness evaluation. More randomized design studies are required to support researchers and practitioners in the development of future intergenerational programs.

KEYWORDS

Elderly; intergenerational; systematic review; young people

Introduction

The number of people worldwide aged over 60 years is expected to double by 2050 and more than triple by 2100, which is related to the increase in average life

expectancy (Bongaarts, 2009; Raleigh, 2009). Reduction in child mortality, improved access to employment opportunities and education, more gender equality, and the promotion of reproductive health and access to family planning have all contributed to reductions in birthrates (Canning & Schultz, 2012). Moreover, advancements in public health and medical technologies, along with improvements in living conditions, mean that people are living longer and, in many cases, healthier lives than ever before, particularly at advanced ages. This trend emerged first in more economically developed countries, but we can also see it now in economically developing countries (Lunenfeld & Stratton, 2013).

This aging population is associated with new social issues, such as the increase in cases of elderly people suffering from isolation and loneliness, for whom social and interpersonal relationships could be beneficial. In this scenario, "intergenerational relations" could constitute an opportunity for an exchange of experiences, knowledge and values between generations, as well as improvement in the quality of life of the elderly (Courtin & Knapp, 2017; Liu, 2017). Intergenerational relationships must be understood as a form of lifelong learning (Withnall, 2017).

There is a growing interest in intergenerational connectivity through intergenerational programs, which has emerged as a response to the demographic changes and its interrelated transformations, namely at economic, social, and familiar levels (Seedsman, 2013; Vieira & Sousa, 2016). Intergenerational programs are tools that allow for the exchange of resources and learning among older and younger generations for the sake of social and individual benefits (Granville, 2002; Vieira & Sousa, 2016). Most of the intergenerational programs are implemented to change stereotypes and attitudes between younger and older people, with good results (Dionigi, 2015). However, these programs can also be used with other objectives, namely to promote active aging among older adults.

In literature, there is growing evidence that supports the implementation of intergenerational programs and their success predictors. However, the definition of intergenerational programs is not clear, its effectiveness is weak and there is a need to build a firm conceptual framework to help in its development (Jarrott, 2011; Vanderven, 2011). In this work, a systematic review of intergenerational programs was performed, with focus on the program design and objectives as well as in their outcomes. This work could be important to support researchers and practitioners in the design and implementation of future intergenerational programs, and contribute to the process of conceptual definition of these programs.

Material and methods

Search strategy and selection

An online database search was conducted on Education Resources Information Centre (ERIC), PubMed, and PsycINFO databases, using "intergenerational

programs," "intergenerational activities," or "intergenerational interaction" as keywords. The initial search resulted in 3,796 publications. This was followed by a selection process guided by the inclusion and exclusion criteria: (a) published in English; (b) publication between 2008 and 2016; (c) intergenerational intervention involving older adults (50 or more years) and younger people (30 or less years); (d) presented an experimental design or a case study design; (e) included data about study design and characteristics of intervention, outcomes, and effectiveness. We also excluded duplicate publications and irrelevant studies. After title and abstract analysis, we excluded 3,755 articles. After full paper analysis, we excluded 25 articles due to the absence of data about evaluation of the intergenerational program, while 16 articles were retained (Figure 1). We considered quantitative, qualitative, and mixed studies.

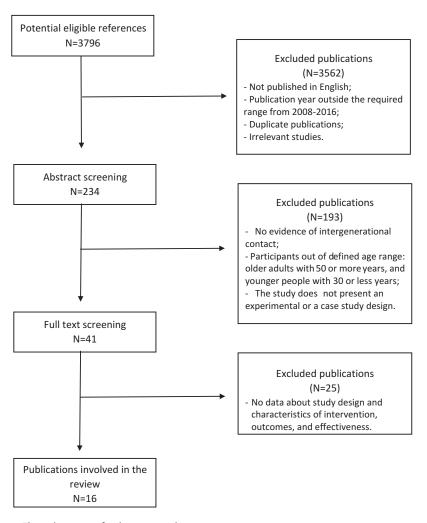


Figure 1. Flow diagram of selection studies.



Data extraction

From selected articles, each study was reviewed and data were extracted, including target population, study design and setting, aims, characteristics of intervention, outcomes, and effectiveness of the intergenerational program. We also analyzed the articles according to the classification of Kuehne and Melville (Kuehne & Melville, 2014), where they reviewed the theories mobilized in intergenerational practice and organized them in theories that were focused on people and groups in interactive contexts, and others focused on the individual development. Considering the first group of theories, the authors found four meaningful references:

- Contact theory—if the appropriate conditions are guaranteed, the interpersonal contact can effectively reduce prejudice and discrimination among groups with different ages and positively improve attitudinal change between generations;
- Social capital theory—people and families fit into contexts/communities and the social relationships they establish in these communities influence individual and community well-being, resulting in social capital that is generated when people work together toward a common goal, facilitating learning;
- Situated and contextualized learning theory—intergenerational meetings where children and older people work together on a task, in which an individual action may have real consequences;
- Empowerment theory—intergenerational relationships emerge as a community strategy to obtain more empowerment, increasing the access to resources for the younger and older people, contributing to the awareness that taking care of each other is a shared responsibility.

In the group of theories focused on the individual development, the authors identified two theories:

- *Human development theory*—the psychosocial and educational benefits of the interaction between older and younger people are highlighted;
- Personality theory—the importance of others in interpersonal relationships and in the construction of personality is evidenced.

Results

The results of this systematic review were organized around seven major aspects: study population, study design and setting, theories mobilized, aims, intervention content, outcomes measured, and effectiveness.

Table 1 shows detailed information for each of the publications included in this systematic review. In the 16 articles evaluated, we find a significant diversity in relation to the population sample. Analyzing the sample size, we noticed that we have articles where the sample size of the younger participants ranged from 7 to 760 participants. In case of older participants, the samples size ranged between 6 and 400 participants. Considering the total sample, in 7 studies less than 40 people participated, in 5 studies there were between 40 and 100 participants, and in 4 of the studies more than 100 people were involved. We also found that the studies had different focus/ target audiences. Two studies were focused on older adults (Morita & Kobayashi, 2013; Tabuchi & Miura, 2016), four had younger participants as their target (Chase, 2011; Faria, Dauenhauer, & Steitz, 2010; Werner, Teufel, Holtgrave, & Brown, 2012; Whiteland, 2016), and the biggest number of articles (n = 10) focused on both groups. We also found that 31.25% (n = 5)and 37.5% (n = 6) programs involved children who were 8–12-years old and university students, respectively. In the groups of older participants, we found a variation of ages over 50.

Most of the programs collected both quantitative and qualitative data (43.75%, n = 7), 25% (n = 4) collect only quantitative, and 31.25% (n = 5)only qualitative data. Seven studies (43.75%) collected data at the beginning and at the end of the program (pre- and post-test); four of them collected quantitative and qualitative data, two only quantitative, and one only qualitative data. Only two studies presented a case-control design. The programs were run in schools or universities (n = 6), in the community (n = 2), in senior centers (n = 5), out-of-school environments (n = 1), in religious residences (n = 1), or via e-mail (n = 1).

In terms of theories mobilized in the intergenerational programs, we can relate 14 studies with people and groups in interactive contexts theories (5 contact theory, 4-situated and contextualized learning theory, 3-social capital theory, and 2-empowerment theory) and 2 studies with individual development theory (personality theory).

With regards to intervention length and activities, there was high variability between studies. The length ranged from one single session (Tabuchi & Miura, 2016) to four academic semesters (Clyne, Cordella, Sch??Pbach, & Maher, 2013; Faria et al., 2010; Gamliel & Gabay, 2014; Hegeman, Roodin, Gilliland, & Ó'Flathabháin, 2010). In terms of key activities, intergenerational programs were based on educational programs (31.25%, n = 5), which included activities from children and adults reading together, to learning activities integrated in course curriculums in group settings to activities involving one-on-one contact for several hours, to classes in a nursing/ retirement homes with active participation of older adults in the course activities. We also identified art activities (12.5%, n = 2), like creating hand puppets, writing scripts and dramatizing personal stories, intergenerational

Table 1. Characteristics of the 16 articles included in this revision.

						Intervention content	ontent	Outcome	Outcomes measures	Effect	Effectiveness AV
				Theories				Method			
Location Study population Study	Stud	y design	design and setting	mobilized	Aims	Length	Key activities	instrument	Contents	λG	EG
15 students (11–12 years Mixed	Mixe	٦	Elementary	Contact theory	Changes in	45 min/week/5 weeks	Art	YG:	Vision, attitude,	Although no	Not evaluated
old) method	metho	ъ	classroom		attitudes toward			CVAIP	and perception of changes in	changes in	
10 older adults (55 years Pre-post-test	Pre-pos	st-test			aging and the			FAQ	children toward	attitudes were	
old or +)					elderly			CVAQ	older adults	observed, child	
										developed a	
										new meaning	
										toward their	
										understanding of	
										aging and older	
										adults	
25 children (15 months- Quantitative	Quantitativ	a)	Adult day	Contact theory	Compare the	20/30min sessions	Cultural	YG & EG:	Social behavior	Contact theory lec	Contact theory led to more desirable
5-years old) data	data		services		differences in		heritage and	SOI		social behavior of both elders and	both elders and
10 older adults (50-years					social behaviors		health			children during th	children during the intergenerational
old or +)					caused by		education			program, compared with an	d with an
Control group:					intergenerational					intergenerational	intergenerational program that lacks
20 children (12 months-					programs based					some or all the co	some or all the contact theory tenets.
5 years)					on contact theory					Intergenerational programs contact	rograms contact
4 older adults (65 years					in comparison to					theory based had:	
old or +)					intergenerational					>Rates of intergenerational	erational
					programs without					interaction	
					the contact					>Rates of solitary behavior	behavior
					theory tenets.					< Rates of watching (without	ig (without
										interaction)	

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Effectiveness		EG	Improvements in	the quality of life	of the elderly and	positive changes	in mood and	affection			nges empowered	allowed them to	other	ation and	en groups		Better perception	and	understanding of	younger	generations							
Effect		YG	Children's	perceptions face	to older adults	improved	Changes in	reading behaviors			Knowledge exchanges empowered	both groups and allowed them to	reach out to each other	Greater communication and	perception between groups		Intergenerational	component was	identified as a	highlight of the	course	Improved	awareness of	older adult issues	and knowledge	of working with	aging	populations
Outcomes measures		Contents	Children's	perception	toward elderly	Mood,	communication,	and cognitive	status of the	elderly	Empowerment,	knowledge	exchange, and	attitude toward	the other group		Experience with	the	intergenerational	component,	overall	experience with	the workshop,	learning	experience			
Outcome	Method	instrument	YG:	CVoA	EG:	MMSE	AMCQ				YG & EG:	Closed-ended	interviews; 28	items survey;	observation		YG:	17 item survey	EG:	22 item survey								
ontent		Key activities	Education								Computer	use learning					Cultural	heritage										
Intervention content		Length	45 min/week/8 weeks								2h/week/1 semester						5 days											
		Aims	Feasibility of an	intergenerational	program in	people with	communication	disorders			Effects of digital	education on	intergenerational	empowerment	and social	interaction	Facilitation an	intergenerational	Digital	Storytelling	course							
	Theories	mobilized	Contact theory								Situated and	contextualized	learning theory				Situated and	contextualized	learning theory									
		Study design and setting	Assisting	living	residence						Primary	schools					University											
		Study design	Mixed	method	Pre-post-test						Mixed	method					Mixed	method										
		Study population	12 children (8–10-years	old) with language and	reading concerns	6 older adults with mild	dementia and	neurocognitive deficits			32 children (11–12-years Mixed	(plo	29 older adults (66–77-	years old)			7 university social work	students	7 older adults									
		Location	USA								Israel						Canada											
		REF	(St John, 2009)								(Gamliel & Gabay, 2014) Israel						(Wilson et al., 2013)											

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	veness		EG	
	Effectiveness		YG	
	measures		Contents	
	Outcomes measures	Method	Key activities instrument Contents	
	ר content		Key activities	
	Intervention content		Length	
			Aims	
		Theories	mobilized	
			Study design and setting	
			Location Study population	
ontinued).			Location	
Table 1. (Continued			REF	

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Effectiveness		EG	Not evaluated									Increased	motivation to	learn				> Understanding	of younger	people	> Satisfaction	from feeling and	being useful to	the community	> Feeling of	inclusion	Lasting	relationships	were built
Effect		YG	>Fruit and	vegetable	consumption	>Likely to read	food labels	>Motivation to	physical activity	<daily screen<="" td=""><td>time</td><td>Improvement in</td><td>relationships with</td><td>the elderly and</td><td>understanding of</td><td>aging</td><td></td><td>> Conversational</td><td>skills</td><td>Lasting</td><td>relationships</td><td>were built</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></daily>	time	Improvement in	relationships with	the elderly and	understanding of	aging		> Conversational	skills	Lasting	relationships	were built							
Outcomes measures		Contents	Identification of	changes in	children nutrition	and physical	activity,	knowledge and	behaviors			Intergenerational	program	characteristics	and impact			Perception of	benefits to the	students'	empathy and	understanding	Evaluation of	linguistic gains					
Outcome	Method	instrument	YG:	AGS								YG:	20 item survey	EG:	20 item survey			YG:	Focus group/	Questionnaires/	diaries	EG:	Phone	interviews	YG & EG:	Analysis of	conversations	between both	generations
ntent		Key activities	Health	education								Education						Education	and cultural	heritage									
Intervention content		Length	10 lessons/4 to 10 weeks Health									54 contact hours						1 h/fortnight/1 semester											
		Aims	Evaluation of an	intergenerational	program for	childhood obesity	prevention					Promoting	intergenerational	through	engagement in	community	service	Intergenerational	encounters to	promote	language	competences and	feelings of	belonging					
	Theories	mobilized	Situated and	environments contextualized	learning theory							Social capital	theory					Empowerment	theory										
		and setting	Out-of-school Situated and	environments								Community	centers					University											
		Study design and setting	Quantitative	data	Pre-post-test							Quantitative	data					Qualitative	data										
		Study population	760 children (9-years old) Quantitative	Older adults								22 undergraduate	students	25 older adults (60–75-	years old)			Australia 29 students	Adults										
		Location	USA									Japan						Australia											
		REF	(Werner et al., 2012)									(Jarrott & Smith, 2011)						(Clyne et al., 2013)											

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					Theories				Method			
	Location	Study population	Study design and setting	and setting	mobilized	Aims	Length	Key activities	instrument	Contents	YG	EG
(Isaki & Harmon, 2015) USA	USA	225 faculty students	Mixed	Community	Social capital	Build a	Several hours	Education	YG & EG:	Civic engagement	Satisfaction with the intergenerational	intergenerational
		148 older adults	method		theory	multidisciplinary			3 surveys	of young people,	activities	
			Pre-post-test			base for				and attitudes	Self-knowledge and perception of	perception of
						gerontology				toward the	their own value	
						service leaming				elderly		
										Generative scale		
										in the elderly		
(Faria et al., 2010)	NSA	37 graduate students	Qualitative	Senior	Situated and	Actively promote 1 semester	1 semester	Education	YG:	"Explicit" and	Intergenerational	Not evaluated
		400 older adults	data	housing	contextualized	learning			3 questions	"implicit"	service-learning	
		with varying degrees of			learning theory	opportunities for			survey	pedagogy of the	course work may	
		independence				students and				course that	help foster	
						older adults				details students'	geriatric	
										educational	competencies	
										growth	among graduate	
											and	
											undergraduate	
(Chase, 2011)	USA	23graduate students	Quantitative	E-mail	Contact theory	To determine if	6 weeks	Computer	YG:	Children's	students. Significant	Not evaluated
		34 older adults	data			the use of an		use learning	ASD (Polizzi's	attitudes toward	improvement in	
		Control group:	Pre-posttest			older e-mail pal			revised version) elderly	elderly	attitude toward	
		29 students				was an effective					older adults as	
						way to influence					compared to the	
						student attitudes.					control group.	

Table 1. (Continued).

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Effectiveness		EG	>Generativity	when young	recipients	responded in an	empathic manner	<generativity< td=""><td>when the young</td><td>recipients</td><td>responded in a</td><td>neutral manner.</td><td>No civic engagement and generative</td><td>e assessed</td><td>Both generations were satisfied with</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>ction bonds</td><td>Relationships have sustained on-going</td><td>husiasm</td><td>tion</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></generativity<>	when the young	recipients	responded in a	neutral manner.	No civic engagement and generative	e assessed	Both generations were satisfied with				ction bonds	Relationships have sustained on-going	husiasm	tion					
Effe		λG	Not evaluated											differences were assessed	Both generation	the program			Creation of affection bonds	Relationships ha	interest and enthusiasm	Dynamic interaction					
Outcomes measures		Contents	Generativity										Civic engagement	Generativity	Satisfaction				Participants'	awareness of	others,	particularly in	dyadic	relationships, and	how interactions	facilitate	learning
Outcome	Method	instrument	EG:	JGS	Analysis of	narratives							λG	CEQ	EĞ:	res	YG & EG:	SS	YG & EG:	Analysis of the	videotaped	sessions	Field notes	EG:	Journals;	Questionnaire	
content		Key activities	Therapy	reminescence									Education						Art								
Intervention content		Length	1 session										4 semesters						6/1 h sessions								
		Aims	Effects of young	people's reactions	to changes in	older people's	generativity						Engage three	generations in	joint service-	learning	projects.		To explore two	unique	populations	actively	participating in	an	intergenerational	music experience	
	Theories	mobilized	Personality	theory									Social capital	theory					Contact theory								
		design and setting	Senior center Personality										Colleges						Religious	sister's	residence						
		Study design	Mixed	method									Mixed	method	Pre-posttest				Qualitative	data							
		Study population	Male participants (18–	22years)	48 older males (63 –77-	years old)							509 students	312 older adults					7 children (3–16mouths) Qualitative	8 women (ages 70–94)							
		Location	Japan										NSA						USA								
		REF	(Tabuchi & Miura, 2016) Japan										(Hegeman et al., 2010) USA						(Hatton-Yeo & Ohsako, USA	2000)							

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Table 1. (Continued).

							Intervention content	intent	Outcome	Outcomes measures	Effect	Effectiveness
					Theories				Method			
REF	Location	Location Study population	Study design and setting	and setting	mobilized	Aims	Length	Key activities	Key activities instrument	Contents	YG	EG
[30]	Australia	Australia 9 teenage boys (14 –16- Qualitative	Qualitative	Schools	Empowerment	Empowerment To investigate the Weekly	Weekly	Cultural	EG:	Feelings, values,	Not evaluated	Increased self-
		years old)	data		theory	mentors'		heritage	Interviews	and feeling		esteem
		6 older males (60 – 75-	Pre-posttest			experiences of			Focus group	usefulness		Decreased
		years)				the program,						intergenerational
						their views about						gap
						the teenage boys,						
						and the structure						
						of the program.						
(Morita & Kobayashi,	Japan	20 children (5 –6-years	Qualitative	Adults day	Personality	Compare a social-	Compare a social- Visits 1 or 2 a month/	Art and	ËĞ	Visual attention,	Not evaluated	Performance-
2013)		old)	data	care center	theory	oriented program 1 month	1 month	education	Observation	facial expression,		based programs
		25 older adults (71 to				with a				commitment,		led to improved
		101-years)				performance-				behavior, and		conversations
						based				intergenerational		Social-oriented
						intergenerational				conversation		programs had
						program in older						greater visual
						adults						attention

Note: AGS: Active Generations survey, AMCQ: Adult mood and communication questionnaire; ASD: Aging Semantic Differential; CEQ: Civic Engagement Questions; CVAIP: Children's View of Aging Identification Pairs; CVAQ: Children's View of Aging Questionnaire; CVOA: Children's Views on Aging; EG: elderly group; EQ: Empowerment questionnaires; FAQ: Facts on Aging Quiz; IOS: Intergenerational Observation Scale; JGS: Japanese Generativity Scale; LGS: Loyola Generativity Scale; MMSE: Mini-Mental State Exam; SS: Satisfaction Survey; YG: young group.

music sessions, and computer-based learning (12.5%, n = 2), where pairs of older adults and children undertook activities in computer labs at primary schools or exchanged e-mails. In cultural heritage activities (12.5%, n = 2), we saw activities like workshops where older adult storytellers shared personal life stories. We also identified health education activities (6.25%, n = 1), like an intergenerational, childhood obesity prevention program, and therapeutic activity (6.25%, n = 1) where participants told stories to younger "listeners" in secret who were instructed to respond either empathetically or neutrally. The remaining three intergenerational programs were based on the combination of two different key activities, related to cultural heritage and health education, and art and education.

The measurement of outcomes associated with intergenerational programs was performed in the revised programs (62.5%, n = 10) in both young and elderly groups of participants. In the remaining programs, the authors only measured outputs in the younger group (25.0%, n = 4) or in the group of elderly participants (12.5%, n = 2). The instruments used to evaluate the impact of the programs differed between studies, including validated scales, interviews, observation, focus groups, and analysis of conversations, narratives, videotaped sessions, and field notes. The scales used to evaluate the impact of the intergenerational programs on the elderly were the MMSE (Mini-Mental State Exam), AMCQ (Adult Mood and Communication Questionnaire), ASD (Aging Semantic Differential). and IOS (Intergenerational Observation Scale); EQ (Empowerment Questionnaires) and SS (Satisfaction Surveys) were used measure how intergenerational programs had affected both younger and older adults. To evaluate attitudes/perceptions, different tools were used in the different studies, including JGS (Japanese Generativity Scale), CEQ (Civic Engagement Quiz), CVAIP (Children's View of Aging Identification Pairs), FAQ (Facts on Aging Quiz), CVAQ (Children's View on Aging Questionnaire), CVoA (Children's Views on Aging), and AGS (Active Generations Survey).

All selected intergenerational programs demonstrated some type of improvement in the evaluated domains. In relation to the younger groups, it was highlighted that one of the results of these projects is the construction of new meanings in relation to aging and older people, being explicitly mentioned in four articles. Increased understanding of younger generations is also one of the results reported in three studies from the perspective of older people. In eight studies, the authors concluded that these programs contributed to a significant increase in the interaction between younger and older generations, revealing evidence of mutual learning. Six studies evidenced that these projects improved competences like reading competences, language skills, eating habits, artistic skills, and others in younger and older participants. The studies also reported effectiveness in increased well-being and feeling of belonging among the older participants.



Discussion

The interest in intergenerational programs is widely accepted for both practitioners and researchers, as they appear to have positive benefits for both young and older adults. However, most of the intergenerational programs described in literature are not evidence based, and their effectiveness has not been evaluated. In our work, we reviewed 16 intergenerational programs published in peer-reviewed journals, in which the effectiveness was evaluated. Globally, we found a great variability between studies, namely in study design and setting, intervention content, and outcomes measured, which make it difficult to design and implement new evidence-based programs.

In the study population, a huge variation in the number of children and older adults was assessed, from 14 (Hewson, Danbrook, & Sieppert, 2015) to 821 participants (Hegeman et al., 2010). The studies that were used in this systematic review targeted a diverse range of both young and older participants ages: the younger were between 3 months (St John, 2009) and 16 years (Wilson, Cordier, & Wilson Whatley, 2013), while the older participants were between 50- (Jarrott & Smith, 2011) and 101-years old (Morita & Kobayashi, 2013). One of the studies did not specify how many children were involved (Tabuchi & Miura, 2016) and 2 did not mention the number of older adults that were included (Clyne et al., 2013; Werner et al., 2012). The studies also targeted both healthy older adults and elderly people with different health conditions, such as dementia and neurocognitive deficits. Sample size and participant ages seemed to not influence significantly the effectiveness of intervention, as some improvements were found in all articles included in this work. However, in the interventions involving adults with neurocognitive deficits (Isaki & Harmon, 2015), although the perception of children in relation to adults improved, the reverse did not occur—there were no significant changes in the way the adults perceived children. No changes in younger attitudes toward the older adults were found in another article (Whiteland, 2016). In this case, the students interacted regularly with a grandparent, which may have influenced the results obtained.

In the study design and setting, we found studies that collected quantitative or qualitative data, or both. Almost half of the studies used pre- and post-program questionnaires, and of the 16 articles, only 2 used control groups (one of them used both students and older adults control groups, while the other used only students in control group (Chase, 2011; Jarrott & Smith, 2011)). Although control groups have rarely been used by the analyzed articles, they seemed to be important for understanding the results, and to what extent the changes were achieved by the program itself, or by other conditions. The interventions ran in different locations-most were developed in schools/universities and in retirement homes, others were developed in the community, outside-the-school environment, in a religious residence, or via e-mail. The ways used to bring the younger and older adults into contact with each other does not seem to have any influence on the impact of these intergenerational programs either.

Regarding the intervention length, the time that young and older adults spend together seems to be decisive for achieving the goals. In studies in which contact was only 4/6 hours, no significant changes were recorded, except for one that occurred in a religious residence. Thus, a longer followup, with weekly/biweekly sessions, seems to be important for these intergenerational programs, giving participants time to get to know each other, to feel comfortable in a strange environment, to create bonds, and therefore be more effective. Although each program undertook different activities, whether it was educational programs, art activities, computer-based learning activities, activities related to cultural heritage, health education activities, or therapeutic activities, the objectives were achieved and therefore the activities did not seem to be the determining factor for success, but rather it was the contact between the generations themselves, regardless of the content of the sessions.

The measurement of the results of all the intergenerational programs did not follow any pattern and the tools were completely different. Indeed, not all articles analyzed the impact of the program on both the youngest and the oldest. In addition, the evaluation tools used were different, including video recordings, focus groups, observation, interviews, and scales. Even the scales used were different among articles. Each article used one (or more) scale(s); therefore, there is no consensus among the different studies. It is also important to emphasize that the different scales used evaluated different parameters, so this lack of uniformity is an obstacle to making conclusions.

There are some limitations in this systematic review. While we took steps to eliminate bias when possible, we are aware that the selection of databases, determination of inclusion criteria, and interpretation of the findings all introduced potential sources of bias. Our search criteria were designed to identify intergenerational programs in which the information about target population, study design and setting, theories mobilized, aims, characteristics of intervention, outcomes, and effectiveness was available. Only papers that included information about all previous aspects were included, which may have led to exclusion of some important papers in this field. Moreover, another limitation of our work is related to the language selection of our review, English, which may potentially led to exclusion of relevant papers. A meta-analysis would be desirable, but due to the lack of uniformity among papers, and considering different outcomes and samples, it is not possible to perform it.

In conclusion, intergenerational programs are a form of social intervention, whose key element is intergenerational education, a non-formal and informal pedagogical approach that connects different generations around daily themes, facilitating the transfer and exchange of knowledge, skills,



abilities, and resources, allowing different generations to experience both similarities and differences by learning not only about others but also about themselves.

Successful intergenerational programs have some characteristics in common. In addition to demonstrating mutual benefits to participants, involving at least two non-familiar, non-adjacent generations, these programs embrace social and political problems relevant to the generations involved. They promote greater awareness and understanding among the younger and older generations and the growth of self-esteem for both generations (Hatton-Yeo & Ohsako, 2000). All the programs analyzed have had good results, as these programs have enriched the lives of both children and older people. For the children, there was evidence of higher self-esteem, better academic performance, improved social skills, and increased motivation to learn. There are also reports of more positive attitudes toward themselves and older adults. For older adults, there is evidence of more productive use of time, reaffirmation of value, greater satisfaction with life, improved cognitive function, improved mental and physical health, and improved self-esteem.

There are many steps still to take in the context of Intergenerational programs and it is necessary to do more investigation into the evaluation, implications, and knowledge of participants' motivations. Several authors are unanimous about the urgency to develop mechanisms for evaluating intergenerational programs, as this is one of the most pointed weaknesses.

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