Self-perceptions of ageing from a cross-cultural perspective: do collectivist cultures provide a buffering effect for the impact of negative stereotypes about age?

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Declaration

Except where indicated, this thesis is my own original work carried out during my PhD at the Australian National University.

Natasha Ginnivan

September 2016
“If one wants to age well, one must start when one is young”

~ Spanish proverb
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Abstract

Negative attitudes towards ageing can have detrimental long-term effects to health, self-esteem and employment prospects of older people. Individuals making the transition from mid-life into old age can be highly sensitive to age ‘stereotype threat’, a phenomenon of anxiety arising from the fear of being reduced to a stereotype that can result in poor memory performance on simple tasks (Hess et al., 2004; Levy at al., 2002; von Hippel et al., 2013; Nguyen, 2008).

Cross-cultural studies have shown stark differences in memory performance between older Chinese and older Americans (Levy and Langer, 1994). Yoon et al (2000) observed some differences in two out of five memory tests between Chinese Canadians and Anglophone Canadians, but questioned whether culture or language accounted for this variance. In the present set of studies, it was hypothesised that those with a more interdependent self-concept from a collectivist culture (Markus and Kitayama, 1991) would have more positive attitudes to ageing and therefore not be as affected by negative age stereotypes compared to individualists. This thesis explored this using mixed methods. The first study was qualitative and comprised focus group discussions of 3–6 people (n = 53) on ‘transitioning through life stages’ with younger (20–35 years) and older (60–96 years) adults from Australia and the Philippines, to understand some of the deeper culturally influenced attitudes about ageing. The other two studies were quantitative.

Another sample of older adults (52–79 years old, Australians n = 66; Filipinos n = 41) carried out memory tests under stereotype threat conditions and participated in a survey on cultural orientation and attitudes towards ageing. For both nationalities, the subtle explicit primes about age that constitute ‘stereotype threat’ did not have a significant effect on memory performance. However, a multiple regression analysis revealed that the culture in which one lives (i.e. Australia/individualistic versus the Philippines/collectivistic) is associated with psychological growth in old age. The items of this subscale are characterised as framing ageing in a more positive manner such as: “It is a privilege to grow old” and “As people get older they are better able to cope with life”.

When cultural orientation (Bierbrauer et al., 1994) was entered into the regression model, it was significantly associated with all domains of the Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire and not just psychological growth (Laidlaw et al., 2007). That is, those who were higher on collectivist orientation tended to also have overall positive attitudes.
towards psychological growth, physical change and psychological loss than those with a lower cultural orientation score (those with more individualistic orientation). This finding from the survey supports Levy’s (2009) work on stereotype embodiment that asserts that an individual’s surrounding culture can influence the way they perceive themselves as they age. Overall, the studies in this thesis show that if one grows up in a culture with a higher degree of intergenerational contact, where age is seen in a more positive light, then one is less likely to be affected by negative attitudes to ageing. Implications for these findings on social policy are elaborated upon within the chapters of this thesis.
Publications arising from this thesis

Journal article


*Generations Review, British Society of Gerontology*, 25, 4-8

Conference paper


(ERA 2011 award for the best paper presentation by a student)

Conference abstracts


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<td>Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PHYSCH</td>
<td>Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire Physical Change subscale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCGROW</td>
<td>Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire Psychological Growth subscale</td>
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<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCLOSS</td>
<td>Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire Psychological Loss subscale</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age stereotype threat</td>
<td>The phenomenon where one's anxiety about being reduced to an age stereotype can effect an individual's working memory</td>
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<td>COS</td>
<td>Cultural Orientation Scale</td>
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<td>COSE</td>
<td>Coalition of Services of the Elderly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVLT</td>
<td>California verbal learning test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAITH</td>
<td>An item on the survey asking participants how important faith is to them as they age.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FSA</td>
<td>The Fabroni Scale of Ageism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grounded theory</td>
<td>A structured methodology that gleans information from the data to inform certain speculations about what is occurring in phenomena where quantitative analysis cannot explain everything</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Term</td>
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<tr>
<td>IAT</td>
<td>Implicit Association Test</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent Self</td>
<td>The notion that one sees themselves as bound as separate entities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interdependent Self</td>
<td>The notion that the self in highly interdependent with close others</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NVivo</td>
<td>Software that facilitates both qualitative and quantitative research. Is often used in qualitative research projects for data analysis of focus groups and interviews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PGMS</td>
<td>Philadelphia Geriatric Morale Scale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-construal</td>
<td>One’s idea or self-concept of themselves</td>
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<td>Stereotype</td>
<td>The embodiment of stereotype as a result from internalised messages through various pathways from the surrounding culture</td>
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<td>Subjective ageing</td>
<td>A subjective view of one’s ageing arising from the intricate process of personal experiences, social interactions, intergroup stereotypes and societal structures</td>
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Chapter 1: Introduction

An ageing population, as many demographers and other researchers have predicted, will pose unprecedented challenges. As a result of high fertility post-World War II, populations of developed countries have large numbers of the oldest old, 80 years and beyond, with developing countries fast catching up. In order to manage the challenges of meeting the needs of an ageing population, it is necessary for countries to analyse issues of health services, employment, economic development, infrastructure and so on. In some respects, global interdependence and information sharing have facilitated a worldwide view of these shifting demographics. However, the subjective experience of ageing has often been overlooked, and we may not have sufficiently analysed the effects at the ‘individual level’. How is it that older individuals experience themselves as they transition into the later stages of their life? How do people expect they will feel as they do become ‘old’ and what are the expectations of them from the younger members of their society, and from themselves? How congruent are the expectations of the younger people in one’s culture with the older people’s expectations? How can we improve self-perceptions of ageing at the individual level?

This thesis intends to address the question of whether collectivist cultures have a more positive effect on an individual’s attitudes towards ageing compared with individualistic cultures. This is important because past research has shown that attitudes to ageing have been described in Western culture as predominantly negative (Bodner, 2009; Butler, 1969; Castelli, Zecchini, Deamicis & Sherman, 2005; Hess, Hinson, & Statham 2004; Hummert, 1990; Kite, Wagner & Nelson, 2002; Laidlaw, Wang, Coelho & Power, 2010; Levy, 2009; Nelson, 2004; Nelson, 2005; Whitbourne, 1987; Whitbourne & Hulicka, 1990). However, more recent cross-cultural research in the last decade have shown, specifically in countries such as Japan and China, that collectivist cultures’ elder reverence may be waning with the ageing population becoming ‘burdensome’ on the younger generations (North & Fiske, 2015).

The term ‘ageism’ was coined by Robert Butler of Washington University in 1969 to describe pervasive negative attitudes towards older adults (Butler, 1969). Previous ‘isms’ which have received suitable recognition are racism and sexism. However, as Nelson (2004) notes, this third major social categorisation of age and its ‘out-group
status’ is rarely addressed among those who hold negative attitudes about this group, or by those who are part of this group.

The implications for one’s attitudes about ageing are important because as one grows older, one will move from in-group (young) to out-group (old). It is hypothesised by several researchers that this process can be highly detrimental, for those who hold less positive self-perceptions of ageing (Levy, Slade & Kasl, 2002; Nelson, 2004). As Levy (2009) contends, when one has had a lifetime of exposure to negative stereotypes about age, this can result in the embodiment of these stereotypes, which can lead to self-definitions as people transition into the later stages of life. Data collected by Levy et al. (2002) from the Ohio Longitudinal Study of Ageing and Retirement (OLSAR) showed that those individuals with more positive self-perceptions of ageing enjoyed better functional health during their later years of life (across a twenty-year span of 50 year olds to 70 year olds) and lived on average 7.5 years longer than those who had less positive perceptions of ageing. Therefore, in researching stereotypes about age, it is important to address which aspects and processes give rise to the formation of negative self-definitions. Accessing different self-dimensions through cross-cultural research can help navigate this process.

The first part of the thesis is a qualitative exploration of constructs such as intergenerational interaction, older role models, self-efficacy, media portrayal of older people and faith. These topics are discussed in small focus groups of 3-6 people: both younger people (20 – 35 years of age), and separate focus groups of older people (60 – 96 years of age) in Australia and the Philippines. The focus groups facilitated an understanding of how older people from different generations perceive themselves as they transition into the later stages of life within these two different cultures. Focus groups for the younger generations provided insight into how young people viewed the process of ageing and how they saw the role of the older generation within their society, as well as opinions about media portrayal of older people. This provided a cultural framework to assess the degree to which older and younger Filipinos and Australians held similar or different views on these constructs. Understanding how congruent or incongruent views on ageing between generations in the differing cultures might inform us of people’s expectations of themselves and others as they age within their own culture. Cultural influences are not always salient, therefore adopting a qualitative approach allowed for a richer interpretation of how culture and attitudes towards age and ageing intersected within the different generational focus groups.
Faith is addressed as an important influence of culture too, because it may shed light on intergenerational differences as well as cultural contrasts in the context of ageing. Faith in a secular society may be expressed as a relationship with God or ‘higher being’, while others may express their spirituality through personal relationships or their relationship to nature/environment (Mackinlay & Trevitt, 2007). In Australia, there has been some generational and demographic shifts over the last few generations which has seen multiculturalism and pluralism influence the level of religiosity and faith observed in contemporary Australia (P. Hughes, Bellamy, Black, & Kaldor, 2000; P. J. Hughes & Black, 1999). Researchers of culture and faith assert that faith can be ‘culturally transmitted’ and influence beliefs and behaviours of group members (Gervais, Willard, Norenzayan, & Henrich, 2011). Given that collectivist cultures, such as the Philippines are described by social scientists as socially more ‘cohesive’ where individuals are integrated strongly from birth, then the influence of one’s faith would naturally be integral to shared family and societal perceptions which would include attitudes to ageing and dying (Hofstede & McCrae, 2004).

The other studies within the thesis address cross-cultural attitudes to ageing first, in chapter 5, and whether collectivism influences one’s perceptions of ageing and the last study, in chapter 6 explores the degree in which culture can have an influence on the phenomena known as ‘age stereotype threat.’

Literature suggests that there are different ‘selves’ who are influenced by the degree to which the societal structures centre on collectivistic norms or individualistic norms (Berry, 1997; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989). The three main studies within this thesis aim to explore the degree to which these different cultural influences and differing self-construals contribute to, or buffer against, feeling stereotyped as ‘old’. This chapter will provide a description of culture as a guiding definition for this research, an overview of the research topic on self-perceptions of ageing from a cross-cultural perspective, which gaps in the literature are being addressed, and the structure of the studies within the thesis chapters.

1.1 Culture: A working definition

Culture can be defined as the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a people or society (Valsiner, 2012). Capturing a universal idea of culture has met with some controversy and contradiction in the past century. As Spencer-Oatey (2008) points out, the term ‘culture’ has carried the unfortunate burden of different ideological agendas which has
seen ‘culture’ refer to how sophisticated one society is in comparison to another, with groupings such as ‘savage’ or ‘civilised’ used to express a supposed continuum for where each known culture sits (Spencer-Oatey, 2008). The term ‘culture’ eventually became more synonymous with the observed differences seen in patterns of behaviour, both explicit and implicit, as transmitted by different symbols and social norms from whichever society a particular human being predominantly dwells (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). Cultural psychologists have endeavoured to integrate not only the social, but also developmental, biological, linguistic and evolutionary ideas as a way of understanding humans in the full context of their day-to-day lives (Valsiner, 2012).

There are some important distinctions between perspectives in the discourse on culture. These perspectives relate to culture as a discipline in and of itself, such as anthropology, where terms like etic and emic are important for understanding the assumptions made in relation to the culture/s of interest (Triandis & Berry, 1980; Valsiner, 2012). The emic-etic distinction and terms were originally coined by linguist Kenneth Pike in his search for a theory which might encompass both language and culture (Barnard, 1996; Pike, 1967).

The emic-etic distinction and perspectives are vigorously debated topics of anthropology, cultural and cross-cultural psychology. The controversy largely surrounds which position is the ‘best’ approach for making sense of cultural phenomena and human behaviour. Essentially, the emic approach to culture is that of perspectives from within the culture of interest, which is largely adopted by ethnographers and anthropologists, whereas the etic approach is about the objective, position, of observing and analysing that which occurs within a particular culture from the outside. In cross-cultural psychology, the emic-etic distinction relates to the goal of a comparative approach, which is to document certain principles found in the social norms of a culture that people conceive of as meaningful, and by comparing this to the social norms and principles of another culture, then making generalisations which should, in theory, account for all human behaviour (Triandis & Berry, 1980). This thesis has both qualitative and quantitative studies within it, and seeks to understand views of individuals from within two differing cultures, which is traditionally seen as an emic approach. However, the methodology for, and analysis of, such a comparison with another culture is about the building of theory and for this reason will be more of an etic approach (Triandis & Berry, 1980).
1.1.2 Individualism and collectivism and the differing self-construals

Cultural psychologists refer to a dimension in that different countries and their cultures tend to fall somewhere between collectivism and individualism in its influence on societal and individual behaviours (Berry, 1997; Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989; Triandis, 2001,). For example, Western countries such as the U.S., Canada and Australia tend to be more individualistic in their cultural orientation, whereas East Asian countries such as Japan, Korea and the Philippines tend to be more collectivistic (Hofstede, 1983). The guiding social practices and norms in different cultures have implications for individuals’ behaviour, attitudes and how they see themselves as they transition through different stages of life. The present set of studies is primarily interested in exploring how older individuals see themselves as they age within these different cultural influences, and whether collectivist cultures provide a more welcoming social environment in which to age.

Markus and Kityama (1991) contend that there exist different self-construals in each of these different dimensions. For example, in a collectivist culture like the Philippines where people tend to prioritise group harmony as paramount, there is a propensity to put group goals before those of the individual, whereas in an individualistic culture such as Australia, individuals’ goals are pursued above those of the group. This tends to give rise to what Markus and Kityama (1991) describe as the interdependent self-construal in collectivistic cultures, and the independent self-construal in individualistic cultures. A by-product of the individualist’s independent self-construal is that goal attainment through the expression of a collection of attributes forms a person’s identity. In contrast, the relational self which is interdependent and ‘others-oriented’ tends to align the self more with situational factors, in order to maximise social harmony of the groups. These two differing selves will be discussed throughout this thesis to explain what implications these can have when ageing is brought into the equation. Further, what can be learned from different cultural worldviews about ageing and the self will be addressed in all three studies (chapters 4, 5 & 6) with some final recommendations and future directions in chapter 7. The next section provides definitions and descriptions of age stereotypes, subjective ageing and self-perceptions of ageing.

1.1.3 Age stereotypes, subjective ageing and self-perceptions of ageing

Stereotypes have been defined as mental representations people can have about different perceived social groups. Further, stereotypes have also been described as the “beliefs and
opinions about the characteristics, attributes, and behaviours of members of various groups” (Kite & Whitley Jr, 2016, p13). Whereas, prejudice relates to the feelings people have toward different social groups, and discrimination can be the resulting behaviour people enact toward members of different social groups (Kite & Whitley Jr, 2016). Stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination can be either positive or negative depending on whether people have positive or negative mental representations and feelings towards perceived group members (Chasteen, Cary, & Iankilevitch, 2015). Age stereotypes are particularly complex, and consist of both positive and negative elements. Neugarten (1974) suggested that the complexity arises from the fact that there are two types of older adults: young-old, who are considered relatively active and healthy and old-old, who are perhaps considered less active and healthy (Neugarten, 1974). Butler (1969) first conceptualised ageism as a form of bigotry directed at older adults, however research shows that there also exists prejudice towards younger people (Hummert, 1990). The majority of research that has been done has been done on negative age stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination (Kite & Whitley Jr, 2016; Nelson, 2004). As Levy (2009) asserts in her work on stereotype embodiment, traditionally, age stereotype research had previously focussed on the targeters (i.e. younger adults) towards targets (i.e. older adults). Therefore, the turning point of research focussing on the target’s and the outcomes of research that shows how positive or negative age stereotypes has an internal subjective effect such as improved or worsened cognitive or physical health, this could be seen as self-perceptions of ageing (Levy, 2009).

In a meta-analysis of longitudinal data on self-perceptions of ageing, Westerhof et al. (2014) reviewed literature that showed the influence of subjective ageing on health and longevity. Westerhof et al. (2014) examined whether different operationalisations of subjective ageing have different effects on health and survival, focusing on the two most common definitions that have received the most research attention: age identity (also referred to in the literature as subjective age) and attitudes to one’s own ageing (also described earlier as self-perceptions of ageing, Levy, 2009). Westerhof et al. (2014) found small but significant effects on health, health behaviour and survival for those who held more positive self-perceptions of ageing. This supports Levy’s work that highlights how one’s own subjective ageing can influence how well one lives and copes as they age (Levy, 2009; B. Levy, Ashman, & Dror, 2000; B. Levy, Slade, M. D., & Kasl, S. V., 2002; B. R. Levy, Zonderman, Slade, & Ferrucci, 2009). Chapter 2 will expand on the
similarities and differences of different definitions of subjective ageing within the ageing literature.

**1.1.4 Age stereotype threat: Are there cultural differences?**

There have not been many studies involving culture as a variable when examining stereotype threat. Two previous studies examining the role of culture in memory performance are Levy and Langer (1994) and Yoon et al (2000). However, these studies did not actively employ primes to trigger a reaction to being stereotyped, but rather implied that differences in memory performance were as result of culture. Levy and Langer (1994) study provided more conclusive evidence of cultural differences. Whereas, Yoon et al (2000) was not able to replicate the Levy and Langer (1994) findings. Stereotype threat is a phenomenon whereby an individual whose identity is part of a group such as race, gender or age can feel anxiety when that group is stereotyped. Part of the phenomenon is when a negative comment is made about the groups in which one is a member, one can feel reduced to a ‘stereotype’ and this in turn has been shown to temporarily affect one’s working memory performance from related anxiety (Steele, 1997; Hess 2003, 2004). The focus of this thesis is to examine the degree to which either collectivist or individualistic culture impacts attitudes towards ageing and in turn whether we can further extrapolate whether these differences impact memory performance of individuals from two differing cultures.

**1.2 Gaps in the literature**

A number of gaps in the current knowledge about self-perceptions of ageing include:

1. How similar are older generation’s views of age and ageing to the younger generations views?
2. Do collectivist cultures provide more social cohesion than individualistic cultures when it comes to the ageing self?
3. Does it make a difference to how you perceive the ageing process depending on the culture you are most influenced by?
4. Do individuals who are more collectivistic in cultural orientation hold more positive perceptions of ageing?

Gaps in the literature about age stereotype threat cross-culturally:

5. Does the phenomenon of age stereotype threat affect those from individualist cultures more than those from collectivistic cultures? There is mixed evidence for
whether it is culture, language or something else which contributes to differences in memory performance in older adults between different cultures.

The specific research objectives of this thesis were to:

1. Determine whether the younger generations (20-35 years old) hold similar or different view of ageing from the older generations (60-85 years old) through focus group discussions and analysis
2. Determine whether cultural orientation makes a difference to how positive or negative one’s self-perceptions of ageing are
3. Determine whether older individuals in a more individualistic culture such as Australia are more prone to age stereotype threat than older individuals in a collectivist culture such as the Philippines.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2: Literature review on attitudes to ageing

This chapter will review the literature on attitudes to ageing. Specifically looking at theories on stereotype embodiment, self-identity, age stereotype threat and cultural differences in perceptions of self. A brief history of the rise of ageism will also be discussed, and some recent reports on how ageism is affecting individuals in the Australian workplace

Chapter 3: Mixed methods

This chapter focuses on why some topics of research require a combination of different approaches to methodology. It also focuses on grounded theory as a method and process, and advancements in software such as NVivo which facilitate the fracturing of data and assisting in recognising emergent themes. In addition to this, the chapter stresses the importance of establishing one’s philosophical approach to research within mixed methods and how pragmatism has made its way into reconciling of contrasting approaches.

Chapter 4: Transitioning through life stages: similarities and differences between young and old in two differing cultures: Australia and the Philippines

This chapter employs aspects of grounded theory as a guiding framework (Strauss & Corbin, 1994) with the help of NVivo software to unpack and report on transcripts of focus group discussion conducted in December 2011 – January 2012 in both Australia
and the Philippines. This includes viewpoints of both older (60-96 years old) and younger (20-33 years old) individuals on ageing and older people.

Chapter 5: Cross-cultural perceptions of ageing: Australia and the Philippines

This chapter analyses a survey on older adults’ attitudes towards ageing within the context of cultural orientation – whether individualistic or collectivistic determines whether or not either of these orientations plays a role in how people see themselves as they age.

Chapter 6: Stereotype threat and memory performance: A cross-cultural examination

This chapter describes a study conducted with older participants from Australia (aged 60-75) and older participants from the Philippines (aged 52-79) who were asked to undergo some memory tests. The participants were randomly allocated to three experimental conditions, of which two had subtle primes embedded within the instructions and the third condition was the control where there was no prime present. Data from this study were analysed and discussed in the context of age stereotype threat and whether or not coming from an individualist culture versus a collectivist culture bore any impact on the results.

Chapter 7: General discussion and conclusion

This chapter is a summary of the main findings which examined commonalities and differences between two differing cultures, Australia and the Philippines, on attitudes towards age and ageing. Further, this section discusses the findings of the three studies within this thesis: the strengths, weaknesses and limitations of the research conducted. Finally, the conclusion will highlight useful areas for this research and possible future directions.
Chapter 2: Attitudes to ageing, stereotypes and cultural influences

2.0 Chapter summary
The current chapter provides a review of the literature on age stereotypes, stereotype embodiment, subjective ageing, stereotype threat and differing self-construals which can have a differential impact on the cognition, behaviour and motivation of individuals living in either collectivist or individualist cultures (Markus and Kitayama, 1991). This chapter provides the rationale for building on the concept of different self-construals in the context of age and self-identity. It also lays the groundwork for understanding potential origins of ageism in Western cultures, as well as some sociological theories on the socio-historical antecedents that have potentially shaped Western society’s attitudes to ageing. This chapter will also provide a summary of some of the important psychological scales on ageing and ageism that have shaped previous studies in psychology of ageing as well as the advent of technological advances that allow us to measure attitudes to ageing with the help of a computer-aided program on implicit attitudes (Greenwald et al., 1998). A recent meta-analysis of cross-cultural attitudes to ageing will be discussed showing evidence for individualist cultures showing more positive attitudes to ageing than collectivist cultures (North & Fiske, 2015). Finally, this chapter will provide the overall aims of this thesis with a particular interest in the degree to which collectivism promotes interdependence and social support, which in turn may

2.1 Subjective ageing, age identity and self-perceptions of ageing
Subjective ageing refers to how individuals perceive their own ageing process (G. J. Westerhof et al., 2014). It can be seen as the result of a cumulative process of personal experiences, social interactions, intergroup stereotypes, and societal structures (Diehl et al., 2014; G. J. Westerhof et al., 2014; G. J. Westerhof & Tulle, 2007). Westerhof et al. (2014) and Levy (2009) highlight the contribution of subjective ageing to one’s functional health later in life. Levy, Kunkel & Kasl (2002) were able to show from a longitudinal study that positive self-perceptions of ageing increased one’s life expectancy by 7.5 years and contributed to better functional health in later life. In a review of the literature of subjective ageing, health and longevity. As, previously discussed in Chapter 1, self-perceptions of ageing are when one turns their attention inwardly to observe their own views towards one’s own ageing. Whereas age identity usually refers to how old one feels in relation to their chronological age (G. Westerhof, 2008). Westerhof et al. (2014) found that subjective ageing influenced health through both cognitive and behavioural pathways and that by maintaining a positive perception
of one’s own ageing, these coping strategies lead to behavioural outcomes that were more task-oriented than avoidant in health behaviours. Westerhof et al. (2014), therefore tested the hypothesis that subjective ageing has an overall effect on health and longevity over time. The meta-analysis included a search for the terms: subjective age, subjective ageing, felt age, perceived age, age identity, ageing satisfaction, self-perceptions of ageing, view on ageing and ageing-related cognitions. Terms referring to longitudinal studies included: longitudinal, panel and prospective. From the articles found, authors’ inclusion criteria was that of the effects of subjective ageing on health or survival. Nineteen studies were included in the meta-analysis (see Westerhof et al., 2014). The aim of the meta-analysis was to synthesize findings of longitudinal studies on the effects of subjective ageing on health and longevity. An overall significant effect of subjective ageing on health behaviour and survival over time was found. The authors argue effect sizes found within the study were the same as those used to promote policies that decrease smoking to improve the health of populations. Therefore, there is empirical evidence to support health promotion of younger age identities and more positive perceptions of one’s own ageing as well (Westerhof, 2014). However, the authors of this study caution that conclusions about whether subjective ageing has a causal effect on health and survival can not necessarily be drawn given other variable such as personality traits and individual differences might account for the effect.

2.1.1 Key measures on attitudes to ageing
The literature on what constitutes ageist attitudes is somewhat mixed with different researchers using different instruments to measure attitudes (Hummert, 1990, Nelson, 2004, Kite et al., 2002, Laidlaw et al., 2007, Palmore, 1999). Attitudes can be defined as the psychological tendencies expressed when evaluating a particular entity, either with some degree of favour or disfavour (Eagly et al., 1999). Earlier research had measures that focussed on attitudes about older people such as the Fabroni Scale of Ageism (Fabroni et al., 1990) and Palmore’s Fact’s on Ageing Quiz (Palmore, 1988). Whereas other scales focussed on one’s attitude to one’s own ageing such as Philadelphia Geriatric Morale Scale (Lawton, 1975) and the Attitudes to Ageing Questionnaire (Laidlaw, 2010).

Following are four measures accompanied by commentary on the strengths and limitations of these approaches providing a brief view of how some of the scientific literature has attempted to measure attitudes to ageing:
• The Fabroni Scale of Ageism (FSA): In the nineties, Fabroni, Saltstone and Hughes (1990) introduced a scale which applied an affective dimension (Fraboni et al., 1990). The Fabroni Scale of Ageism has items such as “Many old people just live in the past”, “Most old people should not be trusted to take care of infants” and “I would prefer not to live with an old person”.

Strength: The FSA has statistically analysed appropriate statements derived largely from the original definition and comments about the term ‘ageism’ as created by Robert Butler (1969), who coined the term. The FSA provides scales which reach beyond knowledge of stereotypes and can measure how negative or in avoidance one’s view of older people are.

Limitations: As acknowledged by the authors of the FSA, there is adequate construct validity, and with the items mainly worded as negative and borderline derogatory, may not be measuring exactly what the scale purports to measure which is the construct of ageism.

• The Facts on Aging Quiz: This quiz had 25 true or false items covering basic physical, mental and social facts as well as the most common misconceptions about ageing based on empirical research and has been used effectively to show that many people still hold negative biases towards older people and ageing (Palmore, 1977, Palmore, 1999). False items on the quiz include “Most people have no interest in, or capacity for, sexual relations” and “The majority of old people feel miserable most of the time.” True items on the quiz include: “All five senses tend to decline in old age” and “The majority of old people report that they are seldom board” (Palmore, 1988).

Strengths: the Palmore’s ‘Facts on Aging Quiz’ provides a quick measure on knowledge of ageing as well as one’s potential age-base biases.

Limitations: wording of the items are ambiguous, but also not entirely factual especially the items relating to older people’s ability to learn new things. There are two competing items #13 ‘It is almost impossible for most old people to learn something new’ and #12 ‘Older people tend to take longer to learn something new’ that are in a way misleading as items that proprot to show truth or falsity, as there are contexts and tasks which may take more, or less time for older people to navigate, and oversimplification of learning theory is not helpful to addressing age stereotypes. Memory plays a big role in one’s ability to learn and consolidate information, however different forms of memory and compensatory systems in older
people can complicate the statement of whether old people have worse ability at learning something new or not (R. M. Brown, Robertson, & Press, 2009; Miller & Dodder, 1980). The Palmore’s scale attempts to use factual statements as an attempt to utilise empirical information, however results in perhaps an oversimplification of complex constructs that cannot necessarily be captured in a dichotomous way.

- **Philadelphia Geriatric Morale Scale**: this scale provided items under three subscales of Agitation, Attitude Toward own Ageing and Lonely Dissatisfaction (Lawton, 1975). The Agitation subscale has items such as “I sometimes worry so much I can’t sleep” and “I take things hard”. The Attitude Towards Own Aging subscale had items such as “As you get older you are less useful” and “As I get older, things are better/worse than I thought they would be”. The Lonely Dissatisfaction subscale had items such as “I sometimes feel that life isn’t worth living” and “I have a lot to be sad about” (Lawton, 1975).

  Strengths: Items on this scale have been statistically tested and correlated well in its factor analysis. The measure target’s individual’s attitudes to one’s own ageing by also addressing morale in older people as an indicator of how positive or negative one views themselves in later life.

  Limitations: The sample lacks specific information about sex and age group of participants, is culturally limited and of one socio-economic area, and may lack generalisability. It was presumably within the constraints of studies carried out within this era, however the concept of morale is not well operationalised or justified as an important indicator of how this has an effect the overall wellbeing of older people.

- **Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire**: This was developed by Ken Laidlaw (2007) and colleagues in conjunction with the World Health Organization which was a result of piloting a number of questions about ageing in many different countries, and has three dimensions of psychological growth, psychological loss and physical change in a culturally inclusive way (Laidlaw et al., 2007). The AAQ has subscales with either positively framed questions about ageing with reference to the self or negatively framed questions. The development of the AAQ and its items will be discussed further in chapter 5.
Strengths: The AAQ is a three-factor model which breaks down the multi-dimensional aspects of attitudes of older people and considers the balances of losses and gains realised across the life course by older people themselves. It employs a Delphi method of experts in the early stages to examine the themes that emerged from focus groups around the world. In addition to the depth of this scale is the psychometric analysis applied to it from both classic and modern forms of psychology that also incorporates a robust size sample across diverse cultures which contributes to the scales cross-cultural validity.

Limitations: The overall questionnaire is loaded towards more positive views of ageing with two thirds of the items framed in the positive. Therefore, the outcome may not fully represent the possible spectrum or direction of attitudes towards one’s own ageing. There’s a possibility that should equal numbers of negatively framed items been included in the questionnaire; then perhaps older people’s experience of loss would have been more significant.

2.1.2 The use of technology and priming to capture ageist attitudes
With the refinement of technology in research on social attitudes and judgements Tony Greenwald et al (1998) made available the ability to measure people’s reaction times to age-related stimulus with the implicit association test (IAT). This is a computer software program that can measure people’s reaction times to implicit primes of older and younger people by pairing positive or negative words with old or young faces. Results from many trials on the IAT suggest that both young and older individuals show a preference for young with their responses to positive words and younger images being significantly faster than the pairing of positive words to older faces (Hummert et al., 2002). Although, the IAT has provided evidence for implicit attitudes about age, it does not reveal how these attitudes are formed and how to modify them. Fear of ageing could be a contributing factor to the negative perceptions or ageing; however, cultural norms are likely to play a role in social attitudes (Allport, 1979, Nelson, 2004, Levy, 1994).

2.1.3 Stereotype embodiment
An age stereotype is a social category that we might use to mentally define who people are in our social situations. It is usually a collection of well-defined traits that we attribute to an older or younger person (Shih et al., 2002). Stereotype embodiment is
where an individual internalises the surrounding cultures’ messages about age from media and society which can lead to psychological barriers for coping when these attitudes are negative and become self-relevant as people transition into the later stages of life (Levy, 2009, Levy, 1994). Levy (2009) contends that stereotypes become embodied when their assimilation from the surrounding culture leads to self-definitions and in turn influence an individual’s functioning and health. The theory has four main components about stereotypes: they become internalised across the life span, they can operate unconsciously, the use multiple pathways and they gain salience when these age stereotypes become self-relevant (Levy, 2009).

The first component of the theory posits that children are exposed to age stereotypes through various mediums such as children’s television and literature, and that this becomes internalised across the lifespan. A large body of work on the media’s portrayal of older people shows that there is a clear underrepresentation of the older demographic in television. Older television characters are typically cast in an unfavourable light (Robinson and Anderson, 2006, Greenberg and Collette, 1997). Therefore, this early introduction to age stereotypes and its continued promulgation provides a deep reference point for negative images and impressions of the old. However, when these negative age stereotypes are first encountered by individuals before they are self-relevant there is no need to build any defence towards them. In other words, the young are not too concerned about appearing ‘old’. It is only when individuals are older that their negatively framed opinions of old age work against them. Experimental research has been able to elucidate the second component on how internalised stereotypes can operate at the unconscious level. In a study by Levy, Ashman, & Dror (2000), older participants were subliminally exposed to primes, then were presented with scenarios describing a fatal illness. They were asked hypothetically if they would choose a life-prolonging medical intervention, if this led to either extensive care by family or potentially losing their savings. The positive-age-stereotype primed group tended to accept the life-prolonging intervention, whereas the negative-age-stereotype group tended to reject it, highlighting the negative effects of internalised age stereotypes on will to live.

The third component of stereotype embodiment theory emphasises the salience of ‘age’ as a category that is usually demarcated by several arbitrary social cues such as obtaining a senior’s identification card for concessions to shows and transport or by one’s retirement. The encounters with extensive social cues around these milestones
make this transition in one’s life arguably more challenging when one has built up an internal mental library or ‘schema’ of negative age stereotypes. Self-relevance is an important aspect of the theory because negative age stereotype primes have been shown to have no or little effect on younger people whereas it has been shown how negative stereotypes in experimental research has produced strong effects on memory performance, hand-writing, heightened cardiac response to stress and also one’s will to live (Levy, 2009).

The final component of the theory is about the use of multiple pathways of internalised age stereotypes and their effects. Research has shown that these negative age stereotypes can impact on an older individual’s psychological, behavioural or physiological wellbeing. Negative age stereotypes for some can result in less self-efficacy, which in turn prevents these individuals from healthy practices such as taking their medication and having regular check-ups (B. R. Levy, Slade, May, & Caracciolo, 2006). Moreover, evidence suggests that a lifetime of carrying negative age stereotypes can significantly increase one’s risk of cardiovascular events, and can adversely influence one’s recovery from such an event (Levy et al., 2006, Levy, 2009).

Levy, Slade, Kunkel and Kasl (2002) wanted to understand the long-term impact of internalised self-perceptions of ageing. Unlike gender or race stereotypes, which individuals encounter while developing and forming group identities, age stereotypes are acquired several decades before one becomes old. From this process, individuals are then less prepared for the internalised stereotypes about age until they become self-relevant. This is due to acquiring these stereotypes from such a young age when individuals are likely to automatically accept these concepts without giving the validity of them too much conscious awareness (Levy and Langer, 1994, Levy, 2002).

To assess the degree to which self-perceptions of ageing had a long-term impact on individual’s health in later life, Levy et al (2002) conducted a study where they matched data from the Ohio Longitudinal Study of Ageing and Retirement (OLSAR) with data from the National Death Index (NDI). With this data, Levy et al (2002) were able to chart the course of survival of participants over 22.6 years. The participants included individuals who were 50 years old or older at the beginning of the study. The study contained survey waves, collected from baseline which allowed for the analysis of self-perceptions of ageing and its effect on longevity.
Levy et al. (2002) based this research on the Berlin Aging Study which examined the association between 17 indicators of psychological functioning and mortality during seven years from a sample of individuals 70 years or older. The authors of the Berlin Aging Study found that one of the best predictors of mortality was the attitudes towards own ageing subscale from the Philadelphia Geriatric Centre Moral Scale (PGCMS; Lawton, 1975; Liang & Bollen, 1983 in Levy et al., 2002). Levy et al. (2002) highlight that Maier and Smith (1999) did not include functional health in their study and therefore concluded that negative beliefs about ageing were probably not the cause of an increased mortality risk. Levy et al. (2002) were interested to include functional health as a covariate in order to explore the possibility that self-perceptions of ageing directly or indirectly affect survival. The independent variable for this study was self-perceptions of ageing using a subscale from Liang and Bollen’s (1983) reinterpretation of the PGCMS. The items included: “Things keep getting worse as I get older”, “I have as much pep as I did last year”, “As you get older, you are less useful”, “I am as happy now as I was when I was younger” and “As I get older, things are (Better, worse or the same) as I thought they would be” (p263, Levy et al., 2002; Maier & Smith, 1999; Liang & Bollen, 1983).

Levy et al. (2002) hypothesised that because age stereotypes evolve over time, a child who is exposed to them, later as an adult is likely to have self-perceptions of ageing that reflect their own personal positive or negative evaluations of these stereotypes. Moreover, the more positive an individual’s self-perceptions of ageing are, the greater the will to live with feelings of benefit rather than feelings of hardship contributing to this outcome. The results from the study showed, after relevant factors are controlled for, that individuals with more positive self-perceptions of ageing at baseline live longer by 7.5 years compared with those who have less positive self-perceptions. Ordered from the greatest to the least impact of survival, the variables were: age, self-perceptions of ageing, gender, loneliness, functional health and socio-economic circumstances. The results with several repeated analyses after stratifying by age, gender, socio-economic status, functional health and loneliness consistently showed that those with more positive self-perceptions of ageing outlived those with more negative self-perceptions of ageing (Levy et al., 2002).

In a subsequent study on age stereotypes and later life cardiovascular events, Levy et al. (2009) took data from the Baltimore Longitudinal Study of Ageing and hypothesised that negative stereotypes held earlier in life would have consequences for health in later
Further, younger individuals who held more negative age stereotypes would have a greater likelihood of experiencing a cardiovascular event up to 38 years later than those with more positive age stereotypes. Again, covariates at baseline were assessed and these included: age, body mass index, depression, education, elevated blood pressure, family history of cardiovascular death, gender, marital status, number of chronic conditions, race, self-rated health, cholesterol and smoking history. Consistent with their hypothesis, Levy et al (2009) found that younger individuals who held more negative age stereotypes were significantly more likely to experience a cardiovascular event over the next 38 years (see Levy et al, 2009). The findings of the Levy et al (2009) study were consistent with the previous study based on the assumption of the previous research that age stereotypes that are held in later life were internalised decades before old age was even reached (Levy, 2003, Levy, 2002).

The strength of the theory of stereotype embodiment is that it provides an explanation for the link between negative self-perceptions of ageing and poorer health outcomes in later life. One of the challenges for this theory is how to determine what the mechanisms are for those who do form more positive self-perceptions of ageing. The exact mechanism for this link are yet to be discovered or fully explained; however, the protective psychosocial factor of interdependence and social support would be an important area of research to build on. There is evidence that different forms of interdependence and social support can have positive effects on health status and buffer the psychosocial effects of stress on both mental and physical health (Broadhead et al., 1983, Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009).

2.1.4 Age stereotype threat
Stereotype threat studies have shown that age-related primes can influence older people's performance on memory tests. Stereotype threat is the phenomenon where anxiety arises when one feels reduced to a stereotype (Steele, 1997). Previous studies have focused on race and gender. Research in ageing has shown that both positive and negative primes can influence the performance of older adults in memory tests (Hess et al., 2004, Levy, 1996, Hess et al., 2003).

The power of age stereotype threat has been explained by several theories including stereotype embodiment, where internalised pejorative views of older people gain salience when they become self-relevant. The theory argues that these views have largely remained unconscious and irrelevant across the lifespan, and individuals are not
prepared for their own negative self-perceptions of ageing framing their current social status in their world (Levy, 2009, Kite et al., 2002, Nelson, 2004). In addition, most if not all people fear their future ‘old selves’ as it signals the eventuality of death (Nelson, 2005).

Research shows that when activation of age concepts occurs without conscious awareness, simple tasks become difficult for those who would appear to be the most concerned about their current age; for example, the young-old who are transitioning out of mid-life into old age or of senior citizen status, usually early to mid-sixties (Hess et al., 2004, Hummert, 1990, Hummert et al., 2002). Age stereotype threat studies have controlled memory deficit such as dementia or Alzheimer’s disease with the use of the screening instrument mini-mental state exam (MMSE) (Folstein et al., 1975)(Barber, Mather, & Gatz, 2015; Geraci & Miller, 2013). Therefore, the actual occurrence of age stereotype threat as a real phenomenon is quite robust. The phenomenon is one that has been examined within experimental conditions; often with a laboratory setting; however, little is known about stereotype threat in everyday life, the extent to which it occurs and the underlying mechanisms that trigger it. Recent meta-analyses indicate that, although the phenomenon of stereotype threat is real, it is difficult to replicate, and there appears to be a high degree of publication bias on the subject (Flore and Wicherts, 2015).

The strengths of stereotype threat theory are that it provides an explanation for contextual factors and the underlying psychological processes which can undermine task performance in older adults. Challenges for this theory are that stereotype threat is not easy to assess outside of laboratory settings. However, there is some evidence from the work place that captures feelings of age stereotype threat in a study on mature aged workers. (von Hippel et al., 2013). Rather than using experimental manipulations as used in previous studies, von Hippel et al. (2013) examined the degree to which older employees felt stereotype threat in the work place and its relationship to one’s intention to quit. From two sample populations, one from a large Australian media company and another from law enforcement, it was found that older employees’ (50 years and older) negative feelings of stereotype threat as determined by a five-item survey, were negatively related to job attitudes, work mental health and intentions to resign (von Hippel et al., 2013). Although this research was cross-sectional and correlational in design and analysis, it adds to the growing body of evidence that negative attitudes to
ageing can impact decisions made regarding older adult’s employment and intentions to quit.

2.1.5 Age stereotype threat versus other forms of threat
A key difference between age stereotype threat and other forms of stereotype threat, whether it be about race or gender, is not just the internalisation of the prevalent stereotypes, but caring about them (Levy et al., 2002). Moreover, as Levy et al. (2002) contend, internalised age stereotypes across the life span are largely occurring when the individual is not directing awareness towards worrying about being old while they are still young. Levy et al. (2002) suggest that unlike race or gender stereotypes, which individuals usually encounter as they are forming group identities, individuals acquire age stereotypes when they are young. It is only when individuals are transitioning into later life when these internalised age stereotypes gain salience, and, if negative, can have detrimental influences (Levy et al., 2002).

2.1.6 Self-construal, relational self, and ageing
It has been hypothesised in cross-cultural literature that different social contexts give rise to a different sense of self. For example, within individualist Western cultures where independence and autonomy are key values, individuals have an independent self-construal. In collectivist cultures values tend to centre on family and interdependence, and this promotes a sense of self which is interdependent in nature (Markus and Kitayama, 1991, Triandis, 1989). Individuals who live in collectivist cultures tend to identify very closely with significant others and tend towards conforming to the group because group harmony is paramount. In contrast, Western individualist countries uphold values of freedom and independence with autonomy and agency being of importance. These two contrasting ways of being in the world also bring different perspectives about the self and style of thinking (Markus and Kitayama, 1991, Markus and Kitayama, 2003, Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004).

Spencer-Rodgers et al (2004) presented research on self-esteem from a cross-cultural perspective. Individuals from more East Asian backgrounds reported that they had lower self-esteem, higher rates of depression and anxiety compared with Western individuals (Diener and Diener, 1995, Kitayama and Markus, 1999, Kitayama et al., 2000). Spencer-Rodgers et al. (2004) explored the different cultural thinking styles and how this influenced self-evaluation and self-esteem. They found that naïve dialecticism mediated the observed cultural differences in self-esteem and wellbeing. Naïve
Dialecticism refers to a style of thinking where seemingly contradicting states can be held at the same time. Dialectical thinking has its roots in Eastern philosophical and religious traditions including Confucianism and Buddhism (Peng and Nisbett, 1999). East Asian cultures typically embrace contradiction within the context of self-evaluation more readily than Westerners (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004). However, Spencer-Rodgers et al. (2004) notes that Westerners generally feel less comfortable with contradiction and attitudinal ambivalence, with a preference to synthesise contradictory information on attitudes or objects. In other words, an individual with the independent self-construal tends to seek congruity and therefore their attitude towards something or someone is either positive or negative but not both (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004).

Spencer-Rodgers et al. (2004) highlight from their research how individualists have a tendency to elaborate on a positive view of the self, whereas collectivists tend to emphasise their shortcomings to bolster group cohesiveness (Kitayama et al., 1997). Spencer-Rodgers et al. (2004) conclude that there are multiple determinants that contribute to the observed low levels of self-esteem and that this does not necessarily fully account for subjective wellbeing within collectivist cultures. In other research looking at whether life satisfaction differs by culture, Diener and Diener (2009) found that self-esteem and life satisfaction were highly correlated for those in individualistic cultures but not in collectivist cultures. Since East Asians do not strive to maintain an overly positive view of the self (because of interdependent tendencies), then they are less likely to take one position over another in their self-evaluation. That is, collectivists are less concerned with presenting as positive versus negative in their evaluation about themselves. The principal dialectical of change for those with a collectivist and interdependent orientation would therefore see the self-concept as dynamic and internally inconsistent, remaining contextually flexible in order to continue being ‘others-oriented’ (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004). If we apply this to understanding cognition about self-perceptions of ageing, then one might see how a self that is invested in the group (intergenerationally) and is less conflicted about being seen as either ‘young’ or ‘old’ might not be concerned about being labelled or stereotyped as ‘old’. A concern for being old could be a separate concern from being ‘labelled’ as old. A distinction which perhaps underscores stereotype threat sensitivity.

Some cross-cultural research in ageing has addressed these differing selves and whether a high degree of intergenerational cohesion and values of filial piety and elder respect might influence self-perceptions of ageing. In a study by Levy and Langer (1994)
examining memory performance cross-generationally (younger and older adults) across three types of culture, they found that those older adults who had more positive attitudes to ageing also performed better on memory tests. Younger participants in this study all performed as well as each other independent of which culture they were part of. The three cultures in the Levy and Langer (1994) study were Americans, deaf Americans and Chinese. Deaf Americans were included in the study because of the unique intergenerational bonds within the deaf community that promotes interdependence. Levy and Langer (1994) concluded that cultural beliefs about ageing play a role in determining the degree to which people may experience memory loss. Taking into account Spencer-Rodgers evaluation and explanation of the cognitive tendencies for differing self-construal, this might explain why individuals who are higher on interdependence would have less concern about appearing old. In turn, this dialectical thinking which neither embraces young or old as an internalised concept would not be as affected by age stereotypes around memory loss.

In further cross-cultural research on ageing, Levy, Ashman and Slade (2009) were interested in the degree to which Americans versus Japanese would make age attributions to health or memory problems. As established in previous literature, older individuals who make age attributions tend to experience worse functional health, delay or not seek treatment for health problems and have an increased risk of mortality (Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009). Levy, Ashman and Slade (2009) speculated that the tendency to make age attributions would be explained a culturally-based tendency to engage in certain styles of thinking Americans tend to attribute their problems to external causes or internal but unstable factors while Japanese attribute failure to internal but stable factors known as self-critical bias (Mezulis et al., 2004 in Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009). Therefore, Levy, Ashman and Slade (2009) hypothesised that older Japanese (60 years and older) participants would make greater age attributions than the older Americans in the study and the younger groups (18 – 33 years old) in the study.

The study presented participants with two vignettes. In order to examine age attributes in the cognitive domain, participants were asked “If you misplaced your keys” how much would it be due to age attribution (I am losing my memory) compared with extenuating circumstances (I must have been busy with something else when I put down the keys). From the physical domain, participants were asked: “If you wake up in the morning with an ache in your leg,” how much would it be due to an extenuating circumstance (I slept in an uncomfortable position) compared with the age attribution of
(I seem to be getting old)? Responses were measured using Likert scales ranging from 1 = strongly disagree to 6 = strongly agree. The outcome variable, functional health, was measured by the Health Scale for the Aged (Rosow and Brelau, 1966 in Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009). The cultural variable was defined by interdependence or “the fundamental connectedness among individuals within significant relationships” (Kitayama, Markus, Matsumoto and Norasakkunkit, 1997, p1247 in Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009). The results supported the hypothesis that older individuals in both cultures were more likely to make age attributions compared with younger participants. Analysis of the data found that there was a strong association between making age attributions and poorer functional health for the older Americans but not for the older Japanese. Further analysis revealed that interdependence mediated the association between greater attributions and worse functional health for Japanese, but not for Americans (Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009). These findings might suggest that the initial assumptions made about culturally-based thinking styles do account for differences in age attributions; however, it may not be based on the assumption that Japanese attribute failure to internal but stable factors. Given the Spencer-Rodgers account on the principal dialectical of change for those with interdependent orientation, the Levy, Ashman and Slade (2009) findings about Japanese sense of interdependence are likely due to the need for the interdependent self to remain dynamic and internally inconsistent rather than stable (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004).

Stereotype embodiment is an important theoretical framework for understanding the role of one’s socio-cultural environment when external messages about age become internalised. Further, Levy et al. (2002) have shown longitudinally how negative self-perceptions can have detrimental health outcomes. There is building evidence that Western messages about age are not conducive to building positive self-perceptions of ageing. Addressing the independent and interdependent self-construals in the context of ageing is a way of identifying possible factors that prevent some from the internalising of negative age stereotypes. Moreover, it helps to elucidate which aspects allow for more positive views and thinking styles which potentially buffer against negative attitudes towards ageing. The challenge for this research is finding measures that can capture and compare notions of self and ageing cross-culturally. Despite this, research conducted cross-culturally is continuing to reveal which aspects of cognition, societal structures and behaviours are making the difference between whether one builds
positive or negative self-perceptions of ageing as they transition into the later years of life.

2.2 Relevant theories of self-perception and self-identity

2.2.1 Self-perceptions, self-identity and ageing

Self-perceptions are a central part of the psychosocial aspects of ageing. This is because at a certain turning point in adulthood individuals’ assessment of adverse outcomes of health become salient, and previous notions of old age are then directed at oneself. This turning point can be seen as self-perceptions of ageing (Levy, 2009). Individuals who harbour negative self-perceptions of ageing are arguably less psychologically equipped for the later stages of life Levy et al. (2002).

Self-identity is also a core aspect of ageing for several reasons. These reasons include a process where individuals continue to identify with their ‘youthful selves’ otherwise known as the youthful age identity, which is the feeling that one is younger than their chronological age (Westerhof et al., 2012, Westerhof et al., 2003). There was almost no discrepancy between actual age and the age one feels for 25-year-olds in a previous study on mid-life development in the U.S., yet 75-year-olds felt about 15 years younger than their chronological age (Westerhof, 2008). In addition, a more youthful age identity is related to better wellbeing and mental health (Westerhof et al., 2003). This is but one aspect of the ageing self. One’s self-identity throughout the ageing process can be multi-faceted as Whitbourne et al. (2002) suggest, because of the need to preserve one’s sense of self with continuity. Whitbourne’s (1987) identity process theory (IPT) proposes that as people age they integrate this ageing experience with their self-identity and self-concept. According to IPT, individuals use three kinds of identity processes to navigate through adulthood. Through identity assimilation, individuals attempt to maintain a continuity of self as they age while confronting age-related physical and cognitive changes. As Levy et al. (2002) have shown, these two things can be impacted by the surrounding culture, which in turn can affect an individual’s self-perceptions of ageing. Identity accommodation is the second identity process where an individual makes changes to their identity in response to new experiences that contradict their current sense of self. In identity balance, individuals make changes in their identities to integrate age-relevant experiences, however maintain continuity within their sense of self. Whitbourne et al. (2002) argue that achieving identity balance is less detrimental than identity accommodation which sees individuals attempting to make changes to
their identity in response to contradictions they experience about their current sense of self.

2.2.2 Self-identity, depersonalisation and ageing

Markus and Kitayama’s (1991) theory of the self-construal be it independent (from individualistic cultures) or interdependent (from collectivist cultures) elucidates the different ways that individuals exist and behave in relation to others within their daily lives. A helpful theory for further unpacking self-identity is that of social identity theory (Turner et al., 1994). Although the focus of Turner et al.’s (1994) work was not intended to be on cultural differences, social identity theory describes how the self is reflexive and can classify and name itself in relation to the various social categories with which one belongs. Another theory of self is that of identity theory which is more about the social groups with which the self *identifies* itself with, rather than classification and categorisation of the self (McCall and Simmons, 1966). When addressing the relational self, these two theories on self-identity are helpful for how an individual sees themselves in the context of interdependence no matter your cultural orientation.

Stets and Burke (2000) have described how the two theories are different yet overlap and how ultimately linking the two theories would fully explain the self. The recognition that the two theories could in fact be linked is a useful and appropriate way of understanding the self by examining the motivating that give rise to group *identity activation* within either an individualistic or collectivistic culture. The activation of certain core processes described by Stets and Burke (2000) facilitates understanding of how a person’s self-concept is formed over time through their various social roles and the degree to which they identify with the group and their roles. For example, the cognitive processes as laid out by the theories involve a process of *depersonalisation* when thinking of the self within the context of their group identity (social identity theory) versus *self-verification* (in identity theory) which is more to do with a validation on one’s personal identity. Motivational processes of self-esteem (in social identity theory) and self-efficacy (in identity theory) might be activated depending on which part of the self is being targeted through role-related interactions. In McCall and Simmons’ (1966) identity theory the relevance of self-categorisation is brought forward as integral to the formation of one’s identity. Social terms learned within culture and class structure are symbols that are used to designate certain positions. These positions are relatively stable yet morphological components of social structure that are considered roles. The
meaning behind the recognition of one another’s roles within family or community is important to both the self and the interaction with others in terms of meeting role expectations.

“Persons acting in the context of social structure name one another and themselves in the sense of recognizing one another as occupants of positions (roles). This naming invokes meanings in the form of expectations with regard to others’ and one’s own behaviours.”

(Stets and Burke, 2000, p225)

The naming which invokes meaning in the form of expectations outlined in identity theory with regard to others is important whether this is referring to a family role or a working role. While titles and roles have their place within both Australian and Philippine cultures; differences might lie not only in the expectations that accompany these roles but the way of relating to one another because of these roles. For example, in the Philippines there is a high level of sensitivity around deferring to the authority (Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino, 2000, Andres, 1987, Root, 2005). The authority would typically be senior and of a known quantity such as one in public office or in a senior corporate role, or is noticeably older. Elder respect is one of the ingrained social norms within people from the Philippines. It relates to several explicit values such as utang na loob (debt of gratitude), also Paggalang (respect – in Tagalog) and kapwa (fellow being) (Andres, 1987, Root, 2005, Nadal, 2011). From the time, a young Filipino/a can speak they are taught and encouraged to explicitly label older relatives by their appropriate titles such as ‘Tito’ for Uncle or Tita preceding an Aunty’s first name (including those who are not blood relatives but close family friends of parents). This not only goes for those who are in the generation above, but for those relatives who are older but within one’s own generation such as a brother, sister or cousin who are given the title or ‘Kuya’ (older brother), or ‘Ate’ (older sister). The implications for this ingrained social norm of elder respect in the context of self-identity and self-perceptions of ageing is that it may serve as a cognitive buffer to perceived negative aspects of the ageing self later in life. It is important to note that having a reverent regard for elders is not necessarily reflective of automatic positive regard for elders; however, it might be a helpful cognitive tool for maintaining one’s sense of self in later years of old age.

Why would identifying with the group than just the self be useful to older people? The answer to this question may be in the depersonalisation of the self. Marilyn Brewer
(1991) wrote about the social self and our ability to be the same and different at the same time. However, she highlighted that there is the personal self, as individuated by who we are known to be, then there is our social self which can span different groups and therefore through the process of depersonalisation becomes identified more with ‘we’ than with the individual ‘I’ (Brewer, 1991). Ian Burkitt eloquently describes the problem of seeing our ‘self’ as an individual cut off from primary connections and influences by noting that with the high value which is placed on freedom, autonomy and expression of individuality we may overlook the role that others provide as pieces of our self-concept (Burkitt, 2008). In the context of self and ageing, this includes people of different generations. Triandis (1989) describes collectivist cultures as having tight cultural complexity versus the looser more pluralist individualist cultures. It could be the case that either a more relational self through a process of depersonalisation is less prone to the internalising of negative age stereotypes. Or, there is less identification with stereotypes in general. This is not to suggest that people who are ageing in more collectivist cultures are immune to the negative feelings about growing old; however, depersonalisation and an interdependent self-concept might be less susceptible to the negative effects of being described as ‘old’.

2.3 Sociological, historical and religious perspectives on ageing and self

2.3.1 The origins and continued pervasion of ageist attitudes and stereotypes

Todd Nelson (2005) asserts that ageism, which is prevalent in Western culture, has its roots in two main historical shifts in civilisation: 1) the printing press which essentially diminished if not eliminated the need for the value of the historical knowledge which was traditionally held and bestowed by elders to younger generations and 2) the industrial revolution which demanded the mobility of families to go where the work was. The pressure on households where there was extended family such as grandparents was great as the older generations were less adaptive to this required mobility (Nelson, 2005). It is possible that these global demographic and economic shifts paved the way to not only physically separating different generations but also creating a psychological and social distance between them. The rise of capitalism has seen a unique syncretism of Western individualistic values and work ethic expressed in what early sociologist Max Weber (1864-1920), described as the Protestant work ethic (PWE) (Weber, 2009). Syncretism, has traditionally been described as a process where religious beliefs become enfolded within the cultural norms of the time and behaviours are then seen as being
aligned with a strong belief system (Bowker, 2000). Sociologists have argued that the PWE has had a pervasive influence on how English-speaking and Western capitalist culture has influenced individuals in their explicit need to show their value through the displays of achievement (McClelland, 1965, McClelland et al., 1976, Furnham, 1984, Stewart and Shaw, 1994) which are traditionally associated with youth and middle-age rather than old age (Rowe and Kahn, 2015). Adapting to these socio-cultural forces would mean incorporating these ideals into one’s self-identity to operate within individualistic cultures (McClelland et al., 1976, McClelland, 1965, Stewart and Shaw, 1994, Furnham, 1984). Therefore, a significant level of the self would be invested in one’s working and or earning life. An equal investment in the unpaid working self or family self then is perhaps not as deserving of merit in the eyes of individualist societies.

Understanding the socio-cultural background that contributes to demographic shifts at the macro-level perhaps underscores and elucidates the forces that motivate us at the individual level. The age in which we are seen to be the most productive is arguably between young adulthood and mid-life. This might explain why individuals can feel less ‘valuable’ in old age if they are not engaged in either paid or unpaid work. A study by Luoh and Herzog (2002) showed that volunteering or paid work has beneficial effects for the health of older people. Luoh and Herzog (2002) posit that the incorporation into one’s identity in retirement of donating one’s time for a good cause in an active and competent way is sufficient for protecting against the threat of appearing old, and in turn has positive health consequences. On the other hand, to not be seen as competent because of one’s age has been shown to have negative effects on memory performance as seen in many studies on stereotype threat (Hess et al., 2003, Hess et al., 2004a, Hess et al., 2009).

In addition to issues of stereotype threat in the workplace (von Hippel, Kalokerinos, & Henry, 2013), are empirical evidence that older Australians (55 years and over) are systematically discriminated against when apply for jobs, and experience greater periods of long-term employment than their younger counterparts (Ryan, 2016). Ryan’s ‘Willing to work’ report (2016), made many recommendations for a national strategy to target actions and performance time frames to lift the labour force participation of older Australians. The report calls on the Australian government to fund the provision of a network of outreach workers through peak or industry bodies to work directly and collaboratively with businesses to shift attitudes and ensure that targets are achieved.
The report urges publication of these efforts in annual reports such as the Intergenerational report (Ryan, 2016). Human rights reports and government action can only go so far in impacting attitudes towards ageing. It is also the media who largely perpetuate negative stereotypes about age and ageing. Milner et al (2012) concluded from their research on mass media, that overall messages portrayed about older people are negative in most forms of media and marketing. It is therefore necessary for the governments to work with nongovernment organisations to influence best practices in the way that media and marketing professionals portray ageing (Milner, Van Norman, & Milner, 2012).

At the meta-level, a recent meta-analysis by North and Fiske (2015) addressing modern attitudes towards older adults cross-culturally found evidence of individualist cultures having more positive attitudes towards ageing than collectivist. Factors such as modernisation, post-industrialism, the demographic reality of the ageing population, and the recession and economic downturn in Asia may also be moderators. With a review of cross-cultural literature on attitudes to ageing spanning 3-4 decades, North and Fiske, proposed three hypotheses: 1) The collectivist East is more elder-reverent than the Individualistic West, 2) The East and West are similar in attitudes toward the aged, due to being comparably industrialized and 3) The East is more negative than the West, Due to more dramatic recent rises in population ageing. In this study collectivism was measured by Hofstede’s cultural values framework (Hofstede, 1985; Hofstede, Hofstede, & Minkov, 2010). Overall, what the study showed is that there were more positive attitudes from Western countries compared with Eastern countries, however, there were more nuanced differences between intraregional subgroups when separating Eastern European from Western European, and Eastern versus South-east Asian groups. In addition to these nuances, were the complex east-west perceptions versus the modern realities of rapid population ageing influencing the way in which older people in Eastern cultures are now viewed. The most significant factor that contributed to evidence to support hypothesis 3) that the East is more negative than the West, is the dramatic rise in the senior population relative to younger generations. Japan whose over-60 population proportion has already reached 32% and faces the highest ageing rate in the world (United Nations Population Division, 2012 in North & Fiske, 2015) and China, where the one-child policy has given rise to similar population issues may also have lead to resentment from younger generations for having to care for elders with minimal resources. The results from the meta-analysis showed Japan and China having the more
negative attitudes towards ageing than Western countries, however not more negative than South-East Asian cultures like the Philippines, Malaysia or India. Also, non-Anglophone Western cultures were more negative than their English-speaking counterparts such as Australia, UK, US and Canada (North & Fiske, 2015).

Of interest to the present study were the findings regarding individualism and what North and Fiske (2015) describe as ‘Positive Elder Regard’. The findings of the meta-analysis contradict lay assumptions that collectivism predicts elder respect which gives rise to individualism-based elder respect which, as the author’s point out, is rarely considered in ageism literature. North and Fiske (2015) offer a post-modernist view from a sociological perspective to why they found individualism associated with more positive attitudes to ageing, such that once modernization has occurred that this give rise to human rights language of tolerance, respect individual welfare and political correctness. What the authors also concluded from these surprising findings, of individualism and collectivism as predictors of attitudes towards older adults is that it may reflect a private-public distinction e.g. greater public emphasis on elder respect, however privately harbouring more negative attitudes (North & Fiske, 2015).

2.3.2 The role of media in developing and perpetuating ageist stereotypes

There is much research on the effect of media in shaping age stereotypes. Many studies demonstrate an overwhelming underrepresentation of older people in mass media (Pasupathi and Lockenhoff, 2002, Greenberg and Collette, 1997, Hiemstra et al., 1983, Bishop and Krause, 1984). In addition to the underrepresentation of older adults, is the lack of positive representation in children’s television programming. Robinson and Anderson’s (2006) study found that there was still up to 38% of older characters who were portrayed as feeble-minded, ugly, useless or villainous. This seemingly harmless portrayal of older characters in children’s television can transform into a propensity to view older people in a negative light so that by the time children have entered school they have formed impressions of these negative stereotypes. Then, throughout their school years children continue to be exposed to more negative age stereotypes (Ginnivan, 2015, Seefeldt and Ahn, 1990, Isaacs and Bearison, 1986). It is very possible that these earliest stages of impression formation can sow the seeds of ageism and negative self-perceptions of ageing later in life. It should, however, be noted that as most of the studies on media and age stereotypes have been generated in Western countries it is unclear to what extent age stereotypes are considered or even discussed in more Eastern collectivist cultures.
The discourse on ageist attitudes in the media in a country like the Philippines is difficult to locate. Google searches for ageism in the movies, cinema or entertainment in Asia or the Philippines yields little information. However, this is not necessarily an indication that age discrimination does not exist in Asia. Some websites point to discrimination in the workplace such as recent union action taken by female flight attendants in the Philippines who are fighting the court of appeals which upheld discrimination against Philippine Airline flight attendants to retire on a compulsory basis at the ages of 55, 45 and 40 years of age (Lapena, 2010). There are also social welfare agencies and non-government organisations in the Philippines set up for abandoned elderly such as the Coalition of Services for the Elderly (Concepcion, 2004). The face of ageism in Asia may not be as apparent in the media as in Australia and the US. However, it may be reflected in social policy related to pensions (or lack of social security for older adults) which results in homelessness among the elderly. Domingo (1995) suggests that elderly are at risk of being left to care for themselves due to continued changes in traditional gender roles and the shape Filipino families are taking with individuals often moving overseas to work.

One speculation is that a discourse on ageism is not congruent with conceptions of filial piety and deference to older individuals within Philippine society. It might also reflect a society where ageing might actually be considered negative or a state of decline but that there are ‘socially accepted roles’ for this stage of life. Perhaps this state of decline is an accepted part of life in the Philippines and that ‘elder respect’ is a concession or form of social inclusion because exclusion is contrary to collectivist values. The discussion of age discrimination in the Philippines may be centred more on issues of employment at the workers’ union level and equal opportunity for earning than gender and age salience. Although, employment opportunities are one of the issues facing many of the world’s ageing populations, the Western discourse on ageism has somewhat of a feminist focus which ties into it the discussion of double standards, appearance and age (Biggs, 2004, Lincoln and Allen, 2004, Jermyn, 2012). The presence of negative attributes assigned to characters who are old in children’s television, the explicit negative attitudes about older people in the mainstream media (in particular females) and the absence of both older media identities and explicit positive attitudes towards older people in Western societies can lead to what Becca Levy describes as stereotype embodiment. (Levy, 2009, Levy, 1994).
2.3.3 The role of faith in determining attitudes towards ageing

This section on faith in later life will unpack how one’s faith either coupled with, or distinct from religion, intercepts with ageing in the context of culture. To address these confluences, we will first need to look at faith and religion separately. For example, faith is sometimes coupled with a religion, whereas others tend to see faith as spirituality and not tied to any specific religion (Mackinlay and Trevitt, 2007). From a sociological point of view, religion can be defined as a system of beliefs and rituals that binds people together into social groups to worship the sacred (Turner et al., 2000). In a secular society, faith might be more aligned with spirituality alone than with religion. As Mackinlay and Trevitt (2007) posit; spirituality may or may not be expressed in a relationship with God or a higher being. Alternatively, spirituality might be expressed through union with family and friends, nature and/or the environment. When talking about spirituality, it might not be about religiousness, although for many people religious faith is part of what they consider faith (Mackinlay and Trevitt, 2007).

Secularisation is said to have been brought about by a post-industrialised society where modernity has given rise to religion becoming more a private matter of faith than a public matter of social significance. Understanding secularisation is important in so far as analysing and speculating about the cultural influences within capitalist countries (Turner et al., 1994). There are many aspects of one’s life where religion or faith can be of influence. For the purpose of the present study, we are interested in addressing the level of importance placed on one’s faith as a psycho-emotional aid to the process of ageing and transitioning into the later stages of life rather than the rules or laws of any particular religion. However, there should be an acknowledgement that one’s beliefs can be multi-faceted and that religious laws do sometimes come to bear on how one thinks, acts or feels depending on how dominant the religion.

The Philippines is the only predominantly Christian country in Asia with approximately 85 percent being Roman Catholics, 10 percent Muslim and the other 5 percent a mixture of ‘other’ religions like Buddhism, Daoism and other indigenous animistic belief-based religions (Miller, 1982). A recent (February 2015) visit by the head of the Catholic Church, Pope Francis to the Philippines drew crowds of over 6 million. Spirituality for many in the Philippines is entwined with a devout following of their Catholic or other Christian faiths, whereas scholars who have looked at religion and spirituality in Australia have recognised that religiosity may be on the decline even though spirituality might be on the rise. The initial decline of activities such as church and Sunday school
attendance since the 1960s was interpreted as the secularisation of Australia, has largely come about through modernisation, where ideas of science and technology have gradually replaced religion (Wilson, 1983, McAllister, 1988, Hughes and Black, 1999). However, other scholars have noted the rise of counter-secularisation in the substantial growth of Pentecostal and evangelical Christians (P. L. Berger, 1999 in Hughes & Black, 1999).

Six national surveys about religion conducted in Australia between 1969 and 1988 revealed that while there was some evidence for decline in the proportion of people believing in God, the proportion affirming a belief in heaven, the afterlife, the devil and hell did not show any clear trends. Hughes and Black (1999) concluded that this suggests an increase in the belief of souls rather than traditional beliefs as guided by formal religion. Researchers then speculate that rather than religion being enveloped by secularisation and disappearing, religion is changing form in Australia. There is persistence in religious beliefs despite the decline of organised religion. This has been described as the individualisation of religion rather than the secularisation of it. Hughes and Black (1999) posits that religion in Australia is gradually being seen more as an individual pursuit rather than the responsibility of organisations, and in doing so, individuals decide for themselves whether to use the resources provided by religious organisations. Here, Hughes and Black (1999) use the term ‘spirituality’ more than the word ‘religion’ to describe beliefs and practices as a concept to transcend the material world. The move then from religion to spirituality is potentially a heightened expression of individualism, such that dependency on religious organisations is no longer deemed important, but spiritual practices perhaps still are (Tacey, 2000, Hughes and Black, 1999, De Souza et al., 2007).

A brief history of how the Philippines achieved its status as the only predominantly Christian nation in Asia would be beneficial in further explicating the effects of social and ritualistic syncretism which often occurs when two ‘civilisations’ meet. The Philippines was colonised for a period of nearly 300 years (1521 – 1898). Then the Philippines was also colonised by America for a period of almost fifty years (1898 – 1946). It was the Spanish who converted Filipinos through mass baptisms and by rounding up the local indigenous Filipinos from mountainous areas and relocating them into townships to better control and indoctrinate them through a process called ‘reduccion’ which was essentially a resettling policy (Miller, 1982). The process of mass-conversion of Filipinos was not as simple as it sounds, however. Most Filipinos
prior to the arrival of the Spanish practised a variety of naturalistic rituals, ancestor worship and animism. The Spaniards proselytising efforts were facilitated by a lack of centralised power due to the nature of tribal clans scattered across thousands of islands. However, it was also largely through Spanish friar’s efforts to incorporate the native Filipino rituals into celebrating of Christian events and also learning to give their sermons in local dialects which also facilitated the process of conversion. Southern Islands had already been mostly converted to Islam between the 10th and 12th century; however, the Spanish arrived and subsequently dominated with Christianity from the mid-1500s (Miller, 1982).

The syncretism that occurred in the earlier days of Christianity in the Philippines has only strengthened over the last few centuries; however, that is the the Christianity which has been largely influenced by the pre-existing clannish and collectivist norms which have differential ritualistic behaviours to that seen in more Western individualistic cultures like Australia. Therefore, faith can mean many different things depending on the degree to which religion is intertwined with self-identity, the deep-rooted origins and cultural syncretic processes and whether it is a private practice for the individual, or a collective practice of the group. In the context of a secular society like Australia, it is suggested that seeing ageing as a ‘spiritual journey’ and is more beneficial than framing ageing in other ways such as the popular ‘successful ageing’ or ageing as predominantly a trajectory of decline MacKinlay and Trevitt (2007). Rather than seeing this spiritual journey as one that strictly adheres to religious doctrines and laws, it is more about the desire to tap into the deepest or core life meaning for the individual, enabling them to transform all their experiences even or especially in a state of physical decline in the later stages of life (Mackinlay and Trevitt, 2007). Faith is discussed in Chapter 4 within the different cultures and age groups (younger 18 – 35 years and 60 – 96 years, participants from the focus group discussions) and is also analysed as a survey item from a statistical point of view in Chapter 5 on culture and attitudes towards ageing. Although, strictly speaking this thesis is not able to provide evidence for one’s faith as they age, due to the nature of this thesis’ methodology being cross-sectional and not longitudinal, we are able to compare the cross-section of older adults (aged 52 – 79) between two cultures on the importance of faith in old age.

2.4.3 Research that this thesis will be building on

The main focus of this thesis is: attitudes towards ageing cross-culturally, from both a qualitative and quantitative perspective and the further investigation of stereotype
threat. The studies within this thesis build on previous research methodology from Hess et al (2004, 2009) which has been shown to elicit stereotype threat and differences in memory performance between older adults under prime conditions (Hess, 2003). In addition, cross-cultural studies have explored the possibility that culture accounts for differences in memory performance between older adults in different cultures (Levy and Langer, 1994). Levy and Langer (1994) successfully showed that culture mediated memory performance between older adults in their study, but not for the younger adults whose memory performance showed no significant differences between the cultural groups. When this memory test was conducted by Yoon et al (2000), it failed to find as many differences in memory performance across the older adult groups from the different cultures. Moreover, culture did not mediate the differences in the Yoon et al. (2000) study that were found between cultural groups in the previous Levy and Langer (1994) study. Therefore, this thesis will explore cross-cultural attitudes and examine whether one’s cultural orientation has an impact on attitudes to ageing. Further, another aim is to examine the degree to which cultural differences play any role in memory performance as seen in differential ways in the previously mentioned studies. The three studies in this thesis will focus on interdependence and social cohesion as seen in collectivist cultures to investigate the extent to which this factor buffers against negative attitudes and stereotypes about age.
Chapter 3 – Mixed methods

3.0 Chapter summary
This chapter provides an overview of mixed methods and why this thesis has used both qualitative and quantitative methods. In doing so, an explanation of the underlying philosophical position is provided as well as the strengths and weaknesses of this approach. The first study uses a combination of thematic analysis and a grounded theory approach; therefore, a brief review of its evolution and various directions since Glaser and Strauss (1967) early conception will be provided. In addition, it will discuss the strengths of qualitative software such as NVivo for data analysis, issues of trustworthiness and rigorousness and how this approach requires a more pragmatist and flexible way of thinking than each of the respective methods. The present chapter also provides the context and methodology for Chapter 4 while discussing why mixed methods are becoming an important way of investigating non-salient influences in complex systems.

3.1 Introduction
The many philosophical, anthropological, sociological and psychological theories espoused over the last century have led us to important understandings of human behaviour both at the individual and collective level. Understanding the influence of social norms on individual behaviours as well as how culture influences cognition and social actions requires drawing on inter-disciplinary approaches. Laboratory-based experimental psychology is unable to address all aspects of human behaviour, particularly those related to culturally centred behaviours. Arguably, the rationalist psychological approach treats the individual as though their behaviours were somehow truncated from their socio-cultural environment. Experimental psychology can often lead researchers to prioritise the individual’s own source of cognition, emotion and motivation for their repertoire over the external environment as a leading factor (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, Valsiner, 2012, Markus and Kitayama, 2003). It is of course quite difficult to quantify ‘culture’ for use within an experimental paradigm. A preferred approach has been cultural immersion, providing systematic and structured observations of the ‘goings on’ among individuals within specific societies. Anthropology and sociology are perhaps not considered as systematic in their approach as psychology might have to be. The reasons for a necessarily more systematic approach in behavioural observation for psychology are to be able to operationalise certain
concepts in order to control and predict and to allow for compatibility between qualitative and quantitative research of the area under investigation. Many have argued, therefore, that psychological research into culture requires that some methods are borrowed from anthropology and that anthropological literature inform the researcher on aspects of cultural norms that cannot be measured using traditional psychological metrics.

3.2 Different approaches in research and how they fit together

3.2.1 Distinctions between qualitative and quantitative research

Qualitative research, by definition, means any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by statistical procedures or other means of quantification (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). In a qualitative methods research overview, some important distinctions are made between quantitative and qualitative approaches. For example, when comparing the general framework of the two differing approaches a qualitative approach seeks to explore phenomena, a quantitative approach seeks to test and confirm hypotheses. In order to test and confirm hypotheses about phenomena highly structured methods are required (Mack et al., 2005). These highly structured methods are not always appropriate for capturing the social dynamics of certain phenomena particularly for those whose research is in clinical settings observing the relationships between patients and their formal carers. In addition to clinical settings, when gathering data from focus groups, the unpacking of the various emergent themes centred on social norms and practices would be difficult to achieve with only closed survey-style questions as used in quantitative research. Therefore, grounded theory can be seen as a structured methodology that gleans information from the data to inform certain speculations about what is occurring in phenomena where quantitative analysis cannot explain everything. The analytical objectives must be understood when either or both of these approaches. Quantitative research is looking to draw definitive conclusions through quantifying and accounting for variability, whereas qualitative methods can only describe and speculate about variation. Quantitative methods seek to predict causal relationships while qualitative approaches describe and explain relationships.

Accordingly, researchers need to exercise caution in the language used when describing findings from either of these methods, particularly within a mixed methods study. This thesis provides clarity by having the qualitative study on focus groups first, which provides context, followed by the two quantitative studies of the survey on attitudes and then memory performance under age-related prime conditions.
3.2.2 The mixed methods approach

Mixed methods approaches are also referred to as mixed-model designed research. They are essentially a method of combining both qualitative and quantitatively methodologies (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004). This approach to research has emerged from what has been termed ‘the paradigm wars’ between qualitative and quantitative methods (Terrell, 2012). It has been widely adopted as a mode of inquiry in social systems that may involve a range of strategies in which data are collected and interpreted in a sequential or concurrent manner (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, Terrell, 2012). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) describe mixed methods as a research paradigm whose time has come; however, they urge a philosophical position of pragmatism which is outcome-oriented in how research can be relevant to complex social systems. Mixed methods for Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) have also been described as the third research paradigm. That is, neither qualitative nor quantitative methodologies implicitly take priority but contribute to the larger issue under investigation.

Terrell (2012) refers to four main factors for consideration in the mixed methods approach: a) theoretical perspective, b) priority of strategy, c) sequence of data collection and d) the point at which the data are integrated. There are several ways sequentially that data can be collected, but the point at which data are integrated depends largely on the phenomenon being investigated. Generally, a sequential approach is most straightforward, such that qualitative data are collected and analysed first. Then, quantitative data are collected and analysed, with integration of the data occurring during the interpretation phase (Terrell, 2012).

3.2.3 Reconciling the need for psychology’s empirical methods with more descriptive methods

Psychology necessarily adopts a quantitative approach to data analysis because this meets the criteria of being more ‘objective and empirical’. Qualitative methods have been criticised for lacking the type of information from which definitive conclusions can be drawn (Glaser and Strauss, 1967, Strauss and Corbin, 1990). However, one’s socio-cultural environment has a bearing on an individual’s cognition, emotion, motivation, and behaviours (Markus and Kitayama, 2003, Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Therefore, flexible or mixed methodologies are needed that can reconcile the need for measuring the individual’s attitudes, (e.g. using a scale), but also the cultural overlay that contributes to their psychological processes through descriptive methods. Consequently, deeming quantitative methodology superior to qualitative is somewhat
out-dated. What is required is recognition that qualitative research can inform a topic that is currently measured using quantitative instruments, and that it can be complementary to statistical information. The issue, then, is not about which method is more ‘privileged’ over another (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994), but, rather, how we make sure that the guiding methodology, such as grounded theory, fits in a consistent and congruent manner with psychology’s empirical requirements.

### 3.2.4 The ongoing evolution of grounded theory: important developments

Since its conception in the 1960s by Glaser and Strauss (1967), grounded theory as a process and a methodology for generating theory in sociological work has developed into different forms (Strauss and Corbin, 1990, Strauss and Corbin, 1994, Charmaz, 2014). The method has also been embraced by the social sciences and health-related fields such as nursing where there is a high-level social dynamic (Rosenfield, 1992). Essentially, the methodology seeks to generate theory from data obtained from interviews, observations and focus groups. It is therefore qualitative in nature and primarily uses inductive reasoning (Kitzinger, 1995, Wagner et al., 2011). A challenge for researchers who adopt qualitative methodology is that this field of research is defined by ‘a series of essential tensions, contradictions, and hesitations’ (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994, p ix).

A later development of grounded theory was the inclusion of both inductive and deductive reasoning (Wagner et al., 2011, Rosenfield, 1992, Corbin and Strauss, 1990). In keeping with not divorcing oneself from the data, it is important that the discovered theory is grounded in the data and not predetermined by a particular theoretical perspective (Rosenfield, 1992). McCann and Clark (2004), who write about using grounded theory in nursing, emphasise immersion in the data to facilitate conceptual density (Rosenfield, 1992). McCann and Clark’s (2004) approach of immersion is indicative of the original Glaser and Strauss (1967) approach; their comparative analysis for generating theory puts much emphasis on the theory as process, which is ever-evolving and not a final static product. Although this process maximises the discovery of information in a practitioner dynamic (say between a nurse and their patients), it is at odds with the way in which most quantitative psychological studies are conducted.

Typically, the literature in psychology is consulted and theoretical frameworks are used as a guide to set up a way of studying a particular phenomenon. Then, a validated instrument, typically a survey with closed-ended questions, is used to measure a
psychological construct of some kind. Results are then examined in the context of the previously established theoretical frameworks. As the boundaries between social science disciplines become blurred, it is essential to demarcate the guidelines for making sense of psychological information gained from qualitative and/or mixed methodology and to maintain the required level of empiricism within these studies, to ensure that they meet the requirements of a psychology study. Different styles of theory generation continued to arise in grounded theory tradition, including constant comparison which became a way of maintaining consistency throughout interpretation of the data (Strauss and Corbin, 1994). The qualitative research conducted in the present thesis has drawn on grounded theory’s method for systematically working through the themes arising in the data; however, it has not used the full grounded theory process that requires use of the seven steps to generate theory as seen in sociology.

3.2.5 Axial coding as a method of building the relationship between categories and subcategories

Corbin and Strauss (1990) describe the necessary steps and categories for fracturing data as axial coding, a set of procedures whereby the data are put back together after open coding and connections are made between categories taking into account conditions, context, action/interactional strategies and consequences. These procedures aim to give the researcher a structure that can refine the data into causal events that describe which events, incidents or happenings led to the development of the phenomenon. The context in which the phenomenon arose, is the set of properties including (locations, events and incidents) that contributed to the phenomenon as well as the intervening conditions that relate to the structural conditions bearing on action/interactional strategies that pertain to a phenomenon. The intervening conditions either facilitate or constrain the strategies taken within a specific context. Action/interaction as a strategy in approaching the data is to manage, handle, carry out and respond to phenomenon under a specific set of perceived conditions. Finally, Corbin and Strauss emphasise an understanding of the consequences or outcomes or results of the action/interaction between the created categories and context (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Corbin and Strauss (1990) emphasise in the early sessions of coding the data to focus intensely around single categories and eventually build up relationships to the earliest categories in the subcategories emerging in the data. The early coding provides the ‘axis’ with which to structure the data (Corbin and Strauss, 1990, Strauss, 1987). One of the limitations of this level of coding is how time-consuming manual coding of
Therefore, various software packages have been developed as mixed methods have become more popular in social sciences in order to reduce the time spent on coding, while also minimising the chance of error (Welsh, 2002).

3.2.6 NVivo software, qualitative research and Grounded Theory
To analyse data meaningfully, we often create systems, models and methodologies to organise information to make sense of our world/s. Qualitative data cannot, and arguably should not, be analysed the way that we analyse statistical information. However, given the importance of providing structure for conveying the emergent theory from qualitative information, it is important to find tools in which to do so. NVivo software has become increasingly useful in taking qualitative information and fracturing the data to provide tools for making important links across large bodies of information (Welsh, 2002). Nvivo can hold large volumes of information and has functions that can link words and themes in visual and thematic ways to streamline the process of manually sorting through this information.

3.2.7 Validity and reliability versus trustworthiness and rigorousness
It has been argued that ‘validity’ and ‘reliability’ are not appropriate terms to describe qualitative methods (Bringer et al., 2004, Welsh, 2002). However, Welsh (2002), contends that using NVivo software is able to carry out quick and accurate searches, devoid of the human errors that would occur with manual searches. This can add to the trustworthiness of the results. A search function which includes all stem words and/or synonyms further provides an impression of the whole, which may have been overlooked without such a powerful software tool (Welsh, 2002). Welsh (2002) notes that when considering manual versus electronic methods of qualitative analysis, researchers should not reify one method over another, as inevitably one must rely on both to successfully account for the parts which make the whole.

Qualitative data analysis software has been designed to carry out administrative tasks in organising research data and helps to efficiently store and retrieve the data in a systematic way facilitating sense-making more easily than if done manually. However, analysis of the data is the responsibility of the researcher not on the software, the software is solely administrative in its function (Welsh, 2002). Therefore, in addition to the use of NVivio software to aide data analysis, a list of checks is also included (see Appendix A). The consolidated criteria for reporting qualitative research (COREQ) is a
checklist that aides in the quality of reporting. Research has shown that checklists help improve the quality of reporting (Tong, Sainsbury, & Craig, 2007).

NVivo also has word frequency searches, word cloud or word tree functions and other functions to show visually how the data are appearing. These are important tools for presentations. Overall, NVivo is a useful tool in combination with grounded theory as a framework in order to fracture the data and make important connections to present emergent themes in qualitative research. However, as Welsh (2002) contends, it is important to use manual methods in conjunction with the software.

Trustworthiness in qualitative studies refers to how ‘credible’ the information, findings and conclusions drawn from this research is (Tracy, 2010). Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that good qualitative research is dependable. Tracy (2010) suggests that whether there is credibility or not, are where readers of the qualitative report feel that it is trustworthy enough to act on decisions in line with the investigated research topic. Rigor refers to the care and practice of data collection and analysis procedures. In terms of interviews, a demonstration of rigor includes the number and length of interviews and the appropriateness and breadth of the interview as well as transcript accuracy. For quantitative research, credibility is earned through predetermined criteria of reliability, replicability, consistency and accuracy. Qualitative credibility is achieved through practices rather than a predetermined criterion. This is the source of many debates about which research paradigm is more useful in investigating topics within social sciences and whether or not seeking a predetermined criterion for credibility is even appropriate. Rolfe (2006) questions whether trustworthiness as criteria for quality of qualitative studies is appropriate such that ‘credibility’ roughly corresponds with the positivist concept of internal validity. Rolfe (2006) goes on to suggest that dependability relates to reliability, and that transferability relates to a form of external validity. There is less consensus within research methodology literature on the criterion with which to judge qualitative research than there is in quantitative research (Rolfe, 2006). Mixed method research required a level of pragmatism in order to recognise the competing paradigms from which the findings are made and proceed with caution in what we can conclude and what interpretations can be presented from the differing paradigms.

In summary, qualitative research methodology requires that observations be as ‘objective’ as possible in order to remain consistent with empirical knowledge of the world, including our social world. Knowledge, experiences and insights can often arise
from work that is less systematic and more constructivist in its approach; however, we must recognise the epistemological and ontological position from which the reported account stems. Integrating data from different methods of collection requires a level of pragmatism and flexible ways of thinking with a view to translating research into real-world outcomes. In addition, it is important to have qualitative methodology that can inform a quantitative account of the phenomenon under investigation. This is particularly important in light of the recognised need for mixed methodology that incorporates both qualitative and quantitative approaches to better understand the human experience.

3.2.8 Quantitative research in mixed methods

The strengths of quantitative research lie in our ability to appropriately operationalise social concepts to measure their impact. The way that social concepts are operationalised are important too because we need to ensure that there is consistency between researchers when describing or defining social constructs. Once the operational definition is decided, quantitative measurement allows for finer differences between people which are sometimes difficult to capture when making broad categorisations (Bryman, 2015). The importance of consistency in quantitative research is to know that we are being consistent with what we are measuring and consistency of measures between researchers. This relates to the reliability and validity of the measure. In quantitative research, reliability refers to the degree to which a measure of a social construct is stable (regardless of time and place of administration). Whereas validity is concerned with the quality of the conclusions generated from the measure. Validity is concerned with the scale, measure or tool really measuring what it purports to measure (Bryman, 2015). This contrasts with the criteria of quality for qualitative research where conclusions are considered sound if they meet that of rigour and trustworthiness (Tong et al., 2007). There are different forms of construct validity; internal, external and ecological validity. *Internal validity* is concerned with how confident we can be that the independent variable, e.g. culture, is at least in part causing an effect in the dependent variable e.g. positive attitudes about age. Whereas *external validity* is concerned with the degree to which the results from one study’s population can be generalised to another. Ecological validity relates to the degree to which the measured phenomenon happens in an ‘everyday’ social natural environment, and not just in the lab. Moreover, tools that gauge the intensity of feeling of participants to survey questions such as Likert scales generally go through rigorous factor analysis that evaluates other forms of
validity such as concurrent, predictive, convergent and construct validity to ensure that we are measuring or capturing the social construct that we set out to in the design of the study. The statistical analysis of these measure then ensures that we are measuring, reporting and drawing accurate information about the effect that these social influences have on individuals.

The main strengths of quantitative studies are the precision with which labels refer to an external referent that can be measured and statistically analysed to inform us of the size of the effect it can have on human behaviour or cognition. Moreover, taking an objective position about the nature of reality allows for deductive reasoning, which one could argue is our best chance at comprehending phenomena that is broad and non-salient, such as culture. Sale et al. (2002) caution against drawing conclusions from both the qualitative and quantitative studies together because of the differing paradigms and assumptions under which the information is provided. But rather to see the two paradigms as complementary, because it must be remembered that each method is studying different phenomena. Therefore, in the context of this thesis, the phenomena of culture in the qualitative study can be seen as the exploration of subjective experiences of individuals as they age within either a collectivistic culture of the Philippines or the individualistic culture of Australia. Whereas, the later, in Chapter 5, the quantitative study, measures through a survey individuals cultural values to confirm whether participants recruited from the Philippines held predominantly collectivistic values compared with Australian participants.

3.3 Use of mixed methods in this thesis

This thesis uses qualitative methodology to extract as much information as possible from the broad concept of ‘culture’ and its influence on self-perceptions of ageing. Chapter 4 has used a grounded theory and thematic approach in focus groups of younger and older adults on transitioning through life stages. Qualitative data have been collected in two different countries (Australia and the Philippines) and has been analysed by using NVivo software to code important themes. Chapters 5 and 6 used quantitative methodologies to determine whether one’s cultural orientation systematically impacts one’s attitudes to ageing and memory performance. The strategy was to collect and analyse qualitative data, then quantitative data. The data were then integrated during the interpretation of the whole project. That is, the data collected were used to 1) test elements of a theory 2) generalise qualitative findings to different
samples and 3) develop quantitative instrumentation from qualitative findings (Terrell, 2012). The qualitative and quantitative data was collected and analysed sequentially, and further interpretation was made while integrating the overall of findings of the project. Some of the qualitative data informed the items added into the survey for the later quantitative phases, namely on elder respect and the importance of faith in later life. Transcripts were the only data source used in the coding process. This was deemed more appropriate for this mixed-methods project given that the underlying philosophical position for this research is post-positivist realist, not constructivist. The post-positivist realist approach is objectivist with a critical approach, which assumes that reality can be apprehended probabilistically, whereas constructivism is more a subjectivist position with local and specific constructed realities (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

Overall, this thesis has relied more on the quantitative studies within the constraints and limitations of the sample populations to draw conclusions. The strengths of this method are that this strategy is straightforward in its sequence and the earlier qualitative stage complements the later quantitative phase while providing some explanatory power to the interpretation of the overall integration of data. The weakness to such a design, as Terrell (2012) asserts, is that it is time-consuming.

This mixed methods approach has not only answered a complex research question but also added to the conversation of how mixed methods is becoming an important way of unpacking important influences in complex systems.
Chapter 4: Transitioning through life stages – Similarities and differences between young and old in two differing cultures

4.0 Chapter summary
The previous chapter described the rationale for why mixed methods can provide a richer and more informative picture of certain phenomena, particularly culture as its influence is not always directly observable. Subjective perspectives on age are not readily measurable through quantitative means. Therefore, to understand how people feel about ageing within the context of their culture, focus groups have been carried out by the primary ANU researcher in Australia and discussed in this chapter. One of the younger participants focus groups in the Philippines, and one of the older focus groups in the Philippines was also carried out by the primary ANU researcher, and the other older focus group and younger focus group in the Philippines was carried out by a second researcher from the School of Psychology from the University of the Philippines.

Ageing is a continual process of biological and psychological development that occurs within a social context. This contrasts with the view of age as a category, such as ‘old age’. What accompanies the biological reality of growth and then decline is the ‘psychosocial reality’ of managing transitions through the various stages of life. Different social landscapes exist from culture to culture, which give rise to diverse social relationships with peers, family and intergenerationally. The present study cuts across two different cultures (Australia and the Philippines) and generations (20 – 35 years, n = 25, and 60 – 96 years, n = 31). This provided insight into congruency of perceptions of the ageing self at different stages of the life course. These insights can inform how best to manage expectations for intergenerational relationships around work, care and social activities, as well as understanding whether culture or differing generations colour our view of how we see ourselves as we grow old. The purpose of conducting focus group discussions about ageing amongst younger groups (20-35 years, Australians n = 12; Filipinos, n = 13) was to see if their view differed about ageing and older people to older groups (60-96 years, Australians n = 13; Filipinos n = 18).

4.1 Introduction
Markus and Kitayama (1991) provide a compelling argument for why culture is an important influence on an individual’s emotions, cognition and behaviours. This is through their articulation of the independent self, which is influenced by individualistic
cultures versus an interdependent self, which exists in more collectivistic cultures. The Western, Independent ‘self-construal’ is illustrated by Markus and Kityama’s conceptual representation (see Figure 4.1A) where the larger circle represents the independent self in relation to close others who are largely part of a separate identity. Whereas, many non-Western cultures have a sense of self that is in fundamental connectedness with close others where the social norms provide customs, terms and language that maintains interdependence among individuals (see Figure 4.1B).

Building on the notion of the independent and interdependent selves, the present study aims to unpack further how culture might influence the ageing self. The self in relation to age and ageing has been discussed in various disciplines, such as gerontology, medical and health research, sociology, psychology and anthropology. There has been a particular swell of literature in the past decade or two covering issues on the social psychology of ageing, and research on the underlying mechanisms of ageism (Sneed and Whitbourne, 2005, Hummert et al., 2002, Levy, 2009, Nelson, 2004, Hess et al., 2003).

Several studies regarding the self in relation to ageing have pointed to the different cultural influences that may play a role in how a person sees themselves as they age. However, many previous studies have been experimental and survey-based in investigating differences (Nelson, 2004, Levy, 1994, Yoon et al., 2000, Sung, 2001). The present study aims to address a gap in the literature and contribute to the conversation of how the delicate category of self, as described by Markus and Kityama (1991), can be affected by aspects of one’s social environment as one ages. Markus and Kityama (1991) draw on sociological and anthropological theory which describes the individual’s sense of self as being largely shaped by various internal drivers and external drivers such as one’s culture. Therefore the ‘delicate’ category of self refers to French sociologist, Durkheim’s (1912/1968) notion that the self is primarily a product of social factors and Mausse’s (1938/1985) claim that the social category of self can be subject to substantial if not infinite variation. In addition to this, Markus and Kityama (1991) explore the different types of self-construals by referencing Hallowell’s (1955) notion that people are likely to develop an understanding of themselves as physically distinct and separate from others. However, collectivist cultures are so interdependent and individuals have more of a tendency to experience themselves in a ‘relational way’. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to unpack some of the cultural influences on the self across the life-course and whether there are differences that impact how positive or
negative one is about their own ageing or the process of ageing itself. This is achieved by using a mixed methods approach in drawing out some of the cultural themes related to the ageing self (See Figure 4.2 is an illustrative diagram of where the self, ageing and culture intersect).

A further perspective that could elucidate how one sees oneself in light of ageing is to compare views of older individuals with younger individuals within the same culture, to understand just how congruent or incongruent these intergenerational perspectives are. This has been done in this study in order to contrast cultures and its influence on the different generations and to compare the views of younger Australians with younger Filipinos and older Australians’ views with that of older Filipinos’. This is particularly so because the Philippines, like many other Asian cultures has social norms such as ‘elder respect’ that is not common in Western culture. However, with globalisation and a more Western influence on Asian culture (Sung, 2001), perhaps this form of elder respect ‘utang na loob’ is not as prevalent in the younger generations than it used to be in the Philippines. Therefore, it is one of the aims of this study is to discuss a topic such as ‘intergenerational contact’ as a proxy for elder respect given that Australian groups would not relate to the concept of ‘elder respect’. The overall purpose of the research in this chapter is to explore, through focus group discussions, self-perceptions of ageing in the context of transitioning through life stages. This will be done by discussing ageing as more of a process than as a category, so that both younger and older people can relate to the topic of ageing.

One aim of this study is to explore how culture and age might intersect at the individual level. Examples of questions to be explored include:

Do younger individuals in collectivist cultures (e.g. the Philippines) spend more time with, and have more knowledge of older people than those in individualistic cultures (e.g. Australia)? Does this in turn affect their attitudes towards older people and ageing in general?

The present study (Study 1) is qualitative. When addressing self-perceptions of ageing, theorists posit that subjective ageing arises from the intricate process involving personal experiences, social interactions (perhaps between differing generations), intergroup stereotypes (societal and media-based), and societal structures (Diehl et al., 2014). In
addition to these important aspects of ageing, is how one’s spirituality in later life has an affect on one’s subjective ageing (Mackinlay & Trevitt, 2007).

Various themes deemed ‘important’ in later stages of life were discussed in focus groups:

- Roles of older people (personal experiences & intergroup stereotypes)
- Intergenerational contact (social interactions)
- Media portrayal of older people (intergroup stereotypes)
- Self-efficacy (addressing age/generational differences in self-efficacy)
- Societal support structures (addressing cultural and generational differences)
- Importance of faith (addressing cultural and generational differences)

Roles of older people

Chapter 2. discusses the role of elders within the family unit as being a source of historical knowledge and wisdom. However, post industrial revolution has influenced the degree to which elders are valued within the family unit and greater society. Contrary to Western culture, are Eastern traditions of filial piety and elder respect. However, with globalization and economic reality of providing care from fewer children, filial piety and elder respect may not be as important as is used to be (Sung, 2001). Discussing how both younger people and older people view roles of older people in society will help understand differing cultural and generational viewpoints on this topic.

Intergenerational contact

The concept of ‘elder respect’ is not really a Western phenomenon. In fact, scholars argue that respect for elders is largely absent within Western culture and that elder respect is more of an Eastern phenomenon (Levy and Langer, 1994. Nelson, 2004). Therefore, another concept that both Western and Eastern cultures might relate to in a focus group discussion is ‘Intergenerational Contact’. That way Australians can discuss their level of contact with close others who are older than them and Filipinos can also discuss their level of contact with a concept that is relatable to both cultures.
Media Portrayal of older people

The media has been cited as a source of ageist attitudes that influences societies views of older people. Previous literature reviews on older adults in the media cites a lack of positive representation in mainstream and children’s television programming, with one study showing up to 38% of older characters being portrayed as feeble-minded, ugly, useless or villainous (Robinson and Anderson, 2006). Therefore, it would be helpful to discuss the degree to which different generation perceived media’s portrayal of older people and whether there any cultural differences too.

Self-efficacy in later life

Self-efficacy relates to belief in one’s competence to cope with a broad range of stressful or challenging demands (Luszczynska, Scholz and Schwarzer, 2005). As discussed in Chapter 2, in the context of Levy’s stereotype embodiment theory, negative age stereotypes for some can result in less self-efficacy (Levy, 2009). High self-efficacy leads to more persistence in pursuing goals. Therefore, asking individuals who are older about their goals as they age will further unpack the degree to which people think they can still pursue their interests and whether their ageing would somehow inhibit this process or not. It is not clear whether there are cultural differences in general self-efficacy, however Luszczynska et al (2005) suggests that general self-efficacy is universal and despite differing cultures, individuals who are high on self-efficacy tend to develop possible success scenarios to their actions and are therefore more committed to the outcomes.

Societal support structures

Following on from topic of Self-efficacy, us what support structures are available both personal and societal for the elderly. It might be expected that different cultures and different countries have different types of care structures within their family unit, as well as within their community. Therefore, a discussion around whether older people would expect to be assisted by their family or whether they were reluctant to ask for this would be helpful for understanding how supported they felt. Additionally, from younger generations perspectives, what were the views on willingness to be a support to older family members? Are younger individuals more reliant on the State to care for their elders, or are they willing to provide care themselves? These might elucidate cultural
difference, and or generational differences in what are considered appropriate levels of support.

*Importance of faith*

Chapter 1 laid out reasons for inclusion of faith as key topic in the later stages of life particularly in light of the syncretistic processes between culture and religion and how this potentially impacts people’s self-identities and way of life. In addition to the material support structures discussed in the previous section, are the important psychological structures including that of one’s faith. As MacKinlay & Trevitt (2007) propose, and important way to view ageing is that of a ‘spiritual journey’ with challenges that continue across the later years of life. In generational, demographic shifts over the last few generations has seen multiculturalism and pluralism influence faith and religion observed in contemporary Australia (P. Hughes et al., 2000; P. J. Hughes & Black, 1999). Given that researchers of culture and faith assert that faith can be ‘culturally transmitted’ and influence beliefs and behaviours of group members, then understanding how faith influences ideas of ageing and dying might provide insight into differing attitudes (Gervais et al., 2011). Collectivist cultures, such as the Philippines are described by social scientists as socially more ‘cohesive’, then the influence of one’s faith would naturally be integral to shared family and societal perceptions which would include attitudes to ageing and dying (Grimm, Church, Katigbak, & Reyes, 1999; Hofstede & McCrae, 2004).
4.2 Method

4.2.1 Study design

Focus group interviews have become an important way to gain first-hand views of participants, particularly when exploring subjective experiences. Of relevance to this thesis, there has been little investigation into how older people feel about, and experience, the transition out of work into retirement or balance part-time work with family and/or caring commitments across dimensions of culture and generations. Therefore, focus groups were conducted because this methodology can provide the
4.2.2 Participants and recruitment

Older Australia participants were recruited through an advertisement placed in the local newspaper (see Appendix A). Undergraduate student participants were recruited from the Australian National University for focus groups as part of extra credit for psychology. The mean age for the Australians was higher, and education level higher owing to several of the undergrad students being mature-aged and who had done previous degrees. Participants from the Philippines were post-graduate students recruited in collaboration with the University of the Philippines Department of Psychology in Manila. Older participants were recruited through church groups who were affiliated with the University of the Philippines. Other older Filipinos were recruited though Australian-Philippine community ties, such as the Rotary Club in Bacolod City.

The call for focus group participants for the study “Transitioning Through Life Stages” was advertised in local newspapers and placed as a printed flyer with the same wording and artwork for the newspaper advertisement in strategic areas of the Australian National University in late 2011 to attract Australian participants (see Appendix A). Advertisements were also posted on the student e-notice board for psychology students at the Australian National University. To attract participants from the Philippines, a researcher from the Department of Psychology at the University of the Philippines distributed flyers to post-graduate psychology students and approached the local university’s senior church groups. In addition, as a form of convenience sampling, the Rotary Philippines organisation with ties to Australia (senior rotary members had once been exchange students to Australia in the 1960s) were approached and asked if their members would like to participate in the focus group discussions.

Focus group participants had to meet two criteria: (a) they had to be aged 20-35 years for the younger focus group or 60 – 85 years (with the exception of one Filipino focus group member, aged 96, who was part of a church group and expressed her desire to participate in the discussion) for the older focus group; and (b) Australian participants had to have lived in Australia for at least the previous 10 years and Filipinos had to have lived in the Philippines for at least the previous ten years, with a preference for people who were raised in the Philippines. All participants provided written informed consent
and were asked to complete a short questionnaire requesting important demographic information (see Appendix A). The study was approved by the Human Research Ethics committee at the Australian National University and the University of the Philippines, protocol no. 2011/270 (see Appendix A).

Fifty-three participants were assigned to eight different groups, with the size of the group ranging between three and seven people. This is within the guidelines of what represents an optimal size group in order for the focus group discussion to flow smoothly and remain inclusive of all group members (Morgan, 1998).

Of the 22 participants in the younger age focus groups, the majority were female and had a high level of education. Participants in the older focus groups also predominantly female and had high levels of education (see Table 4.1).

4.2.3 Procedure

The focus groups were conducted in Australia in December 2011 and February 2012 at the Australian National University’s Centre for Mental Health Research and in the Philippines in Manila and Bacolod City in January 2012 in collaboration with the University of the Philippines. Focus groups for the older Filipinos were conducted at the University of the Philippines and also at a private residence of an ex-Rotary club member in Bacolod City. Two of the younger Filipinos focus groups were also held at the University of the Philippines. The purpose of the focus group research was explained in the participant information sheet prior to their attendance (see Appendix A). Participants were informed both in writing and again at the commencement of the focus groups that the discussion would be audio recorded. Open-ended questions were posed in order to maximise dialogue, and were drawn from four important themes in the literature.

- ‘Self-identity’ – What roles should older people play in society? And how do you think society and the media portray older people?
- ‘Self-efficacy’ – As you get older, do you think that you will still be able to pursue the things you’ve always wanted to pursue?
- ‘Intergenerational contact’ – how often would you say you spend time with family or friends who are older or younger than you?
- ‘Societal support structures’ – What are the ‘support structures’ in place for older Australians/Filipinos?
• Additional exploratory focus group question about the importance of ‘faith’ as one ages was posed – How important do you think your faith or religion is in later life?

Each group took on average 60 minutes.

**4.2.4 Data analysis**

The audio files from the Australian focus groups were transcribed verbatim into word documents by the primary researcher, who also coded the data. From two of the Philippine focus groups conducted in English, the transcripts were transcribed by the Australian primary researcher. For the two focus groups conducted by the Philippine researcher in Tagalog (the national language of the Philippines), the audio files were transcribed in Tagalog and translated by the Philippine researcher into English. There may have been some subtle cultural overtones missed in this translation, a point that will be further expanded in the limitation sections of this chapter.

Transcripts of the focus groups were then imported into NVivo 9, a software program used for qualitative data. Thematic analysis was guided by using the ‘text query’ function for searching out the most frequently used (top 10) words between the groups (Welsh, 2002, Bringer et al., 2004). Emerging themes and sub-themes were also identified through manual analysis of the transcripts. Themes and sub-themes were coded, re-coded and analysed as a combined top-down and bottom-up approach. As outlined in Chapter 3, aspects of grounded theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1994) were used as a guiding theoretical framework of constant comparison with which to explore emergent themes. The analysis and interpretation of emergent themes and further comparisons between the groups’ responses could be seen as more of a bottom-up approach. When data was fractured and re-organised into themes around responses to open-ended questions and had reached saturation to the extend that no new themes emerged; quotes from participant were organised into tables addressing subjective views on ageing.

**4.3 Results**

After reviewing the transcripts, participants’ comments were categorised around the five main concepts, addressed in the focus group discussions (1) self-identity (role models and media portrayal); (2) intergenerational contact (with older and younger/family or friends); (3) self-efficacy (pursuing goals no matter one’s age); (4) support structures in society (senior cards, home care or institutional care); and (5) one’s religion or faith
(either formal religion or non-religious spirituality). These in turn served as anchor points for comparison between the age cultural groups.

NVivo word frequency function showed that the top ten words for both older and younger Australians included ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘people’. In comparison, the older Filipinos’ top ten words included ‘I’, ‘you’, ‘family’ and ‘we’, and the younger Filipinos’ top ten words included ‘I’, ‘you’ and ‘we’.

Following on from the finding that the word ‘family’ from the initial word search was so frequently used in focus group discussion, a text query for the word ‘family’, extended stem words, and synonyms of the word ‘family’ were searched using NVivo 9’s text query function. The use of the word ‘family’ for both older and younger Filipinos was frequent, particularly in reference to extended family ties. This was illustrated by reference to living arrangements for some families (see Table 4.2).

Another important social connection of ‘friend’ was searched as a text query in the context of intergenerational contact. Younger Filipinos had the most coverage in their focus group discussion of intergenerational contact and friends (2.6% of the section on intergenerational contact), followed by the younger Australians (1.65% of the section on intergenerational contact), then the older Australians (1.23% coverage of the focus group transcripts discussing intergenerational contact), and finally the older Filipinos, who mainly referred to family in the context of intergenerational contact (0.4% mention of friends) (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.1 Level of education of participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Mean age</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Years of education</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Younger Australians</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>Male = 4</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female = 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger Filipinos</td>
<td>25.2</td>
<td>Male = 2</td>
<td>17.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female = 6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Australians</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>Male = 5</td>
<td>16.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female = 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Filipinos</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>Male = 3</td>
<td>15.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Female = 15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.2 Comments about ‘family’ from focus groups discussions

Older Filipino (60 – 96)

“I still connect with the [older] Titas (Aunties) who are still around, the relatives who are still around, and at the same time, I still have a lot of interaction with people who are my age, people who are younger than me and people are very young. I think it’s also because the type of involvement that I have with the community or you engage in activities with young married couples."

Younger Filipino (20 – 35)

“In our family, I live in a compound where there are about five houses/households, so ‘intergenerationally speaking’, I have cousins and nieces and nephews younger than me, and then I have the same similar age group as me, and also aunts and uncles and Lolos and Lolas (grandfathers and grandmothers), so the regularity of my interaction with them is that basically I see them every day. So, more often I deal with those that are younger because it’s them that I can relate to more. But when it comes to people who are older than me, I speak to them about more serious things like jobs, your career, maybe consult something about the house about repairs, that’s the kind of interaction that I have with them. My interaction with the younger and the same age as mine is more intimate and it’s more personal; it’s very regular contact.”

Table 4.3 Comments about ‘friends’ and ‘work colleagues’ from older Australians

Older Australians (60-85)

“It’s mainly friends my age, ex-work colleagues who I spend time with.”

“Getting back to the topic; it’s my peer group that I spend the most time with. I belong to choirs.”

“I have a couple of friends who are ten or twelve years younger than I am and well, we don’t think of it as being like that, we’re just friends.”

“I don’t spend a lot of time with family because I don’t have children. My mother lives on the Gold Coast, so it’s mainly friends my age, ex-work colleagues that I spend time with.”

From the text query search of ‘friend’ in the context of intergenerational contact, it was noted that ‘work colleagues’ was mentioned in some of the focus group discussions regarding intergenerational contact. Therefore, a text search query on ‘work’ and ‘work colleagues’ was run in the context of intergenerational contact to compare the age x culture groups. Older Australians were more likely to mention ‘work’ or ‘work colleague’ (6.63% of the section on intergenerational contact) compared with the younger Australians who only referred to family mainly in the context of intergenerational contact (1.09% of the section on intergenerational contact). Older
Filipinos made no mention of work colleagues in the context of intergenerational contact compared with younger Filipinos who referred to some work colleagues and friends (3% related to ‘work colleagues’ – see Table 4.3).

Participants were asked what sort of roles older people should play in later life. The older Australians’ response suggested that volunteering or ‘giving back’ to society was appropriate for older people, as well as looking after their grandchildren. The younger Australians’ comments were that older people in society ought to be role models and volunteers; however, they also mentioned that there was a danger in ‘undervaluing’ older people’s contributions in society. Older Filipinos’ responses were uniformly centred on their roles as carers and role models to their grandchildren. Younger Filipinos responses regarding what roles older Filipinos should play were also family-centred and a recognition of elders as advisors in both family and potentially work matters (see Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Comments on ‘roles of older people’ from focus group discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group</th>
<th>Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Older Australians (60-85)</td>
<td>“I guess I am more selfish, because you don’t have to work. I think it’s a time to start learning. I would not be anywhere if I were not studying something all the time, I have three PhDs. That’s what keeps me alive, I mean aside from working full time.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger Australians (20-35)</td>
<td>“I sort of see, y’know, volunteering type roles it’s hard to get people to do when they’re very busy raising kids or with a full-time job. Don’t have specific-type examples but, y’know, maybe like mentoring young people or ‘big brother’ type programs, that type of thing. Just kind of think most people think that would be good to do that you can’t do when you’ve got many other commitments.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older Filipinos (60 – 96)</td>
<td>“You take care of your grandchildren, especially if the parents work.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger Filipinos (20-35)</td>
<td>“I think it’s also a factor that Philippine society is very collectivist, usually the elder ones are the ones who are assigned to taking care of the grandchildren. They are not separated to their ‘nuclear family’, they serve as the guardian of the grandchildren.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to the question of how society and the media portrayed older people varied across the age x cultural groups, with both the younger Australians and the older Australians providing negative examples of how older people can be portrayed. The younger and older Filipinos responses reflected mixed opinions about whether older
Filipinos were regarded positively in Philippine media and society as a whole, with older Filipinos insisting that they are respected and that there are some positive media portrayals. The younger Filipinos suggested that there is still respect for elders; however, the elderly are depicted in both positive and negative ways in the media for the commercial purpose of selling products which might aid or enhance one’s later life stages.

One’s self-efficacy was addressed, with participants being asked, “As you grow older and transition into the later stages of life; do you think you’ll still be able to do things you want to do?” The responses varied and were mostly contingent on view of health status for both cultures and both age groups.

Societal support structures were addressed, with participants being asked “What are the ‘support structures’ in place for older Australians? For example: Do people rely on family, friends or the government to help them as they age?” Older Australians expressed the desire to remain independent; however, they were reluctant to acknowledge that at some point they may need assisted living arrangements. Older Filipinos also expressed the desire to remain independent of help from their children and not be a burden; however, some did acknowledge that their family mostly helped them as does the government with generous concession schemes. The younger Australians speculated that older Australians would rely on each other for emotional support, such as joining clubs or attending church. Some younger Australians displayed some knowledge of support services through their own experiences of caring for grandparents, and others admitted they knew very little about the availability of instrumental care. Younger Filipinos were inclined to show acknowledgment for the family input and sharing of care for elderly parents and grandparents in a more hands-on way (see Table 4.5).
Table 4.5 Comments about ‘support structures’ and ‘care’ from focus group discussions

Older Australian (60-85)

“I’ve spoke to the family and my next move will be into a retirement village where there are supports, but I’m still independent and I can still move around. But then, there’s that next stage after that, when you really are ill and you are unable to look after yourself, and that’s the stage that I dread. And that’s when I rely on particularly my sons who are both in Queensland.”

Younger Australians (20-35)

We tend to put ‘em in a home and that’s kind of, y’know, that’s out of our hands now. We’ll go visit them and everything, but we almost wash our hands of it. I mean, the Simpsons play on that a lot with what they do with Grandpa Simpson; there’s always a satire that’s built in there that I think rings very true...to the way we treat them.”

Older Filipinos (60 - 96)

“They provide for me. If you see me, I look well. My grandchildren buy matching clothes and accessories for me; I do not ask, but if they see me, they give me matching pairs. I’m a very caring mother and grandmother.”

Younger Filipinos (20-35)

“Actually, more than the government, I think the family is the best support. You can’t just leave your parents, you take care of your parents.”

“It’s part of Filipino tradition that it is the responsibility of the young people to take care of the older people.”

The term ‘care’ seemed to come up in the context of support structures for older Australians/Filipinos. Therefore, a text query search using NVivo software was run for the term ‘care’ and its word stems. The text query search showed that the term was used most frequently by both younger and older Filipinos in the context of support structures for the elderly (34% use of the word in transcripts of older Filipinos and 31% use in younger Filipino). In contrast, the transcripts of older Australians showed much less use of the term ‘care’, with younger Australians using this term the least on the topic of support structures (10% use of the term ‘care’ for older Australians, while younger Australians used it 0.02% in this section of the transcript on support structures). In addition to frequency of the term ‘care’, the context in which the word appeared was analysed further, with clear cultural differences with which the term is used. Both younger and older Filipinos tended to refer to ‘care’ showing both the affective state of concern and instrumental support which were not really separable. In contrast, both
younger and older Australians referred to ‘care’ in the context of a functional way to assist with the deficiencies and decline that can accompany old age. This is a useful finding for multicultural settings, where Filipinos and other collectivists are living in Western countries. The term ‘care’ is perhaps not only in reference to instrumental care, and there are likely implicit expectations of family members to be the providers of care, or the ‘go-between’ with the community and health providers.

Finally, the importance of one’s faith was addressed in focus group discussions with the question “How important do you think your faith or religion is in later life?” The older groups had differing perspectives between the two cultures, with older Australians taking a less religious perspective towards faith in later life and more of a philosophical position on how one might find oneself more invested in faith as one drew closer to death. Older Filipinos, on the other hand, were unanimously invested in faith, through potentially life-long practice, and as they grew older and closer to death. The younger Australians were of the opinion that older Australians might gravitate back towards religion and faith for comfort and social support, and the younger Filipinos described examples of their grandparents becoming even more devout in their prayers and church activities as they aged.

Table 4.6 Comments about ‘importance of faith’ from focus group discussions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Older Australians</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I’m very much aware of some people who are, give or take 10 or 20 years, who are in my age bracket, becoming very “churchy”. I mean amongst the people that I know who do all the crazy things that I do, who travel, who teach and dance and older members of that group seem to be more ‘dependent’, maybe because they’re closer to some ‘end’ of this experience, they’re concerned about the later so they’re seeking answers and they’re going to organised religion.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| “I’m an atheist, and the older I get, the more atheistic I am. I mean, before it was kind of an ‘intellectual thing’, now I’m quite happy with that. It’s only recently that I realised that the moment we’re born, we die. Death is inevitable. Like I try to avoid all that but having realised that death is inevitable and like everybody else I’m going to die. And I’m quite happy with that, and how I came to this position is that at the age of 14 [years], 1959, I gave myself to God and Billy Graham at the Sydney Showground, and for the next 6 weeks, I received all these letters saying “Dear Miss…we’re so glad you’ve seen the light…” And I thought, ‘How dare they presume to know what I am thinking’….and that was it for religion, I thought na! That IS it! But having said that, I have dabbled in Eastern Religion, I have dabbled with Buddhism, and when I wasn’t ‘enlightened’ within 6 months, I gave it up!” |
Younger Australians

“I’m not religious myself, but for a lot of older people it is a comfort – religion. But I wonder if that’s to do with going to church every week and you have that support group through going to church. You have to just find a different kind of group to be a part of if you’re not going to church.”

“Whether it be a bridge (cards) group or….”

“Exactly! Yeah, my mum’s bridge group, like they’re all dropping off the perch, but they’re supporting each other as they do that...so yeah, it’s important.”

“Faith is definitely much more important for my parents as they get older, they’re already quite religious. But my partner’s parents who are all atheists have the exact opposite reaction, and it was never a problem for them. Ah, I don’t really know how to react for myself – I had a religious upbringing and I’m kind of ambivalent and I have no idea if I’ll continue down the path to ambivalence or facing death careening back to the church, I don’t know. I’ll have to wait and see.”

Older Filipinos

“I’m a stroke survivor but there was no second attack. I know I was near the Lord. I’m stronger every day. We cannot live without God, everything we lean on God. I remember a verse in Psalms 46:1, The Lord is my refuge and strength, a very present help in time of trouble.”

“Towards the end of that, ‘Be still and know that I am God’. And then the last two lines, ‘I will be exalted by all the nations, I will be exalted on earth.’”

Younger Filipinos

“I think that the elder ones become more prayerful in our society, and even my friends who are my age, although they are not practising [faith/religion], they see themselves that as they grow older they’ll just practise it because they don’t have time to do it now....they see themselves as observing it a bit more when they grow older.”

“Big impact, whenever I go to church, those praying are all elderly. I ask why is there no one about my age, why is it that when one is old, they become more like that? I don’t know if it is because they are already old and need to invest in heaven.”

“Maybe when they get old, they realised it’s nearing death, so they start that, just to make sure.”
4.4 Discussion

An important indicator that the Filipino participants were in fact influenced by their collectivist culture is that both the older and younger Filipinos used the word ‘we’ in their top ten words throughout their discussions. Both Filipino and Australian groups used the word ‘I’ in their ten most frequently used words. It was noted, however, that the word ‘people’ featured in both the younger and older Australians’ most frequently used words but did not feature in either of the Filipino age groups. This is an important linguistic indicator that where Filipinos by nature are collectivist, socially inclusive and interdependent, Australians maintain their sense of independence by using ‘I’ and ‘people’ to navigate the discussion of transitioning through life stages, thus reinforcing the idea of a bound and autonomous separate self, even into old age.

Older Filipinos mentioned the word ‘family’ most, followed by the younger Filipinos, the younger Australians and finally the older Australians. Interestingly, the context in which the two older groups mentioned ‘family’ were slightly different. When asked what roles older people in society should be fulfilling, most Filipinos said that they should look after their grandchildren. Australians mentioned family in the context of intergenerational contact, but described roles for older people in Australia as ‘giving back’ [to society] through volunteering and mentoring and suggested that grand-parenting was another ‘option’ rather than an obligation.

4.4.1 Identifying with work and work colleagues

The discussion of intergenerational contact, (the degree to which people said that they spent time with older or younger people and not just family), provided for varying culturally-laden responses. Older Australians referred to work colleagues as well as family and friends in talking about intergenerational relationships. Therefore, text searches of ‘friends’ and ‘work colleagues’ were conducted, with the older Australians mentioning that they liked to have a sense of purpose by either remaining employed or studying rather than retiring. With the discussion of working among older Australians, the topic of age discrimination arose both formally, with one participant getting unions involved to maintain her employment because of pressure to consider retiring, and informally, with another participant lamenting that her younger colleagues systematically excluded her from social gatherings because of her age:

“I can remember quite a few years ago at work, I was wondering why I was being excluded from lunches. I was starting to get really
paranoid about this, until I woke up to the fact that they didn’t see me as ‘one of them’. I’m more like their ‘mother’. Where I am working now, there’s a number of ‘twenty-somethings’ and they have accepted me and I feel comfortable there. I never tell people how old I am, because all of a sudden, they thought you were ‘this age’ and now you say ‘that age’ and all of a sudden, they see you differently.”

For the older Australian, reference to a younger work colleague appeared to come from a need to express their working or career identity as part of who they were. This perhaps suggests that one’s working life and career plays a major part in one’s self-identity as one ages. The younger Australians did not really discuss much about work colleagues in the context of intergenerational contact, apart from one participant referring to her older colleagues in the work place. The younger Filipinos had only a few examples of work colleagues in the context of intergenerational contact. The older Filipinos made no mention of the term ‘work colleague’ in the context of intergenerational contact. In fact, when asked “How often would you say you spent time with family and friends who are older or younger than you?” an older Filipino participant’s first response to this question was “Of course, family every day, where else would I go?”

The expectations of the degree to which older family members such as grandparents spent time with and caring for their grandchildren was relatively consistent between both older and younger Filipinos. Both younger and older Australians, in contrast, recognised that the degree to which older individuals want to actively grandparent is a personal choice, while volunteering and mentoring of non-family members was also beneficial and a role that older Australians should probably play. However, a younger Australian participant highlighted a potential undervaluing of older Australians, remarking:

“I kind of agree on the volunteering point but I do think it’s important on the topic of ‘value’ not to devalue their expertise. My parents are both teachers, I know a few teachers who when they retired people assumed that they would do tutoring for free and on a voluntary basis because they’re retired and they don’t ‘need’ the money. And while I do agree that productivity and giving to the community is important I don’t think that everybody should assume ‘they’re old therefore we can draw on their expertise for nothing.”
4.4.2 Portrayal of older people in media and society

Both older and younger Australian participants agreed on the lack of representation of older people and the negative style of presentation within the media. The older Australians described the media as depicting older people in a negative light. Younger Australians’ comments were also mainly framed in the negative:

“There is a curious dichotomy of the glorification, for example, of the sort of ANZAC (Australian and New Zealand Army Corp) era war heroes and older sportsmen, and then the devaluation of the worthless, the crazy hobo (homeless person) or the ‘cat lady’.”

“Ah, I sort of perceive older people as quite conservative, politically as well and sort of socially y’know. There’s sort of this belief that the older you get, the more conservative you become in your views. And you know, I don’t think that representation is really challenged in the media. I don’t know how true it is, but most portrayals in the media are that older people are a bit ‘crotchety’, conservative and don’t like new things, and y’know, that’s the impression I get.”

“The media I think portrays older people are represented in one of two ways: one where they’re a victim, either in a sob story or something like that; and the other way that I’ve seen the older generation portrayed is as a source of wisdom, when it suits someone to say that retirement age should be older or something like that; like when they’ve done the work for 50 years, maybe they should stay on and contribute. Other than that, I haven’t really noticed the older generation in the media.”

The mixed views presented by both the younger and older Filipino groups about media portrayal perhaps highlight a reluctance to acknowledge that ‘elders’ would somehow be presented in any negative way. The comments from the older Filipinos were:

“No, we are not covered by media, we are not good!”

“We are... especially when there are younger kids who succeed; they always trace the family background, in a sense getting hold of older people... ‘See, they were able to produce these good children!’ In a sense, that’s an incentive for us, to still take care of our grandchildren.”
“I think they’re viewed kindly. In fact, I think that the elderly in the Philippines are more spoiled than other countries. They get more benefits here.”

“In terms of media, I think that they do treat the senior citizens with a lot of respect; like some of those advertisements, such as McDonalds, they feature senior citizens as endorsers…..”

The comments from younger Filipinos also appeared mixed about the degree to which older people in the Philippine media might be portrayed negatively:

“It’s two-part, or two-fold. Some of the media would portray elderly as empowered physically huh? Even physically…but what I notice in some commercials is that they portray the elderly as being somewhat forgetful… like a ‘senior moment’.”

“Actually, I also see that, how the media portray the elderly people is the ideal setting, like the ‘Caltrate commercial’, that they are still driving, they are portrayed as still okay or functional, or still strong and still able to dictate in the affairs, like in soap operas and commercials. They don’t treat show the bad ugly side of how we treat the elderly, that sometimes we don’t pay attention to them.”

Several comments from the younger generation who participated in the focus groups of both cultures in Australia and the Philippines perhaps point to an underlying assumption, that the youth of any culture are the prime focal point for popular culture and societal focus. The two comments in particular that point to this conclusion were from a member of both the younger Australian focus group and a member from the younger Filipino groups:

“Generally I think that Australian culture sees the older generation as inferior to whatever the current generation is, probably 20s-50s or 30s to 55; probably think they’re superior to the older generation.”
(Younger Australian)

“If you look at movies, you rarely find a movie with older people as the main cast. They are usually supporting roles. It’s always as supporting roles. I guess that reflects how society sees the elderly.”
(Younger Filipino)
The comment from the younger Australian that describes the age group of 20 – 50 as being the ‘current generation’ and anyone older than 50 – 55, as being seen as ‘inferior’, validates and is congruent with some of the comments from the older Australian age group about how they are being depicted within the media and the broader society:

“Another thing I hate, when there’s an old person in a TV show, they’re always portrayed as a bit ‘kooky’ and way out, not like regular people; they play that comedian person a lot of older people. Another thing that happens is that when people give you gifts, they give you what I call ‘old lady gifts’, like lavender hand cream.”

Older Filipinos were hesitant to describe media or the societal portrayal of older people in the Philippines as negative. Some older Filipinos expressed contempt for the media, while the majority claimed that they had not experienced negativity, with one older Filipino focus group participant proclaiming:

“If you want to touch the heart, you feature an elderly person....”

For the most part, older Australians felt as though the news media generally depicted Baby Boomers (born between 1946 and 1965) as selfish and users of all the resources, hence, becoming a burden to society; the advertisements portrayed seniors as under pressure to look fit and ‘young for their age’; and movies rarely featured anyone older than 60. It was noted that women older than 40 were especially absent from cinema.

There was also mention of a television program that was shown on Australian television in the 1980s called ‘Mother & Son’, which depicted a senile old mother who was looked after by her son. Because of her senility, the storyline developed from episode to episode into a comedy of errors largely centred on the main character’s age and mental deterioration. Although the participant found the script clever, she concluded that it did not help the image of the ‘older person’ in Australia:

“‘Mother & Son’ did a lot of damage to older people in this country. Even though I loved that show, I don’t think it was good for older people.”

Self-efficacy attracted less interest than the other topics of discussion. When participants were asked “As you grow older, do you think that you will still be able to pursue the things that are important to you?”, most participants’ answers were conditional in that they stated it would depend on their health status. Older Filipinos
appeared slightly more optimistic in their evaluations, citing examples of older role models in their 80s who were public figures:

**Older Australians**

“As long as my health is okay, I think I’ll be able to [do things I want to do].”

“It all depends on your health.”

**Older Filipinos**

“The things that you may pursue may change according to your ability to pursue them.”

“We are in the departure area, but we never stop dreaming.”

“When we are young, when we retired, you think about it. When I was young, I really want to take music. I come from the province where music is not so much recognised but I know there is blood in me who likes music because my relatives, my uncles, are all musicians, my grandfather is composer. I consider myself a frustrated musician. So when I retired, I started voice. So I was able to achieve it. It’s never too late.”

“As long as you physically can, but you know at this age, we already feel some aches and pains, but maybe this is what might prevent us from being more active...”

“We still have 88-year-old head of the Senate; we have an 83-year-old head of Defence. 80-year-old politicians...”

**4.4.3 Ageing, assistance and societal structures**

When the discussion turned to societal structures for the care of seniors, there were marked differences in the approach and context of the word ‘care’ from the different cultures; however, less differences between the age groups was evident. The respective cultural groups had congruent remarks between their younger and older generations. For example, when asked: “What are the ‘support structures’ in place for older Australians? Do people rely on family, friends or the government to help them as they age?”, the theme of the older Australians’ discussions centred very much on independence and a
reluctance to seek outside help. However, after certain health events, older Australians remarked about the level of community care that was available, such as Meals on Wheels and other ‘domestic assistance’ that the local community provides. Others complained of the cost of having added care in Australia and talked about living in developing countries for part of the year, where the Australian exchange rate provided for a higher quality of care than in Australia.

“Now I live on my own, I’ve been very independent. A few years ago, I hurt my back, and I thought, ‘I can’t get out of bed. What do I do?’ And it was a panic – who do I call? I thought that there’s no-one because you don’t want people to be burdened, to come around every day and do whatever. Luckily I know my neighbour, she’s quite an elderly lady. She was the one that came around and helped me. But it really brings up what happens if I really do need somebody. I don’t want to go into a home.”

“I spent three weeks in hospital with pneumonia, and I lived by myself, and so all of a sudden, I had all these social workers and staff coming up to me and saying, ‘Oh dear, now we’re going to have to prepare your aged care plan!’ And I thought that I don’t really want to do this, I thought, ‘This is the slippery slope’, and so I got the Meals on Wheels, and I still do, which was a huge sort of thing for me to do. I get the ‘domestic assistance’, someone comes around to my house every fortnight and cleans it. I got a personal alarm. The ‘control’ over my life is slipping away.”

“That’s why I work and play overseas. There is extra help and much less expense, much less expense [in developing countries]. You can live like a king on my Centrelink pension and a very nominal super” (superannuation retirement fund). You take the money that you get from here, which you earned, because you worked for forty years. I’m not gonna struggle and suffer and go in a home where they’re going to take my entire pension and whatever….I’m taking the money and going overseas!”

Older Filipinos expressed a desire to not burden their families with their care in later years of life; however, they also accepted that in the Philippines, medical insurance was
not always well administered and was costly, with little government support for health. The Filipino norm of social inclusion and respect for the elderly promotes government support through generous discounts for senior citizens, while the government also advocates for family care in supporting older people. While the comments of not wanting to burden children and grandchildren were prevalent in the discussion of support for senior citizens, there were also many comments about the degree to which older Filipinos contributed to the lives of their friends and family, in particular the grandchildren. This very much reflects the social value of *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) which is about a strong sense of reciprocity.

“We do not feel that we should be a burden to our children, I don’t like to be albatross in their neck, the moment I become an albatross, throw me out!”

“I have support group, friends, we’ve been together for the past 30 years, they mean very strongly, through and through, we’re still intact. Besides my family, they are my support.”

Some younger Australians had already gained first-hand knowledge of the support structures in place because of their grandparents requiring end-of-life care. Those younger participants who had not yet had that experience were forthcoming in their lack of knowledge in the area.

“Yeah, I don’t really have any experience.”

“My grandfather died the year before last, the help that granny got as he was slipping away, because she kept him in the house and looked after him until the end. When she actually started looking for the support, there was an amazing amount there that we’d never heard of. So, I think there’s a lot of support that no-one really knows about until they have a problem. Particularly on the mental health side. I know of so many different initiatives for depression and anxiety in older people that just aren’t widely known.”

“My impression is that the State does provide a basic safety net, but ultimately individuals end up doing a lot for their parents. And that we have a crisis what is it called, nursing homes places – there’s not enough, ah, capacity to fit demand, and that these sort of places are
sort of ‘one size fits all’ and they don’t really cater to the needs of people and that there’s chronic shortages. So, like stories that I’ve heard of are very different from your grandfather’s (concerning available help/care); they’re more like, ‘Well, we couldn’t find anyone to do this, or we couldn’t find anyone to look after him, so we put him in a home’.”

Younger Filipinos had a general awareness of what concessions and levels of support structure were available to their older family members, and when the support was not available, there was a consensus that one would be able to fall back on family members for support.

“They have ‘freebies’...the government allocates some budget for them, so they can avail of free medicine, even from the Barangay (like local council) health centre, they get free check-ups, they get free movies, 10% discounts.”

“I think in the urban areas the government supports, but I think in the far-flung provinces, it’s family and community.”

“And I think with the government support, it’s not ‘uniform’, so it depends on which local government is supporting you.”

“If you go to the provinces, it’s a different thing. Usually...it’s the family...”

“Actually, more than the government, I think the family is the best support. You can’t just leave your parents, you take care of your parents.”

“True, in our family, we make sure that when that point comes that they are already weak or sickly, we want to be ready. We include in our budget their health plan and memorial plans.”

“In the family in general, there’s good support. In fact, with us, they live with us; we don’t throw them away. Still it’s a support, there’s respect for the elderly.”
4.4.4 The functional versus the affective definition of the word ‘care’

Although there was no direct question outlining how seniors were cared for in either Australia or the Philippines other than what support structures were in place; the term ‘care’ did come up often in the focus group discussions. The results from the text query for the word ‘care’ and its synonyms and stem words showed that Australians from both the younger and older age groups saw ‘care’ as more of a functional way to assist with the deficiencies and decline that can accompany old age. In comparison, both younger and older Filipinos discussed ‘care’ as more of an affective state of showing concern while providing instrumental support.

Older Filipino

“Here in the Philippines, our kids, they love us. They take care of us. Even in houses, they would extend their houses –to accommodate their kids- they stay with us and take care of us here in the Philippines. In other countries, they put their parents to the home of the aged.”

Younger Australian

“I’d say the only area where we don’t offer a lot of support is when they need care and family aren’t necessarily around to help with that support. I think it’s a general Western issue; we tend to put ‘em in a home and that’s kind of, y’know, that’s out of our hands now. We’ll go visit them and everything but we almost wash our hands of it. I mean, the Simpsons play on that a lot with what they do with Grandpa Simpson. There’s always a satire that’s built in there that I think rings very true...to the way we treat them.”

Younger Filipino

“In Filipino culture, since we are family-centred, we like to take care of, and it really happens that we take care of them (elderly). And also they are source of guidance on different things. They have many experiences.”

The topic of societal structures for the care of senior citizens provided a platform to discuss the degree to which community, government and family provided care. It also facilitated, if not elicited, candid views on the reality of how older people will maintain
their independence, whether this means not relying too heavily on relatives or seeking external avenues of community-based care when one transitions in the later stages of life. The evidence provided clearly shows cultural differences that are centred on social values of either independence or interdependence within this study’s cross-cultural context. However, even the term ‘independence’ might have differing connotations for Filipinos.

Although there have been explicit statements about not wanting to burden children with their care, it is perhaps acknowledged that things only become burdensome when the ability to uphold the social value of utang na loob (reciprocity) is gone. For example, in collectivist cultures like the Philippines, which maintains strong traditional tribal foundations of kin, grandparents play an active role within the family unit (usually caring for the grandchildren). If their ability to contribute is compromised by their declining health, then this is when they would see that they are not ‘independent’. It is unusual for any Filipino family member to seek complete independence from their family (Nadal, 2011, Ogena, 2006, Andres, 1987).

4.4.5 The importance of faith in old age

The question “How important do you think your faith or religion is in later life?” raised interesting and diverse opinions in relation to ageing, death and whether there is an afterlife. In the same vein as the issue of care and societal structures of support for older people; the different age groups within each culture tended to express attitudes about ageing and faith in a congruent manner. The question was phrased with either religion or faith because many see these two things as separate constructs; however, some see them as meaning the same thing. Both older and younger Filipinos were invested in the idea that one becomes more devout in their religion as they age, whereas the younger and older Australian groups both expressed ambivalence towards the degree to which one seeks comfort in any particular religion as they age. In line with MacKinlay and Trevitt (2007) paper on the importance of spirituality in later life, the older participants from both cultures in this study sought to find meaning in their activities regardless of whether these included affiliations with a church or not. As these authors point out, previous models of ageing refer to health ageing, successful ageing and the economic realities of ageing prevalent in today’s literature. However, few studies provide an understanding behind the deeper transcendent aspects of ageing which allows for assigning meaning and development wisdom that provides hope to face the challenges that can accompany the period of late life. MacKinlay and Trevitt (2007) also refer to
Robert Butler’s speculations about reminiscence not being encouraged because it was seen as ‘living in the past’ a trait that many older people are accused of. However, Butler (2008) countered these views with the idea that one’s life review and assignment of meaning was a natural part of the healing process (Mackinlay and Trevitt, 2007). The topic of faith in ageing cannot provide an explicit explanation for how this impact’s one’s ability to maintain positive self-perceptions of ageing, but rather it is a broader part of one’s cultural identity. Moreover, when understood in to context of spirituality that can be framed as ‘religiously’ and ‘non-religiously ‘and as a psycho-social tool for navigating later life no matter the culture, then one can understand it’s broader significance in the context of discussion on ageing and dying.

Older Australians

“Well, I’m not religious but I’m certainly spiritual. I’ve delved into that all my life and explored all sorts of different things, and then as you get old, I’ve always wondered what happens when you die, and I’ve had my theories depending what stage of spiritual awareness I was at, and I’ve come to conclusion for me, is when I die, I die. And the way that I cope with that [idea], I think well I didn’t know what it was like before I came here, all this stuff went on in the world before I arrived and it didn’t affect me and I didn’t know anything, so when I die, it will be the same again.”

“I give spirituality more attention these days probably because I have more time, a little bit more from an intellectual or theological point of view. Mainly out of curiosity....I’ve spent time in Israel and the Middle East. The history in that part of the world is fascinating to think about the stories in the Bible, and where they came from, and so it’s more from that point of view that I think about it than a church point of view.”

“I’m not really religious, but I look at religion more from an academic point of view. I’ve looked at Islam, I’ve looked at Catholicism and Buddhism, but it’s not for me.”
Younger Australians

“I found that as my grandparents retired, their faith, or not so much their faith but their spirituality, they became much more centred upon family, much, much more family-orientated. All my grandparents when to church, except my grandfather; and you know, they all found faith very comforting, religious faith very comforting, but in terms of the spiritual sense, I think that they got more from family and the community that they built around them than any kind of religious spiritual."

“I think I’ve seen that religion becomes more important to people as they get older; it would be a third-hand or fourth-hand story to hear of someone who kind of wasn’t religious becoming religious for something to do.”

Older Filipinos

“It’s everything... we want to be very sure that we get there! That’s very crucial.”

“In my ailment, I’ve learned to pray to God all the time. I became prayerful all the time. I understood what praying incessantly means, I ask God to raise me in levels of faith all the time, every day. I ask God also to crush the heart of my brothers and sisters into faith, leading them to faith. I discovered that when I became prayerful and always ask the Holy Spirit to lead me, I became stronger.”

“It’s very important, as a matter of fact; I would like to believe I have a hotline with God. I really do sincerely pray in praise, hard times and good times.”

Younger Filipinos

“I think they get more involved in church activities the older they get.”

“In terms of the seniors that I am exposed to, they are more prayerful, they stick to their routines, they have the lavinas etc....also I know someone who at a later stage in life went to other forms of
prayer or other forms of religion so...again, it doesn’t stop there, the search maybe for their spiritual grounding.”

“My grandma’s 86 or 87 right now and, ah...I think she lives for the church, so I think she finds purpose in being busy in church – that she feels like she’s needed and that she has a purpose in life.”

The results on attitudes towards one’s faith as one ages seem reflective of the socio-cultural history of each country. The Philippines is the largest Christian Asian nation, predominantly Catholic (Miller, 1982). Although Australia has a high percentage of Christians, it is also very secular (Wilson, 1983, McAllister, 1988, Hughes and Black, 1999, Hughes et al., 2000). What also appears to be relatively consistent are the views held by both generations within both cultures of how faith intercepts with ageing and the topic of mortality. Although one’s mortality was not explicitly mentioned as a specific focus group topic, nearly every participant referred to death in response to the question of how important faith was as one ages, whether they appeared to be religious or not.

4.4.6 Limitations and future directions

Some limitations of the present study were that the focus groups were relatively small in numbers, perhaps dominated by a female perspective, and for the most part represented a higher socio-economic, well-educated demographic. Being able to hold more focus groups in different areas in each country was realistically beyond the scope of the current project. Perhaps views on ageing would show a different focus in less urban settings than Canberra or Manila. Acknowledging that the views of the participants in the present study are from within an urban and highly educated perspective, much can still be gleaned from these insights for areas of family, health, education, media portrayal, support structures, mentoring and volunteerism. A limitation about the topic of faith is that the recruitment of older Filipinos for one of the focus groups all came from a church group affiliated with the University of the Philippines. This may have affected the degree to which religion played a central role in self-perceptions of ageing for the older groups. Avenues for recruitment of Filipinos were limited and relied heavily on the University of the Philippines researchers to draw participants in to the study through their connections. Another limitation was that some of the older participant focus groups run in the Philippines by the Philippine researcher were discussed in Tagalog for convenience and then translated into English before being downloaded for analysis, and therefore may have lost some nuance in the replies to the
FG questions from these participants. It is also important to acknowledged that sixty years old is still considered young for old age in contemporary times, and that there may have been some variability in views of 60-year-old participants compared with those who were in their 80s, however the study relied on two institutions in two countries to recruit older adults and narrowing the age range meant narrowing the number of older participants who might participate.

The take-home message that was apparent from all focus groups is that family and friends are an important part of how we manage moving from stage to stage of life. Where viewpoints diverged most significantly was on the degree to which collectivists relied upon focusing all their activities around the group versus the individualists and their need for separate work and family identities. Older participants expressed their desire to remain active and involved, whether in grand-parenting roles or through mentoring, paid work or volunteering. Again, the main cultural differences lay in the degree to which the family or the group benefited versus the degree to which independence, autonomy and personal satisfaction were preserved.

There was general agreement about the degree to which older people were absent from the media, and some varied views about whether this was positive or negative, with the expectation of youth and beauty being a focal point for entertainment. Future research into underlying attitudes to ageing and ageism might address the role that age categories play when it comes to societal focal points. Younger participants discussed their generation as being the ‘current generation’ and this would seem to be largely influenced by media portrayals and to a large extent the absence or negative portrayal of anyone older than 40 or 50 years of age, particularly females. It would appear that the demographic reality of an ageing population is largely out of step with societal attitudes and impressions of meeting the needs and being inclusive of all demographics. Overall, understanding what transitioning through life stages is about from a cross-cultural perspective provides insight into core similarities and differences between older and younger people in individualist and collectivist cultures. Another key finding here from the individualist’s perspective is that one’s work identity seemed to provide a sense of purpose even long after the individual had retired.

In conclusion, the intercept between ageing, the self and culture is an important one to explore because we are all part of the ageing process. Expanding our perspectives on how to age well can only benefit how we manage each stage of life especially the final
decades of life, arguably our most important time, when we recognise how we have grown and transformed all our experiences into something worth passing on to others.
Chapter 5: Cross-cultural attitudes towards ageing: Australia and the Philippines

5.0 Chapter summary
The present study sought to explore whether growing up within, or being influenced by, a collectivist culture creates more of a psychological buffer to the negative aspects of ageing than for those who are more individualist in their cultural orientation. Older adults (aged 52–79) from both the Philippines (n=41) and from Australia (n=66) were recruited to participate in a survey on cultural orientation and attitudes towards ageing. A multiple regression analysis revealed that the culture in which one lives (i.e., Australia versus the Philippines) is not to be associated with negative aspects of ageing as measured by a subscale on psychological loss, nor was it associated with physical changes in ageing. However, it was associated with the subscale on psychological growth. The items of this subscale are characterised as framing ageing in a more positive manner, such as: “It is a privilege to grow old” and “As people get older, they are better able to cope with life”.

When cultural orientation (COS) (Bierbrauer et al., 1994) was entered into the regression model, it was significantly associated with all domains of the attitudes towards ageing questionnaire (AAQ) (Laidlaw et al., 2007). That is, those who were higher on collectivist orientation tended also to have overall more positive attitudes towards ageing in all domains than those with lower COS scores (more individualistic orientation). The findings from this study support Levy’s (2009) work asserting that an individual’s surrounding culture can influence the way they perceive themselves as they age. The practical implications for such a study would be to investigate how a higher degree of intergenerational contact at the societal level could be achieved in more Western individualist cultures, while preserving the values of independence in old age. Several ideas for policy and direction are discussed within this chapter.

5.1 Background
Differing self-construals in the context of individualism and collectivism have been discussed at length in previous chapters. Asian culture can have social norms which centre on elder respect (Andres, 1987, Ogena, 2006, Sung, 2001, Yoon et al., 2000, Markus and Kitayama, 1991). Following this, it is expected that older people in Asian cultures will have more positive attitudes towards ageing than more Western cultures, where elder respect is not explicitly practised (Levy, 1994, Laidlaw et al., 2010). The
present study tests whether those who grew up in a collectivist culture like the Philippines or have strong Filipino family bonds, have more positive attitudes towards ageing. Due to changes halfway through the project when the University of the Philippines Psychology Department were no longer able to assist with the project recruitment, participants who grew up in the Philippines, but migrated to other countries such as Australia, the U.S. or Canada were included in the study to have enough in the sample to test. A variable for immigration/emigration is included in this chapter’s analysis and will be discussed in the results and discussion sections. Although one study suggests that the age of migration and place a Filipino emigrates to can have an impact on their mental health (Mossakowski, 2007), the degree to which they continue to hold collectivist values is confirmed by other studies (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Shapiro, 2003). Further, collectivism refers to a sense of integration from birth and family ties both immediate and extended, whereas individualism refers to the degree to which ties between individuals are loose and everyone is expected to look after themselves with the exception of family dependents. It does not have any political definition as Hofstede and Macrae point out, collectivism is about shared values and is not about the State (2004). The retention of collectivist values including elder respect is central to this thesis.

The idea of stereotype embodiment of the negative attributes assigned to older people in Western cultures (Levy, 2009) might lend some insight into how people in cultures that revere rather than diminish the value of older people could then lead to the embodying of more positive views of older people across the life course (Langer, 1994, Laidlaw et al., 2007). With these theoretical underpinnings, it is predicted that those who are embedded within a culture of elder respect will show more positive attitudes to ageing. The specific hypotheses around this prediction are described in this chapter following a review of some of the relevant theories about culture and the ageing self.

This chapter will firstly discuss and operationalise the constructs of cultural orientation, attitudes towards ageing and their measures, as well as how different cultural conceptions of the self in the context of the individualist-collectivist (IC) dimension might add to the larger picture on how cultural orientation can influence self-perceptions of ageing. Then, theories on self and ageing in the context of culture are considered. Finally, the question of whether collectivist cultures with social norms of elder respect provide a buffer to negative attitudes about age will be unpacked in further detail. The results from the present study will determine whether a more collectivist
culture affords a more positive experience of the ageing process. Implications from this will be laid out looking specifically at lessons learned from collectivist cultures about how to navigate the later stages of life with a sense of self defined from a process of stages with strong intergenerational ties and less emphasis on a collection of attributes seen negatively as a burden as one ages.

5.1.1 Cultural dimensions, scales and Cultural orientation scale

Cultural orientation as a variable of interest in psychology has been less prevalent in recent decades. Most published work on individualism, collectivism was written in the late eighties and early nineties (Berry, 1997; Hui & Triandis, 1986; Kim, Triandis, Kâğıtçibaşi, Choi, & Yoon, 1994; Lonner, Berry, & Hofstede, 1980; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 1989, 1993; Triandis & Brislin, 1984). These studies have examined differences in cultural norms and practices and values that accompany the social arrangements, practices and inter-relatedness that each culture gives rise to. Further cultural variables such as ‘power-distance’, ‘tightness or looseness’ and compliance were explored in the context of cultural differences in the workplace (Cialdini, Wosinska, Barrett, Butner, & Gornik-Durose, 1999; Hofstede, 1980; Triandis & Berry, 1980), but gained little traction in main-stream psychology. This could be because the variable culture is seemingly too broad and too distal to the individual, as Park and Gutchess (2006) claim, to be accounted for in quantitative research. Later studies addressed culture and how this influences personality (Church, 1987; Church & Katigbak, 2000, 2002). More recent studies have addressed cultural influences on cognition in neuropsychology (D. Park & Gutchess, 2006; D. C. Park & Huang, 2010).

The present study is focused on addressing the two main cultural dimensions as described in the earlier literature of Individualism and Collectivism (IC) as a way of understanding how cultural values framed by this ‘syndrome’ might influence one’s attitudes to ageing. However, the later research involving neuroscience and distinct differences in participants’ fMRI scans and eye-fixations from differing cultures serve as confirmation that culture can have profound influences on cognition and indeed shows a bias from Westerners’ brain activation to fixate on an object in the foreground. Whereas East Asians tend to focus on contextual and background images, which in fact also increases with age (Chua, Boland, & Nisbett, 2005; D. Park & Gutchess, 2006).

In the first chapter of this thesis, the subject of IC was introduced and provided a basic description of the tendencies that accompany cultural behaviours. This includes individualism being a predominantly Western phenomenon that largely sees the goals of
the group being subordinate to the goals of the individual, whereas collectivism is
characterised by the individual’s goals being subordinate to the group (Hui & Triandis,
1986; Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Triandis, 2001). As Hui and Triandis (1986) asserted,
social scientists were not always in agreement about the dimension of Individualism-
Collectivism. Hui and Triandis provided a basic dictionary definition (Webster’s 2nd
edition) of “individualism” to mean:

“*feeling or conduct in which the guiding principle is the interest of the*
*individual.*”

(Webster’s 2nd edition dictionary in Hui & Triandis, 1986)

Hui and Triandis (1986) then related Waterman’s (1981) work on individualism to four
well established psychological qualities: a sense of personal identity (Erikson),
actualisation (Maslow), internal locus of control (Rotter) and moral reasoning
(Kohlberg). This provided the basis of which describe the opposite trait or ‘antonym’ as
these authors described it – collectivism (Hui and Triandis, 1986). Hui and Triandis
(1986) point out that the IC dimension can be a cultural variable and a personality
variable. The personality approach is adopted by Church (1987) and Church and
Katigbak (2002 and 2002). The present study seeks to address IC as a variable of
culture. Hui and Triandis assert that IC can be viewed as wide variety of behaviours that
fall under the following seven categories:

1. *Consideration of implications (costs and benefits)* of one’s own decisions/
   actions for other people. Where individualists tend to act in consideration to
   personal gain or to some close loved ones (e.g. nuclear family), collectivists tend
to consider the wider implications of their actions for their close and extended
   family ties.

2. *Sharing of material resources.* The differences here lie in the degree to which
   resources are pooled the level of reciprocity between social networks and linked
   families. Collectivists tend to have high levels of reciprocity and pooled
   resources, whereas individualists tend to value self-sufficiency.
3. **Sharing of nonmaterial resources.** This refers to non-tangible resources such as one’s time, where collectivists tend to have a higher expectation of reciprocity compared with individualists, in perhaps doing favours for one another or creating social connections.

4. **Susceptibility to social influence.** Collectivists tend to place more importance on social influence and go along with the group to avoid rejection more so than individualists. Given that harmony is high valued by collectivists, conforming arise out of the desire to preserve interpersonal relationships.

5. **Self-presentation and facework.** Collectivist cultures tend to punish behaviour that is deviant to the norm with shame. Whereas Individualist culture relies on guilt, or one’s ‘conscience’ to motivate them when there is a need to ‘save face’, however individualists tend to care less about being accepted by a group.

6. **Sharing of outcomes.** Individualists tend to ignore the relevance of interconnectedness with people they do not think has any visible effect on them. Whereas, collectivists tend to feel the interconnectedness of others and are sensitive to any disgrace that they or any family members might bring to them.

7. **Feeling of involvement in other’s lives.** This refers to the degree to which collectivist involve themselves in the lives of their close family members with collectivist characterised as having high involvement and individualists having comparatively low involvement in one another’s lives.

Oyserman, Coon and Kemmelmeier’s (2002) meta-analyses on individualism and collectivisms urge researchers to not necessarily view IC as simple opposites. Oyserman et al (2002) suggest that IC should be conceptualised more as worldviews that differ in issues they make salient. For example, the individualist who necessarily creates and maintains a positive sense of self and pursues personal goals is necessarily seen in a decontextualized way. Whereas, the collectivist largely operates within the constraint of a group and is therefore seen in a contextual, situation-specific way. In addition, collectivism also refers to sharing a set of values that are very much based on ‘interdependent’ relationships, however is not solely exclusive to collectivist cultures,
but rather has a higher rate of occurrence within cultures where social organisation are
group-focused (Fung, 2013; North & Fiske, 2015).

The Cultural Orientation Scale (COS) was developed by Bierbrauer et al (1994) and
separates cultural norms and personal evaluations of these norms to further delineate
how influential culture is on the individual. This also take into consideration the process
of migration and its effect on IC. To explain the possible effects of migration on IC,
Bierbrauer distinguishes between norms and values. Norms (N) reflect the degree to
which certain behaviours or practices are common in any given culture. Whereas values,
involve personal evaluations (E) of the behaviour/practices in question and thus reflect
the degree to which the latter are desirable or not (Bierbrauer, 1994). A further
indication that norms and evaluations or endorsement of such norms are discrepant or
aligned can be created by subtracting COSN – COSE to obtain COSD. This will be
discussed further in the section below under materials. In theory, if a participant’s
COSN score is high, such that a certain practice is the social norm, and then the
participant scores equally high on COSE, endorsing said norm, then by the very nature
of questions asked such as level of involvement with one’s family and community,
outcome scores can show how ‘collectivist’ they are by nature from the COSD score. If
COSD scores are low then there is not much discrepancy. If COSD scores are high, then
there is variability between reported cultural norms and one’s evaluation or
endorsement of such norms.

5.1.2 Attitudes towards ageing
Most early work in understanding social attitudes towards ageing in the social sciences
has been in Western societies (North & Fiske, 2015). As Laidlaw, Power and Schmidt
(2007), Levy (2003) and many other theorists point out, the prevailing social stereotype
of ageing is negative. However, in the last decade there have been more cross-cultural
studies indicating that culture may not always predict whether attitudes are ‘positive’ or
‘negative’ and that traditions such as elder respect in more Eastern cultures do not
necessarily lead to favourable views of older people (Löckenhoff et al., 2009; McCann
& Keaton, 2013; North & Fiske, 2015; Sung & Dunkle, 2009). The North and Fiske
(2015) study notes the rapid ageing in Eastern countries such as Japan and China have
been comparatively speedier that Western countries gradual build in population ageing.
This has led the authors to highlight several indices of speed of ageing – i.e. the rate of
each country’s spike in over-65 population proportion. Looking at absolute growth in
the number of seniors and growth in seniors relative to the total population – Eastern
countries hold the highest rates over a recent 30-year period (United Nations Population Division, 2012 in North & Fiske, 2015). There is a correlation between the most rapidly ageing countries (mostly in Asia) and negative attitudes towards older people. Therefore, North & Fiske (2015) contend that with the abrupt spike in over-65 year old whose life span is increasing, may have led to speedier devaluation of the aged which is contrast to traditional collectivist norms of filial piety.

The many attitude toward ageing scales over the years have focussed on either traits or behaviours of older people described in stereotypes such as ‘warm but incompetent’ or positive stereotypes such as ‘wise and helpful’. The North & Fiske (2015) study has reviewed and compared a list of 37 studies with various attitude measures evaluating loaded trait ratings of older adults concerning perceived wisdom, warmth, competence and other common age-related stereotypes. The heterogeneity of such a study shows several issues 1) There are vast moderators such as geography, rate of ageing and socio-economic circumstances that can affect attitudes towards older people 2) Western-based scales are not always culturally appropriate, and the response bias seen in some Eastern cultures (e.g. the tendency to not answer with extreme responses on scales) can present potential confounders or inaccurate outcomes (Chen, Brockner, & Katz, 1998; Flaskerud, 1988; Lee, Jones, Mineyama, & Zhang, 2002) 3) Attitudes about older people or the ageing process may have a different effect to one’s own self-perceptions of ageing, especially in light of the ‘youth age identity’ phenomenon (Logan, Ward, & Spitze, 1992; G. Westerhof, 2008), where most people report feeling younger than they are chronologically. While general attitudes and societal attitudes are likely to influence one’s internal views of their own ageing, one’s self-perceptions of ageing can mediate the external societal views (Logan et al., 1992). Indeed, there are individuals in Western cultures who show resilience and positive self-perceptions of ageing too (B. Levy, Slade, M. D., & Kasl, S. V., 2002; B. R. Levy, Slade, Murphy, & Gill, 2012). The present study’s focus is on capturing individual’s self-perceptions of ageing from older people cross-culturally to assess the degree to which internalised collectivist values influence one’s own perception of ageing in later life.

In order to capture a universal attitude towards age from the perspectives of older people, Laidlaw et al. (2007) developed a scale in collaboration with the World Health Organization Quality of Life Group. As Laidlaw et al. (2007) contend, the negative stereotypes of age and ageing might be challenged by understanding the degree to
which these kinds of stereotypes exist in other cultures, especially in cultures where elder respect and filial piety are prevalent social norms.

Laidlaw et al. (2007) developed a culturally appropriate instrument that measures attitudes towards ageing. Focus group data from 35 older adults, with a mean age of 75 years (range 62-95 years) with approximately two thirds of the group being female, were developed into items. The items were then distributed to 15 countries. Data were collected, factor analysed and distilled into three main sections or subscales of importance: 1) physical change 2) psychological growth and 3) psychological loss. The physical change subscale included items such as “It is important to take exercise at any age” and “I have more energy now than I expected for my age”. The psychological growth subscale included items such as “It is a privilege to grow old” and “As people get older, they are better able to cope with life”. The psychological loss subscale included items such as “Old age is a time of loneliness” and “Old age is a depressing time of life”.

As several theorists have asserted, the degree to which individuals are satisfied in later life is perhaps hinged on how they have been able to balance their losses and gains, and whether they have made peace with their ‘perceived’ strengths and weakness across their life course (Erikson and Erikson, 1998, Baltes, 1991, Laidlaw et al., 2007). In this regard, Laidlaw et al. (2007) take the approach from Baltes (1991) to later life development that encapsulates the multidimensional and multidirectional dynamic of how one psychologically processes life’s losses and gains. This seeks to provide a measurement that perhaps goes beyond the measure of what is seen as ‘negative’ or ‘positive’ about ageing. The AAQ attempts to capture attitudes of ageing from older people whose expertise in the process of ageing was perhaps not previously accounted for (Laidlaw et al., 2007).

5.1.3 The self and culture

It has been established in earlier chapters that there are differing conceptions and theories of self (McCall and Simmons, 1966, Brewer, 1991, Turner et al., 1994, Stets and Burke, 2000, Burkitt, 2008); theories of self that elucidate the activation of the social self, such as social identity theory, which describes how one’s self-identity is entwined with role-related interactions. This is particularly so for those who exist within the more interdependent paradigm of self as described by Markus and Kitayama’s (1991) in their paper on culture and self. The present study explores how one’s cultural

5.1.4 The ageing self
There has been much written in the last few decades about models of successful ageing (Rowe and Kahn, 1987, Rowe and Kahn, 1997, Rowe and Kahn, 2015). Rowe and Kahn’s (1997) original conception of the MacArthur Foundation Research Network on successful ageing emphasises the multi-dimensional nature of ageing and that success in later years of life depends on the avoidance of disease and disability, the maintenance of high physical and cognitive function and sustained engagement in social as well as productive activities (Rowe & Kahn, 1997). The three main components of this model were: low probability of disease and disease-related disability, high cognitive and psychical functional capacity, and active engagement with life. The low probability of disease not only refers to the absence of disease but also low risk factors. Being productive in society be having a high degree of interpersonal relationships and a role in other’s lives, be it work or volunteering. Rowe and Kahn articulate in their most recent article (2015) how thousands of papers have been generated in response to the initial paper on the MacArthur model of successful ageing in 1987. The themes of these papers include disagreement with the concept of successful ageing, endorsement of the model and others wanting to expand on the model (Rowe and Kahn, 2015). Rowe and Kahn’s most recent paper (2015) also highlights the shift in perspective in gerontology disciplines from understanding the effects of ageing at the individual level to the societal level and the interaction between the two. One of these intercepts can be seen as culture. Although Rowe and Kahn (2015) do not explicitly mention ‘culture’ as an influential factor, they do recognise that a person’s social and interpersonal environment is important in the context of the life course perspective.

Building on Rowe and Kahn’s (1997) model of successful ageing, Crowther et al. (2002) highlight the forgotten factor of spirituality. The authors argue that incorporating spirituality is an important part of healthy ageing and review several studies that have shown evidence for reduced depression and morbidity and increased life span (Williams, Larson, Buckler, Heckmann & Pyle, 1991 in Crowther et al., 2002). Crowther et al. (2002) highlight studies that show how spirituality has been associated
with an improvement in subjective states of well-being (Ellison, 1991 in Crowther et al., 2002) and other studies that show reduction in levels of depression and distress (Crowther et al., 2002). A compelling argument for exploring the effects of one’s faith or spirituality from the review, is that gerontological literature does not address the interrelatedness between the older adults’ beliefs and values, the community and their health as they age. Chapter 4 of this thesis explored different cultural and generational views on faith in the context of ageing and there were some important connections made mostly between older Filipinos’ prayer rituals and coping with their illness or aspects of ageing and decline. However, Crowther et al. (2002) also caution that persons who are often involved in close family systems and supportive communities may be showing the effects of their social network rather than exclusive spiritual or religious rituals in aiding their coping. The authors then urge the gerontological community to incorporate spirituality into their research and practice to grow this major dimension of spirituality and ageing as a tool for intervention and promotion of successful ageing (Crowther et al., 2002).

Cultural influences are explicitly described as a gap in the ageing literature, insofar as comparisons in cultures may elucidate what factors contribute to ageist attitudes and the behaviours that can reduce such attitudes (Nelson, 2004). In addition to Nelson’s compilation of studies on ageing, Levy’s (2009) theory on stereotype embodiment points to the surrounding culture as a large predictor of how one views oneself when concepts of age become self-relevant. Having discussed faith in the previous chapter in focus groups and reviewing some of the literature that argues the importance of this dimension in the socio-cultural intersection of health and aging (Crowther et al., 2002; Rowe & Kahn, 2015), a question asking how important faith is between cultures has been added to the survey in this study. However, before contrasting cultural views on faith and ageing, some important theories on self-identity and ageing will be discussed.

Sneed and Whitbourne (2005) reviewed several prominent and enduring theories of the ageing self. A brief summary of this review will show that most of these theories have germinated within the Western sciences and humanities, with a focus on the concept of self as embedded in personal control and goal attainment, two seemingly important Western notions of the self. These theories of the ageing self include Carstensen, Isaacowitz and Charles’s (1999) social emotional selectivity theory, Markus and Nurius’s (1986) model of possible selves, self-discrepancy theory (Higgins, 1987) and Andersen and Chen’s (2002) theory of the relational self (Sneed and Whitbourne,
Whitbourne, Sneed and Skultety’s (Whitbourne et al., 2002) identity process theory tries to understand the underlying processes of how one’s self-concept remains stable yet assimilates previous self-concepts with new self-concepts as a consequence of ageing (Sneed and Whitbourne, 2005, Whitbourne et al., 2002). Looking at Erikson’s (1968) concept of ego integrity, the emphasis for successful ageing is one’s ability to look back on one’s life and feel at peace with both one’s successes and failures. Taking Erikson’s theory (1968) as a framework for adaptive ability for the changing self as one ages, Whitbourne and Sneed’s paradox of wellbeing emphasises that the majority of older adults experience high levels of satisfaction with ageing. This is despite the changes in their social roles, negative and ageist stereotypes and the ability to acclimatise to the incongruence of their self-concept with the surrounding youth-oriented culture. This adaptive ability is accounted for by identity assimilation, a process, according to Whitbourne and Sneed (2002), where individuals maintain a sense of self-consistency even in the face of discrepant experiences or information about the self. Those who adopt this kind of psychological process tend to approach new experiences in a formulated way in order to seek out information that is consistent with their current identity schemas (Whitbourne and Sneed, 2002). The Whitbourne and Sneed (2002) account provides for the schematic representation of what it is to age in a more collectivist culture; that is, the process of identity assimilation is perhaps less fraught in the collective interdependent self-construal and therefore possibly facilitates smoother psychological transition with a more positive or at least ‘accepting’ sense of self in one’s later stages of life. Another explanation is that the discourse on age stereotypes in individualistic cultures has less impact in collectivist cultures where the self is more ‘relational’ and less ‘concept’ driven in nature (Andersen and Chen, 2002).

### 5.1.5 Culture and ageing

According to early cross-cultural research in the social psychology of ageing, stereotypes of older people are more consistent across differing countries than is commonly believed. In a study conducted in the 1960s, which sent out 100 negatively loaded statements (Arnhoff, Leon and Lorge, 1964) to colleges in the UK, Sweden, Greece, Japan and Puerto Rico, results showed that there were no significant differences between these nationalities on acceptance of stereotypes about old people. Examples of these age stereotype statements include:

- dislike any changes or interference with established ways of doing things
- are conservative
• respect tradition
• resist any change
• are tight in money matters
• become more interested in religion
• like to think about the past

(See Arnhoff, Leon & Lorge, 1964)

According to Arnhoff, Leon and Lorge (1964), the US, which is described as a youth-oriented country, actually had the lowest score of 46 out of 100. This is in contrast to Japan (57.3) and Greece (66.5), indicating that the US was less accepting of negative stereotypes about the aged than the other countries (see Arnhoff, Leon & Lorge, 1964). Other studies emphasised the positive bias of elder reverence in East Asian cultures (B. Levy & Langer, 1994; Nelson, 2004; Palmore, 1975) and its influence on attitudes to ageing, while other more recent studies found no significant differences between cultures on attitudes to ageing. Some studies showed that attitudes in Eastern cultures were equally, if not more negative about ageing than Western cultures, and further cases of elder abuse in countries such as the Philippines and China, which would seem counter to traditional practices of elder respect and filial piety (Boduroglu, Yoon, Luo, & Park, 2006; Carlos, 2009; Löckenhoff et al., 2009; North & Fiske, 2015).

With these disparate accounts in mind about which cultures deem the aged and ageing negatively or positively, the present study aims to address whether cultural orientation – IC, has any effect on how positively or negatively people view self-perceptions of ageing in Australia and the Philippines. For practical purposes, within the scope of this dissertation work, only two nations have been included for comparison, given that Australia rates higher on the individualism scale than the more collectivist Philippines (Hofstede, 1980), and the Philippines has been recognised as a country with collectivist values including social reciprocity (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Mossakowski, 2007; Shapiro, 2003).

A person’s culture and their cultural orientation may be two different things, separate but related. That is, it’s conceivable that at the individual level one person is more ‘collectivist’ in their orientation than ‘individualistic’, and then this would be further influenced by the culture in which they live. For example, Trafimow et al (1991) contends that individualistic, collectivist and relational self-contruals are present in people in all cultures, however are differently accessed in different cultural contexts.
Gender is also seen as a moderator of IC, such that females, who are more ‘relational’ are seen as more collectivist and interdependent that males (Kashima et al., 1995). Further, in an ever-globalised world where many grow up in one culture but move and live in another, it is not always easy to assess the degree to which one is influenced by their socio-cultural environment (Berry, 1997; Bierbrauer, Meyer, & Wolfradt, 1994).

5.1.6 The issue of acculturation: does migration or multiculturalism affect one’s attitudes?

In a paper on issues of immigration, acculturation and adaptation, Berry (1997) highlights the variability of acculturating processes within pluralist societies such as North America, Australia and Europe. Berry (1997) describes acculturation as centring on three factors – dominant group versus the non-dominant group/s – being issues of voluntariness, mobility and permanence. Berry (1997) prefaced the three terms with an important qualifier, that popular differences in social science can provide examples of plural societies as having 'mainstream’, ‘minority’ or ‘ethnic groups’ recognising unequal influences that can contribute to the variability of the acculturation process, especially the assumption that minorities are or ‘should be’ in the process of acculturation. That is, immigrants or expatriates have entered into the acculturation process voluntarily, whereas others, such as asylum seekers and refugees or Indigenous people, experience acculturation without having sought it. Others have experienced some kind of acculturation process through relocation and migration (Berry, 1997). Therefore, keeping in mind that culture is not necessarily a construct that can be easily captured, continuously or categorically, we need to find ways to look at the degree to which the dominating culture has influenced attitudes.

In the present study, cultural orientation in the context of collectivism and individualism is an important indicator of how one associates with close others, including intergenerational ties. In a multicultural and pluralist country like Australia, there may be a mixture of individuals who are of Anglo heritage, are Indigenous Australians, or from many other cultures. In addition to this complex array of cultural intermingling within more pluralist societies such as Australia is the contrast of interdependent-natured individuals such as Filipinos who live in less collectivist cultures such as America, Canada or Europe for extended periods due to the necessity of work.

In summary, the interdependent self, within societies where there is a greater degree of intergenerational contact, could facilitate a smoother psychological transition into old
age. The discourse in Western individualistic cultures tends to be negative and attribute-oriented, with the literature pointing to the need to assimilate previous concepts of a younger self with the ageing self. Being part of a culture where the self is more ‘relational’ in nature could provide a buffer to negative attitudes about age. Testing whether this is in fact the case will potentially help Western societies structure some social aspects to better integrate different generations in a mutually beneficial way, such as education or living arrangements.

5.2 Study aims and hypotheses

5.2.1 Aims
The aims of the present study are to test first whether there are significant differences in cultural orientation between Australians and Filipinos along the dimension of individualism and collectivism. It is expected that Filipinos will be more collectivistic, and Australians will be more individualistic. Further aims are to determine whether differences of both cultures of origin and cultural orientation impact attitudes towards ageing and, more specifically, to confirm whether belonging to a more collectivistic culture, or identifying as having more collectivistic values provides more positive self-perceptions of ageing compared with living in an individualistic culture.

5.2.2 Hypotheses on cultural orientation
H1. Filipinos are more collectivist in their orientation as measured by the cultural orientation scale (COS).

H1.1 – Filipinos have less discrepancy between their perceived cultural norms (COSN) scores and their evaluation of these norms (COSE) scores than Australians (indicating one’s values are more aligned with norms as indicated by the COSD score).

H1.2 – Filipinos show more elder respect than Australians, as indicated by their COSD scores.

5.2.3 Hypothesis on importance of faith
H2 – Compared to Australians, Filipinos will score significantly higher on the importance of faith in old age.

5.2.4 Hypothesis on Attitudes towards Ageing
H3 – Compared to Australians, Filipinos will report more positive attitudes towards ageing by scoring higher on the total of the AAQ.
H₃.₁ – H₃.₃ Within the AAQ, compared to Australians, Filipinos will report higher scores on the psychological growth, physical changes and psychological loss subscales.

5.3 Methods

5.3.1 Participants
Participants (n=107) were recruited through several methods depending on whether they were in Australia or the Philippines. Australians (n=66, 56% female) were recruited through a local newspaper advertisement (Appendix C) as well as through a circulated email to senior’s card e-newsletters recipients New South Wales. The seniors card allows people over 60 years of age to obtain discounts to certain health and transport services. Filipinos (n=41, 63.4% female) were recruited both in Australia (Australian-Filipinos, i.e., Filipinos who grew up in the Philippines but have migrated to Australia, have been coded as ‘Filipino’ for the purpose of this study) and in the Philippines with the assistance of the Australian embassy, Manila and Rotary group members in both Manila and Bacolod City. Participants were provided with information about participating in several cognitive tasks (see Appendix B) and about undertaking a survey on cultural attitudes (results of the survey component are discussed in the present chapter for Study 2). Participants were first asked to undertake some memory tests (Study 3, in the following chapter), and then requested to complete the survey in the present study. The protocol deliberately had the memory test first to minimise exposure to age-related concepts before the memory test.

The focus of ageing was not made explicit at first contact in order to minimise any potential negative perceptions of what the study might be measuring (based on previous literature that suggests that age can be a source of negative bias towards the self or others – see Levy, 2009). However, participants were later debriefed about the exact aims of both studies 2 and 3 (see Appendix B for consent and debrief forms). All participants provided written informed consent. The study was approved by the University of New South Wales, where the study was conducted, and by the Human Research Ethics committee at the Australian National University, protocol no. 2011/270 (see Appendix B).
5.3.2 Materials
5.3.2.1 Cultural orientation scale (COS)

The COS is a series of questions regarding the degree to which participants’ country of origin encouraged the sharing of information, important life choices with family, whether they lived at home until they got married, etc. (see Appendix B for the full COS questionnaire). The COS (Bierbrauer et al., 1994) was developed to provide a framework for the separateness of norms and an individual’s evaluation of these group norms as reflected by values. Bierbrauer et al. (1994) assert that the conceptual refinement of instruments measuring cultural influence on attitudes is made complex because of the often vague definitions given to norms and values. Given that values and norms are central to cultural differences, it is important to first operationalise the definition of values and then norms in order to understand how these two dimensions might affect the group or the individual’s beliefs, behaviours or attitudes. An elder respect item was added to the COS. As per the rest of the scale, the question had two components, with response ranging from (1) not at all to (7) always for the normative part (N) and (1) very bad to (7) very good for the evaluative (E) part:

N: “Do people in your native country often show respect for elders or seniors?”

And

E: “What do you think of someone in your native country showing respect for elders or seniors?”

The original COS scale (see Bierbrauer et al., 1994) had 26 items with a range of response scores from 1 to 7. The development of the scale was in a study with participants from Germany (average age 23) and Korea (average age 28). The Koreans showed significantly higher means of collectivism (M=4.77) than the German participants (M=3.68). The internal consistency of the scale (α total =.82) was acceptable (Germans α=.56; Koreans α=.70). There was another item added to the COS in the present study about elder respect which had two components (Normative and Evaluative), bringing the total to 28 items. In the present study, the Filipino mean COS scores were also significantly higher (M=4.25) than the Australian scores (M=3.34). A further score for determining the degree to which participants ‘cultural values are
aligned with their cultural norms is provided by a discrepancy score, that is the difference between their COSN score and their COSE score. E.g. COSN – COSE = COSD. The COSD, or discrepancy score can indicate the degree to which a participant or the group endorse their cultural norms by having a similar score on their evaluation, to the score reported on their cultural norm. The reliability scores for the participants in the present study for the COS were Australians $\alpha = .73$ and Filipinos $\alpha = .64$.

5.3.2.2 Attitudes towards ageing questionnaire (AAQ)

The second half of the survey included items of the attitudes towards ageing questionnaire (AAQ). These items measure the degree to which participants felt strongly or less strongly about issues regarding physical change, psychological growth or psychological loss because of ageing (see Appendix B for the full questionnaire). The AAQ was developed with the view to capturing the most realistic appraisal of the later stages of life from those who were already intimately acquainted with it – seniors (Laidlaw et al, 2007). Themes behind the AAQ were generated from focus groups first, then a Delphi exercise that was circulated amongst ageing experts in 15 WHOQoL-OLD centres (See Laidlaw et al. 2007). The three major dimensions were Psychological Loss as represented by items like ‘Old age is a time of loneliness’ and ‘old age is a depressing time of life’; Physical Change: ‘It is important to take exercise at any age’, ‘growing older has been easier than I thought’ and ‘I don’t feel old’ and Psychological Growth ‘As people get older they are better able to cope with life’ and ‘Wisdom comes with age’ (see Laidlaw et al 2007). Laidlaw et al (2007) utilised Item Response Theory (IRT) approach suited to testing for item equivalence across disparate populations in order to identify items that function equivalently across different cultural, gender and age groups. Laidlaw et al (2007) utilised the Rasch model implemented with the RUMM program. Factor Analysis was carried out on an eight-factor solution, and was eventually refined to the three-factor solution. The higher the score in all subscales, the more positive the attitudes towards ageing. The items for the psychological loss subscale was reverse scored for analysis, given that the ‘loss’ items were framed negatively, and the responses ranged on the Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (5). The final version of the AAQ developed focussed on three different aspects of ageing. Psychological loss items were relevant to older adults in which old age is seen primarily as a negative experience involving social loss. Physical change is primarily related to health, exercise and the experience of ageing itself. Whereas, Psychological growth is explicitly positive focusing on the positive gains of ageing such
as ‘Wisdom’ and ‘Growth’. The three subscales are supported by the existence of a higher order factory in the confirmatory factor analyses in the Laidlaw et al study (2007), however there can also be a total summation score based on all 24 items.

5.3.3 Socio-demographic variables
Socio-demographic variables included age, gender, level of education, marital status, accommodation type (e.g., living in a house, apartment or residential home), living arrangements (e.g. living alone, with spouse or with family), and religion.

5.3.3.1 The importance of Faith – a cross-cultural comparison
Given that faith was important in the context of ageing to nearly all Filipinos and some Australians in the previous study and recent research advocating for the spiritual dimensions of ageing (Crowther et al., 2002; Mackinlay & Trevitt, 2007), an item rating how important participant felt that their faith was to them was added to the survey with a Likert scale from 1 – slightly or not at all. 2 – a little, 3 – moderately important, 4 – quite important, to 5 – extremely important to gauge differences between cultural groups and assess whether there was any associate between cultural orientation and importance of faith.

5.3.4 Procedure
The same participants who had already participated in several memory tasks (see chapter 6, Study 3) were asked to take a survey on cultural norms and values with the aid of a computer for convenience. A small number of participants completed a hard copy of the survey and returned it to the researcher by post later. The posted hard copy survey data were manually entered into the SPSS data file. To avoid participants becoming too aware of the attitudes to ageing theme of the study (see Chapter 6), the survey was provided after the memory tests were taken so as not to confound results for the memory conditions. However, not all participants took part in the memory tests; therefore, the sample population numbers vary slightly between Study 2 (the present study; (n=107) and Study 3 (n=119), details of which are in the following chapter.

Australian participants undertook the memory test (from Study 3) followed by the survey in the present study (Study 2), at the University of New South Wales Centre of Excellence in Population Ageing. Filipino-Australian participants were tested across various locations including a community centre in the Western suburbs of Canberra close to a popular Filipino restaurant and in participants’ homes both in Canberra and
Sydney. Filipino participants who had been recruited in the Philippines undertook the memory test (from Study 3) and then the survey from the present study at a meeting room either within a local setting (a Manila or Bacolod hotel), or in their individual homes within Bacolod City by appointment. Three of the Filipino participants expressed interest in only participating in the survey (Study 2), and therefore filled in a hard copy of the survey in their own time. They returned this to the researcher at the hotel reception in Bacolod City or posted the hard copy to the researcher in Australia.

The majority of the individuals recruited for this study participated in both the memory tests and the survey; however, due to the aforementioned reasons, there is a slight discrepancy in the overall number of participants in Study 2 compared with Study 3 in the following chapter. Four of the Australian participants who participated in the memory tests did not participate in the survey, and one participant’s memory scores were removed due to a screening out of participants who might have had mild cognitive impairment as measured by the TELE (Gatz, 1995 - see Chapter 6 and Appendix B).

After the participants completed the survey, they were provided with a 5-minute debrief about the aims of the study and asked if they had any questions about their participation in it (see Appendix B). Originally, the implicit association test (IAT) (Greenwald et al., 1998) was undertaken by some participants either before or after the survey; however, due to time constraints and technical difficulties with the lab computer systems, the IAT was removed from the protocol. The remainder of the participants recruited were only asked to do the memory test (see Chapter 6, Study 3, and the survey in the present study).

5.4 Results

5.4.1 Preliminary analysis

Preliminary analysis showed that the dependent variables (COS and AAQ scores) were of a relatively normal distribution. When the AAQ subscale score distributions were examined separately, there was mild skewness in the distribution given the small sample size; however, the COS and AAQ scales have been shown to be reliable measures with smaller samples and with disparate populations of varied backgrounds (Laidlaw et al., 2007, Bierbrauer et al., 1994). The tests chosen to analyse these measures, such as t-tests and regression, have been shown to be relatively robust for small sample populations (Sawilowsky and Blair, 1992).
5.4.2 Socio-demographic characteristics of participants between cultures

The samples were very similar in terms of age, gender and marital status (Table 5.1); however, there were significant differences in accommodation, with a larger proportion of Filipinos living in houses compared to Australians. In addition, Australians had a higher proportion of apartment-living and other arrangements, whereas many older Filipinos reported living with family. A greater proportion of Australians reported living alone than Filipinos. Although both samples were highly educated, there was a significantly higher proportion of Australians with post-graduate education. Religion was also significantly different between the two cultures; there was more diversity within the Australian than the Filipino sample. Most Filipinos reported their religion as Catholic or other Christian denomination, whereas a large proportion of Australian participants identified as Catholic or a combined Christian denomination such as Anglican, Presbyterian or Uniting. Australians who reported ‘other’ as their religion identified as Jewish, Hindu, agnostic, atheist, having no religion or non-religious. Chi square analysis revealed significant differences between the cultural groups, \( \chi^2 (2)=33.23, p<.001 \) (Table 5.1).
Table 5.1 Socio-demographic characteristics of participants who performed in memory test and survey (n = 107)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Australians</th>
<th></th>
<th>Filipinos</th>
<th></th>
<th>Culture</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-immigrant</td>
<td>Immigrant/emigrant</td>
<td>Non-immigrant</td>
<td>Immigrant/emigrant</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigration status</td>
<td>n (%)</td>
<td>n (%)</td>
<td>n (%)</td>
<td>n (%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-immigrant</td>
<td>51 (100%)</td>
<td>16 (100%)</td>
<td>32 (100%)</td>
<td>8 (100%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrant/emigrant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age, M SD</td>
<td>66.39 (3.6, 60 – 73)</td>
<td>67 (3.25, 61-74)</td>
<td>65 (5.7, 55 – 77)</td>
<td>66 (8.1, 52 – 79)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>χ²</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>23 (45%)</td>
<td>Male 6 (38%)</td>
<td>Male 13 (41%)</td>
<td>Male 2 (25%)</td>
<td>.565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>28 (55%)</td>
<td>Female 10 (62%)</td>
<td>Female 19 (59%)</td>
<td>Female 6 (75%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.516</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>28 (54.9%)</td>
<td>12 (74.9%)</td>
<td>18 (56.3%)</td>
<td>4 (50%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated/Divorced</td>
<td>9 (17.6%)</td>
<td>1 (6.3%)</td>
<td>3 (9.4%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>14 (27.5%)</td>
<td>3 (18.8%)</td>
<td>11 (34.3%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House</td>
<td>28 (54.9%)</td>
<td>13 (81.3%)</td>
<td>27 (84.4%)</td>
<td>7 (87.5%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Apartment</td>
<td>18 (35.3%)</td>
<td>3 (18.7%)</td>
<td>5 (15.6%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9 (9.8%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Living Arrangements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alone</td>
<td>16 (31.4%)</td>
<td>3 (18.8%)</td>
<td>4 (12.5%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spouse</td>
<td>27 (52.9%)</td>
<td>9 (56.3%)</td>
<td>7 (21.9%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family</td>
<td>7 (13.7%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>16 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1 (2%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5 (13.6%)</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Education</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>9.86</td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical college</td>
<td>6 (11.8%)</td>
<td>5 (31.3%)</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>University degree</td>
<td>17 (33.3%)</td>
<td>3 (18.8%)</td>
<td>18 (56.3%)</td>
<td>6 (75%)</td>
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<td>Post-graduate</td>
<td>20 (39.2%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>11 (34.4%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>8 (15.7%)</td>
<td>4 (25%)</td>
<td>2 (6.3%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic</td>
<td>12 (23.5%)</td>
<td>2 (12.4%)</td>
<td>23 (71.9%)</td>
<td>7 (85.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian</td>
<td>10 (19.6%)</td>
<td>3 (18.8%)</td>
<td>1 (3.1%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>29 (54.9%)</td>
<td>11 (68.8%)</td>
<td>8 (25%)</td>
<td>1 (12.5%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.3 Cultural orientation

To test hypotheses H$_1$–H$_{1.2}$, independent sample, t-tests were conducted to compare the COS scores between the Australian and Filipino samples (see Table 5.2). Filipinos had significantly higher mean total COS, COSN and COSE scores, indicating they had higher collectivist scores and evaluations of these norms than the Australian sample. However, for H$_{1.1}$, the overall mean difference (COSD) scores were not significantly different between the cultures, indicating that their knowledge of the norms in each culture was not significantly different compared with personal evaluation of these norms. Therefore, H$_{1.1}$ was not supported.

An analysis of variance showed a main effect for culture on total cultural orientation scores (how ‘collectivist’ on is in their orientation - TOTAL COS) at the p < .01 level for the four cultural sub-groups (Australians, Immigrant-Australians, Filipinos and Immigrant-Filipinos) [F (3, 103) = 28.46, p = 0.00]. Post hoc analyses using the Tukey HSD indicated that the mean COS scores were significantly higher for the participants of Filipino culture (regardless of their immigrant status) than Australian participants p = 0.00. However, the mean scores for cultural orientation between Australian immigrants and non-immigrants were not significantly different p = 0.99, nor were there any differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant Filipino groups, p = 0.57. There were differences between the Australian immigrants and the Filipinos immigrants, p = 0.00 such that Filipino immigrants were more ‘collectivist’ in their orientation.

5.4.3.1 Cultural orientation and Elder Respect

A t-test revealed that Filipinos scores were significantly higher on elder respect (COSD ER), such that the discrepancy between the Filipinos’ knowledge of elder respect and evaluation of this norm was less than that of Australians’ view of elder respect and evaluation of this norm (see Table 5.2). An analysis of variance showed a main effect for culture on elder respect norm scores (COSN ER) at the p < .01 level for the four cultural sub-groups (Australians, Immigrant-Australians, Filipinos and Immigrant-Filipinos) [F (3, 103) = 26.80, p = 0.00]. Post hoc analyses indicated that the mean score for elder respect norms were significantly higher for the participants of Filipino culture (regardless of their immigrant status) than Australian participants p = 0.00. However, the mean scores for elder respect norms between Australian immigrants and non-immigrants were not significantly different p = 0.88, nor were there any differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant Filipino groups, p = 0.88 for elder norms.
There were differences between the Australian immigrants and the Filipinos immigrants, $p = 0.01$

There was a main effect for culture on elder respect norm scores (COSE ER) at the $p < .01$ level for the four cultural sub-groups (Australians, Immigrant-Australians, Filipinos and Immigrant-Filipinos) [$F (3, 103) = 11.20, p = 0.00$]. Post hoc analyses indicated that the mean score for elder respect norms were significantly higher for the participants of Filipino culture (regardless of their immigrant status) than Australian participants $p = 0.00$. However, the mean scores for elder respect norms between Australian immigrants and non-immigrants were not significantly different $p = 0.34$, nor were there any differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant Filipino groups, $p = 1.0$ for elder norms. There were differences between the Australian immigrants and the Filipinos immigrants, $p = 0.00$.

There was a main effect for culture on elder respect discrepancy scores (COSD ER) at the $p < .01$ level for the four cultural sub-groups (Australians, Immigrant-Australians, Filipinos and Immigrant-Filipinos) [$F (3, 103) = 3.67, p = 0.01$]. Post hoc analyses indicated that the mean discrepancy score for elder respect norms and participants’ evaluation of these norms were significantly lower for the participants of Filipino culture than Australian participants $p = 0.01$. However, the mean scores for elder respect discrepancy scores between Australian immigrants and non-immigrants were not significantly different $p = 0.133$, nor were there any differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant Filipino groups, $p = 0.89$. There were no differences between the Australian immigrants and the Filipinos immigrants, $p = 0.95$ either. This indicates that Filipinos of non-immigrant status feel that elder respect is a widely practiced norm within the Philippines, and value this norm, more highly than other groups. This showed support for $H_{1.2}$ that predicted that Filipinos’ personal views of elder respect would be more congruent with the known social norms and value of practised elder respect.

### 5.4.4 The importance of faith in old age

To test hypothesis $H_2$, an independent t-test was conducted to compare how important faith was to individuals in old age. Results showed that Filipinos found their faith to be of high importance as they aged compared to the Australian sample (see Table 5.2). In an analysis of variance between immigrant and non-immigrant sub-groups there was a main effect, at the $p < .01$ level, for culture on the importance of faith [$F (3, 24.90) = $.133$].
Post hoc analyses indicated that the mean scores on importance of faith significantly lower for the participants of Australian culture than Filipino culture \( p = 0.00 \). However, the mean scores for the importance of faith between Australian immigrants and non-immigrants were not significantly different \( p = 1.0 \), nor were there any differences between the immigrant and non-immigrant Filipino groups, \( p = 0.48 \). There were no differences between the Australian immigrants and the Filipinos immigrants, \( p = 0.20 \) either. This indicates that Filipinos of non-immigrant status, born and raised in the Philippines, hold Faith as very important compared with the other groups. This shows partial support for \( H_2 \) such that Filipinos, who were born and raised in the Philippines, tended to hold faith as more important than Australians of both subgroups. However, there were no significant differences for the effect of culture on importance of faith for the Filipino immigrants compared with the Australian non-immigrants \( p = 0.14 \). Therefore, migration from the Philippines to more Western cultures may affect one’s evaluation of how important faith is to them.

5.4.5 Attitudes towards Ageing

To test the hypotheses for attitudes towards ageing, \( H_3–H_{3.3} \), independent sample t-tests were carried out (see Table 5.2). No significant differences between Australians and Filipinos where found for the total AAQ score; however, mean psychological growth scores were significantly higher for Filipinos compared with Australian, indicating that Filipinos held more positive views on the psychological growth aspects of ageing than the Australians in the study. There were no significant differences between samples in mean psychological loss or physical change scores. This result showed support for \( H_{3.3} \) (psychological growth) but not for the other two – \( H_{3.1} \) and \( H_{3.2} \) (Table 5.2). An analysis of variance revealed that there was a main effect at the \( p < .05 \) level for culture on the psychological growth subscales of the AAQ (E.g. ‘There are many pleasant things about growing older’ and ‘Wisdom comes with age’) \( [F (3, 103), p = 0.02] \). However, there was no effect for culture on the other AAQ subscales; psychological loss or physical change. This shows for \( H_{3.1} \), however not for \( H_3 \) or \( H_{3.2} – H_{3.3} \).
Table 5.2 Mean COS scores, AAQ scores and importance of faith scores (n=107)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>95% CI mean difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>4.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSN</td>
<td>4.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSE</td>
<td>4.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD</td>
<td>-0.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD ER</td>
<td>-1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAITH</td>
<td>2.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ</td>
<td>95.80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCLOSS</td>
<td>31.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCGROW</td>
<td>32.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PHYSCH</td>
<td>32.59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AAQ – Attitude towards Ageing Questionnaire; COS = cultural orientation scale; COSN = cultural orientation scale normative; COSE = cultural orientation scale evaluative; COSD = cultural orientation scale difference; ER = Elder Respect
Table 5.2A Mean COS scores, AAQ scores and importance of faith scores (n=67), sensitivity analysis non-immigrant vs immigrant Australians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>NonImmigrant Australians</th>
<th>Immigrant Australians</th>
<th>95% CI mean difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>4.37</td>
<td>0.36</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSN</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSE</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD</td>
<td>-0.40</td>
<td>0.43</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD ER</td>
<td>-1.45</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAITH</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ</td>
<td>95.84</td>
<td>10.29</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCLOSS</td>
<td>31.19</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ SYCGROW</td>
<td>32.07</td>
<td>3.72</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

AAQ = Attitude towards Ageing Questionnaire; COS = cultural orientation scale; COSN = cultural orientation scale normative; COSE = cultural orientation scale evaluative; COSD = cultural orientation scale difference; ER = Elder Respect
Table 5.2B *Mean COS scores, AAQ scores and importance of faith scores (n=40), sensitivity analysis non-immigrant vs immigrant Filipinos*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Culture</th>
<th>NonImmigrant Filipinos</th>
<th>Immigrant Filipinos</th>
<th>95% CI mean difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>5.08</td>
<td>0.34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSN</td>
<td>4.96</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSE</td>
<td>5.21</td>
<td>0.42</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>0.39</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD ER</td>
<td>-0.68</td>
<td>0.69</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAITH</td>
<td>4.59</td>
<td>.80</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ</td>
<td>97.53</td>
<td>9.83</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCLOSS</td>
<td>30.62</td>
<td>6.60</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCGROW</td>
<td>34.68</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PHYSCH</td>
<td>32.21</td>
<td>4.83</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>Non-Immigrant Australians</td>
<td>Non-Immigrant Filipinos</td>
<td>95% CI mean difference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COS</td>
<td>4.37 0.36 51</td>
<td>5.08 0.34 32</td>
<td>-0.87, -0.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSN</td>
<td>4.17 0.41 51</td>
<td>4.96 0.39 32</td>
<td>-0.97, -0.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSE</td>
<td>4.57 0.43 51</td>
<td>5.21 0.40 32</td>
<td>-0.82, -0.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD</td>
<td>-0.40 0.43 51</td>
<td>-0.24 0.39 32</td>
<td>-0.34, 0.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSD ER</td>
<td>-1.45 1.15 51</td>
<td>-0.68 0.69 32</td>
<td>-1.16, -0.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAITH</td>
<td>2.33 1.46 51</td>
<td>4.59 .79 32</td>
<td>-2.75, -1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ</td>
<td>97.84 10.29 51</td>
<td>97.53 9.83 32</td>
<td>-6.23, 2.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCLOSS</td>
<td>31.19 4.96 51</td>
<td>30.62 6.60 32</td>
<td>-1.96, 3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PSYCGROW</td>
<td>32.07 3.72 51</td>
<td>34.68 3.62 32</td>
<td>-4.26, -0.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AAQ PHYSCH</td>
<td>32.56 4.93 51</td>
<td>32.21 4.83 32</td>
<td>-1.84, 2.54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 5.3 Hierarchical regression analysis including immigration/emigration status for variables predicting attitudes to ageing (n = 107)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Attitudes To Ageing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>0.78</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated/Emigrated</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>0.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>9.61</td>
<td>2.67</td>
<td>.453</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical Change</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>-1.10</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>-0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated/Emigrated</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.04</td>
<td>0.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>1.43</td>
<td>.273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Loss</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>-0.36</td>
<td>1.11</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated/Emigrated</td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>-0.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>3.45</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>.301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Psychological Growth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>0.77</td>
<td>0.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immigrated/Emigrated</td>
<td>0.52</td>
<td>0.76</td>
<td>0.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>.380</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.4.6 Exploring the relationship between cultural orientation and attitudes towards ageing

A multiple regression analysis was used to examine the relationship between culture, migration status, cultural orientation and attitudes to ageing. In the first step of the hierarchical model (see Table 5.3 – Model 1), culture was not significantly associated with total attitudes to ageing scores, nor was immigration status in the second step (Table 5.3 Model 2). However, after cultural orientation was included third step (Table 5.3 – Model 3), culture was significant only for the psychological growth items of the attitudes towards ageing scale and cultural orientation was significant for all items of the attitudes towards ageing scale, but there was no effect for migration status. Indicating that those with higher cultural orientation (more collectivistic) tend to have, overall, more positive attitudes towards ageing, regardless of immigrant status and tended to show higher psychological growth as measured by the AAQ.

5.5 Discussion

The present study sought to confirm that collectivist cultures could provide the conditions for more positive attitudes towards ageing. This is arguably because of their higher levels of elder inclusion and elder respect. The results showed that this was in fact the case; the collectivist culture of the Philippines promotes more positive attitudes towards ageing, such that those who scored higher on the cultural orientation scale also scored higher on the attitudes towards ageing questionnaire. Because culture is a broad concept to try to encapsulate, one’s cultural orientation is what was measured to understand differences in how one’s social environment can affect one’s self-perceptions of ageing between the two different cultures in this study – Australia and the Philippines. Berry (1997), highlighted the importance of acculturation and how this might influence cultural orientation as did Bierbrauer et al (1994). A small part of the Australian and Filipino samples were of ‘immigrant status’ and this was accounted for in the analysis. The migration status of the few did not appear to affect the overall influence of cultural orientation on attitudes towards ageing. This will be discussed further in the following sections.

5.5.1 Demographics

This study found that most of the participants were married, or in relationships. Most participants in both cultures reported living with their spouses, while quite a few Filipinos also reported living with family. In the Philippines, this is not uncommon as discussed in earlier chapters. Participants from both cultures were highly educated, with
the majority receiving tertiary education. This cross-section of society is arguably not a typical representation of most Australians or Filipinos and this aspect will be discussed further in the concluding section on limitations and future directions.

There were some interesting differences between cultures in religion or non-religion. While the majority of Filipinos in the study were Catholic Christians, the Australians were of varied beliefs and denominations of religion. These findings are in line with the literature (Abad, 2001, Hughes et al., 2000, Hughes and Black, 1999) and explain why the data are slightly skewed on the item of importance of faith in old age. It would appear that spirituality is entwined within the parameters of religious faith in the Philippines, whereas in Australia, spirituality may be on the rise but less so within the confines of any particular religion, with differences in secularism between the two differing cultures. This is not to say that Australians do not cultivate spirituality within more traditional religions and faith; rather, it would appear that there is an influence of secularism and diversity on how people wish to express their sense of spirituality within a multicultural society and that this does not change with one’s age (Mackinlay and Trevitt, 2007, McAllister, 1988, Hughes and Black, 1999). There is evidence from the survey to support the hypothesis (H2) that Filipinos would find faith an important factor in old age; however, there was significantly more variability in the Australians’ response scores which might reflect the discussed differences in how one’s spirituality manifests at the individual level within the differing cultural contexts of what is a ‘socially acceptable’ way to express one’s faith.

5.5.2 Cultural orientation

The present study showed that overall there are significant differences in cultural orientation between Australians and Filipinos as indicated by differences in mean scores on COSN and COSE. These results support for hypothesis (H1) that Filipinos’ social norms and evaluations of these norms are ‘collectivist’ in orientation compared with the Australians who are more individualistic, as indicated by their lower scores on the cultural orientation scale (COS, Bierbrauer et al., 1994). When participants with an immigrant status were separated into their Filipino migrant and Australian migrant groups, differences in COSN remained significant between Filipino non-immigrants compared with Australian non-immigrants, however there were no differences between the Australian immigrants and non-immigrants. In contrast, the t-tests for COSN showed that there were in fact significant differences between non-immigrant Filipinos and the migrant counterparts, indicating that perhaps migration had an influence on their
knowledge of Filipino cultural norms. This is what the COS was intended to pick up (Bierbrauer et al., 1994). Although there were differences between the two Filipino groups on the COSN, there were no significant difference on the COSE. The analysis of variance and multiple regression were also able to test whether migrating to another country would affect one’s cultural values. As Berry (1997) asserts, acculturation processes can have differential impacts on the degree to which individuals take on new cultural values or remain attached to cultural values from their country of origin. This can depend on factors surrounding voluntariness, mobility and permanence (Berry, 1997). As discussed earlier in the chapter, Berry (1997) describes these factors in the context of whether migrant experience acculturation through relocation and migration in a voluntary manner having sought it by choice, or through asylum seeking. Alternatively, from the experience of some indigenous groups who did not seek to live in a new culture, but rather, had one imposed on them (Berry, 1997). In other words, the degree to which one continues to practice their cultural values or identify with them is affected by the way in which their culture is seen within the dominant culture of where they live.

5.5.2.1 Cultural orientation and Elder Respect

When specifically looking at an item of the COS that addressed the degree to which participants felt that elder respect (ER) was practised, and how ‘congruent’ their evaluations of such practices were, there were significant differences in the COSD ER scores between the two cultures. This showed the degree to which elder respect was practised in the Philippines, and what Filipinos felt about this, was less discrepant than the Australians’ opinions of ER (as measured by COSN) and their evaluation (as measured by COSE) of this kind of norm. There were no significant differences between the non-immigrant Australians, nor were there any significant differences between the non-immigrant Filipinos and immigrant Filipinos. This supports the present study’s hypothesis (H1.2) regarding cultural orientation and elder respect that there is an expectation that elders would be highly regarded in a more socially cohesive and intergenerational-inclusive society such as the Philippines. It also shows that even if you migrate and live in another country that has different cultural values, you continue to maintain important cultural values learned in your younger years long into old age.
5.5.2.2 Culture and differences in the importance of faith

The results showed that Filipinos who participated in the survey held faith to be important to them compared with Australians. The analysis of variance showed that the significant differences lay between those who were of Australian culture compared with Filipino culture regardless of their immigration status. However, the t-tests showed that Filipinos and immigrant Filipinos differed significantly on how important faith was to them. Unfortunately, the distribution for this was skewed, given that there were only 8 Filipino immigrants to compare with 32 non-immigrant Filipinos. Thus, the analysis of variance was carried out to reduce the possible type one errors.

5.5.3 Culture and attitudes towards ageing

H₃ – H₃.₃ were concerned with differences between cultural groups’ attitudes towards ageing across three main domains: psychological growth, psychological loss and physical change. Of the hypotheses regarding these subscales, only H₃.₁ was supported with the comparison of means test on psychological growth (see Table 5.2). This showed significant differences in mean scores, such that Filipinos were higher than Australians on items that characterised one’s ability to psychologically frame one’s ageing experience as positive – psychological growth. For example, items included: “It is a privilege to grow old”, “Wisdom comes with age”, “There are many pleasant things about growing old”.

At first, initial comparison of means between cultural groups with independent t-tests did not show significant differences; however, when the cultural orientation scale (COS) was put into the hierarchical regression model, those who were higher on cultural orientation also had higher AAQ scores across: psychological growth, psychological loss and physical change (see Table 5.3). What this also shows is that it does not matter what your nationality is, nor whether you have emigrated elsewhere, but if you are more ‘collectivistic’ in your orientation, then you are likely to have better attitudes towards ageing. What this perhaps also indicates, is that collectivism relates to a set of shared values that are more readily internalised and maintained within ‘group-oriented cultures’ because this is how one navigates norms within this social structure. These socio-cultural conditions would promote elder respect practices. This is turn could provide a psychological buffer to those transitioning from mid-life into old age about how accepted they are within their wider community.
These findings support the work of other researchers on how a person’s surrounding culture can influence how one perceives oneself as one ages. As Levy (2009) contends, individuals are more likely to embody the surrounding culture’s stereotypes, whether positive or negative, depending on what the predominant or most pervasive cultural attitudes are (Levy, 2009, Levy et al., 2002). By contrasting cultures where there are observable differences in the concept and practice of elder respect and inclusion, we are able to test Levy’s theory about whether the surrounding culture and the pervasive attitudes towards ageing can influence one’s own self-perceptions of ageing. The present study has illustrated how cultural orientation can be an influence on attitudes to ageing in later life. Although it is a cross-sectional study, the findings are congruent with longitudinal research by Levy et al. (2002), which showed that individuals from the Ohio Longitudinal Study and Retirement study who had more positive self-perceptions of ageing at baseline enjoyed better functional health over a 20-year period and lived, on average, 7.5 years longer than those who had less positive self-perceptions of ageing (Levy, 2002).

Overall, the more positive attitudes of Filipinos towards ageing may be a reflection of the expectations of older Filipinos; that is, the expectations that they have of their family, themselves to remain positive about their age in order to provide care for their grandchildren. This is often needed in the Filipino family unit to free up their own ‘adult children’ to work. However, at some level, their involvement with the care of the grandchildren promotes the expectation of reciprocity of care and respect towards them as elders in the family which is rooted in the social norm utang na loob (debt of gratitude) (Andres, 1987, Ogena, 2006).

By testing whether participants were more individualistic or collectivistic in their orientation, we have separated out nationality and cultural orientation, thereby addressing a gap in the literature. Further, by accounting for migration status, and who lives within their country of origin, we have been able address whether migration may have influenced cultural orientation and one’s attitudes to ageing. Levy and Langer’s (1994) study relied on nationality as in Americans compared with mainland Chinese for their comparison of groups. The deaf Americans within the Levy and Langer (1994) study were an additional group of comparison on the assumption that they brought aspects of their own subculture from within the deaf community. However, the present study sought to determine whether cultural orientation played a significant role in the influence of attitudes to ageing. From the results of the present study, it is plausible to
assert that with a high degree of social inclusion through extended family and elder respect, as promoted in Philippine culture, individuals of more collectivistic orientation are bound to report more positive attitudes towards ageing.

5.5.4 Limitations and future directions
One limitation of the present study was the uneven number of participants between cultural groups as well as slightly different age ranges (Australians M=66, SD=3.71; Filipinos M=65, SD=6.71). Although the mean ages were similar between the cultural groups, there were several younger participants in the Filipino groups (in their 50s), mainly due to the differences in recruitment response in Australia versus recruitment in the Philippines. There is a possibility the different measured outcomes could have been influenced by varying generational attitudes between the cultural groups rather than purely cultural orientation. Recruitment of Filipinos for this study was challenging, as it required participation in a one-on-one person’s session. This format is less in line with traditional Filipino social values, which is typically more group-oriented (Nadal, 2011). Without the support of a Filipino institution for this phase of the research, Filipinos were less inclined to volunteer to participate in this study. This has been shown in other cross-cultural research, where individuals from collectivist cultures are less likely to engage in activities which are not somehow related to the community or group to which they belong (Cialdini et al., 1999).

Another limitation was that the individuals in this study were well-educated and of relatively high socio-economic status, as the resources for recruiting a larger sample and from different areas of the population in both countries were beyond the scope of this thesis project. Thus, the positive attitudes around psychological growth in this particular group of Filipinos may reflect a certain socio-economic cross-section, which is embedded within families who have access to continued health services as they age. However, the samples were comparative between the two cultures (both of a higher socio-economic status) yet showed quite different cultural attitudes towards ageing. Recent research, as highlighted earlier in the chapter, indicates that filial piety appears to be eroding in some of the fastest ageing populations such as China and Japan (North and Fiske, 2015), and elder abandonment is in fact on the rise within the Philippines (Coalition of Services of the Elderly (COSE) Submission on Violence Abuse and Neglect, 2017), with older Filipina women at risk of violence, abuse and neglect (Philippine Commission on Women, 2014). Therefore, perhaps social values can afford to be retained when the socio-economic circumstances permit.
Although, there is no question that large scale demographic shifts seen in global population ageing will continue to impact attitudes towards ageing and older people, the present study demonstrates that the culture of the Philippines that demonstrates elder respect and is high on collectivism has influenced those who participated in this study. Implications for the present study’s findings are that the surrounding culture and the degree to which generations relate with one another can have a significant effect on how individuals see themselves as they age. As Levy contends, the surrounding culture’s messages across the lifespan can create the embodiment of certain stereotypes about age as one transitions into the later stages of life when these ‘stereotypes’, positive or negative, become self-relevant. By exploring and contrasting cultures that hold different views of ageing, this study has added support for Levy’s (2009) findings that attitudes towards ageing from the surrounding culture are a large predictor of how one sees oneself as one ages. Individuals are less likely to view ageing positively if they have grown up in a Western individualistic culture than if they have grown up in a collectivist culture. It is reasonable to assume that there is an additive effect of social norms centred on elder respect, coupled with a high degree of intergenerational contact which might provide for a psychological buffer to otherwise negative aspects of ageing and decline as shown in this study.

Future directions for such research might include how we can better facilitate a higher degree of contact between older and younger generations in a functional way, such as school programs and residential arrangements. A small but innovative advancement in this direction is the Humanitas retirement home in the Netherlands, where university students were invited to live rent-free in exchange for roughly 10 hours per week of company and assistance with day-to-day living tasks of the residents. The younger residents have reported that this living arrangement is not only convenient but more fulfilling than they had anticipated (Reed, 2015). Another example is the Intergenerational Learning Centre, which has preschools within nursing homes and was established in the US but is now in Canada and Japan. The preschool is attended five days per week by children up to five years of age, where they interact and play with the nursing home residents (Jansen, 2016). These concepts might seem ‘innovative’ in as much as breaking the implicit norm of conforming to activities that are within one’s own ‘generational bubble’. However, as these organisations have shown, some forethought, effort and willingness can provide mutually beneficial arrangements for different generations. A study on interactive programs with preschool children showed
that intergenerational programs brought smiles and conversation to older residents and argue that this is a basic human need (Morita and Kobayashi, 2013).

As the Spanish proverb goes, “to age well, one has to start when one is young!” An important starting place for shifting societal attitudes is to integrate the very young in mutually beneficial ways with the very old. Culture is not something that can be changed easily and each culture has important and unique aspects that help people to see meaning in their day-to-day existence. Teaching ‘elder inclusion’ can be an effective way to provide young people with the knowledge that they too will be valued when they transition into the later stages of life, even if this is perceivably still a lifetime away for them.
Chapter 6: Stereotype threat and memory test performance: a cross-cultural examination

6.0 Chapter summary
Age-related primes can have an effect on memory performance in older people; this is referred to as stereotype threat (Hess et al., 2003). The main objective of the research in this chapter was to explore whether stereotype threat has the same effect on older people from more collectivist cultures like the Philippines as it does on older people in more Western individualist cultures, as shown in previous studies conducted in the US and Canada. This was achieved by randomly allocating participants from two different cultures (Australians n=73, mean age=66.6; Filipinos n=38, mean age=66) to three different conditions (a negative stereotype of ageing prime, a positive prime or no prime (control)), and examining cognitive performance. Results showed that primes had no statistically significant effect on memory performance in the recall or recognition measures for either cultural group. Culture also did not show any significant effect on memory performance, contrary to the study by Levy and Langer (1994) that showed that older Chinese significantly outperformed older Americans. In the present study, an analysis of variance revealed, that the construct of cultural orientation (COS), as discussed in the previous chapter, was significantly associated with the visuospatial memory test scores, although it was not associated with verbal memory test scores. Research examining the influence of culture on perceptions of ageing has provided evidence that collectivist cultures can facilitate more positive attitudes towards ageing; however, whether this extends to differences in memory performance when under stereotype threat is still unclear. What this research has brought into focus is whether collectivists are affected at all by age stereotype threat, particularly if these cultures give rise to a self who is more ‘relational’ and less ‘attribute-oriented’ than individualistic cultures.

6.1 Introduction

6.1.1 Background
Stereotyping of individuals is a form of social perception which allows for heuristic thought processes to guide social judgements. These social judgements are generally made along three dimensions including race, sex and age (Kunda, 1990). Classic theory on stereotypes suggests that prejudice is a consequence of this social categorisation and that knowledge of stereotypes affects the beliefs that individuals hold about out-group
members (Allport, 1954; Devine, 1989; Tajfel, 1981). Further research has shown that there are both automatic and controlled components of stereotyping. These automatic and controlled components have been investigated within research on implicit associations (Devine, 1989; Greenwald, Banaji & Mahzarin, 1995). What this research has yielded is that implicit and explicit attitudes can express themselves in a rather incongruent manner (Hummert, Garstka, O'Brien, Greenwald & Mellott, 2002). For example, the Implicit Association Test (IAT), a computer-aided task, might measure an individual’s reaction time to some paired stimulus about a potential out group member (e.g. a person of different gender, race or age) and get a very high reaction time/score in relation to the target group (performance, or reaction times are generally faster when perceived categories are associated e.g. young + pleasant and reaction times are slower when less associated e.g. old + pleasant). However, when the same participants are asked to complete self-report ratings on the same target group, their scores on the explicit task due to possible self-presentation reasons may be inconsistent with their reaction time scores on the IAT (Hummert, Garstka, O'Brien, Greenwald & Mellott, 2002).

Research on implicit associations and social perception suggests that those who are more prone to stereotyping and prejudice, or are affected by stereotype threat, may be less conscious or aware of their attitudes surrounding such stereotypes (Devine, 1989; Greenwald et al, 1995, Hummert et al, 2002, Hess et al, 2003, & Hess 2004). Stereotype threat became the focus amongst social psychologists in the 1990s when Claude Steele (Stanford University) made some interesting observations about people who feared confirming a negative stereotype about a group or social category to which they belonged. Steele (1997) found that the anxiety of disconfirming stereotypes affects working memory, which in turn, facilitates poorer performances on a range of tests. This was the case for females in mathematics tests, and African-Americans among European Americans in other academic tests (Steele, Spencer & Aronson, 1995; Spencer, Steele, & Quinn, 1999). Steele et al (1995 & 1998) found that participants in the control condition (that did not have their gender or race made salient to them) performed equally well to other test-takers regardless of gender or race. More recently, research has focused on stereotype threat in ageing and has found similar effects for those who were primed with age-related concepts or words. The size of the effect was found to vary depending on whether the prime was below or above the awareness threshold (Hess et al, 2003; Hess et al, 2004; Bargh, Chen & Burrows, 1996;
Perception of the ageing self is an important starting point for examining susceptibility to age stereotype threat, because when stereotypes are self-relevant, they can activate behaviours that are consistent with these known stereotypes (Levy, 1996, Shih et al., 2002). Hess, Hinson and Hodges (2009) also stress the importance of moderating factors that may influence the degree to which stereotype threat arises. These include whether experimental primes about age are implicit or explicit in nature, or whether they are subtle or blatant (Hess et al., 2009).

Other important factors are stage of adult development (e.g., young-old or old-old) and level of education (Hess et al., 2009). Hess and his associates found that participants in their study aged 60 – 70 were affected more by threat manipulation than participants aged 71 – 82. They reasoned that salience of membership in the stereotyped group of being ‘old’ may be particularly high for individuals transitioning from mid-life into old age. Equally, the salience argument was put forward as an explanation for why the threat manipulation increased in strength with increasing years of education, such that highly educated ‘young-old’ adults are likely to be reactive to threats that potentially undermine their ability (Hess et al., 2009).

An important part of the present study is to examine the extent to which there are discrepancies between attitudes towards ageing in differing cultures (Australia and the Philippines), and whether these differences can influence memory performance. Hess and his associates (Hess, Hinson & Hedges, 2009) found that implicit primes had a significant effect on older adults’ memory. When explicit primes were presented, older adults were able to counteract subtle age-related primes but not blatant ones. The more blatant stereotype primes of older people tended to suppress performance, regardless of whether the primes were negative or positive. This suggests that older people, in North America at least, are sensitive to any stimulus that is age-related, whether they are positive or negative.

6.1.1.1 Positive age stereotype primes

Research on age stereotypes has shown they can have a powerful influence on how we see both younger and older people (Hummert, 1990). Although, negative stereotypes of older people predominate (Nelson, 2004), there is evidence that priming individuals with positive age-stereotypes can result in less cardio-vascular stress than those who are primed with negative age-stereotypes (B. R. Levy, Hausdorff, Hencke, & Wei, 2000). The Levy et al. (2000) study utilised implicit primes, that is where primes flashed up on
a screen for 50ms and 66ms, long enough to register as seen without conscious awareness. The positive primes included words such as accomplished, advise, alert, astute, creative, enlightened, guidance, improving, insightful, learned, sage, and wise. The negative words included alzheimer’s, confused, decrepit, dementia, dependent, diseases, dying, forgets, incompetent, misplaces, and senile (Levy et al., 2000).

Participants’ cardiovascular response were monitored through measurement of their heart rate, systolic blood pressure, and diastolic blood pressure as primary outcomes. Electrodermal activity (skin conductance) was also included to determine whether age stereotypes had an influence on physiological measures that are influenced by the automatic nervous system. After participants were primed with either positive or negative age-stereotypes, they were asked to carry out a mathematical verbal challenge which included counting backwards from 957 in decrements of 7 and quickly and accurately as possible, among other similar challenges. Participants were asked to rate how stressful they found each of the mathematical and verbal challenges on a scale of 1 (not at all stressful) to 7 (extremely stressful). Levy et al. (2000) found that the negative primes had more of an effect in the first trial of challenges, however the positive primes were not an effective protection until the second and subsequent rounds of challenges. The significant increase in autonomic measures occurred in the first set of challenges and then a significant decline occurred with the second set of positive ageing stereotypes (between challenges). No significant increase from baseline occurred in the autonomic measure after the second set of challenges suggesting that the positive age stereotypes were protective from the later challenges, and helped participants to recover from what appeared to be a stressful event. The authors concluding that positive age stereotypes have a cumulative effect. The positive age stereotypes in this study took longer to exert a protective effect than the negative age stereotypes took to elevate stress. What this shows is that cumulative protective factors from multiple exposures to positive ageing stereotypes could help older individuals both reduce the amount of stress they experience and also recover from stressful events (Levy et al., 2000). It is the contention of this thesis, that exposure to a culture which generally holds collectivist values of elder inclusion, that this will impact individuals cumulatively across the live course and result in more positive age stereotypes or what has been described as subjective ageing (Westerhof et al., 2014), than those who are exposed cumulatively to negative age stereotypes.
6.1.2 Culture, age and memory performance

Differences in memory performance between cultural groups were examined in Levy and Langer’s (1994) study that had two age groups: young (15 – 30 years, M=22) and older adults (59 – 91 years, M=70), across three cultures. The cultural groups were North American, Deaf American and Chinese mainland from Beijing; the rationale for including the deaf culture in America was that the literature points to the specific mentoring and role modelling between generations of this community, which facilitates learning and coping of younger deaf members (Levy and Langer, 1994). The main justifications for the Levy and Langer (1994) choice of sample population groups (American, Deaf American and Chinese) where that two of these three groups had significantly more exposure to the mainstream culture which generally holds negative views of older people. That is, in contrast to the Deaf Americans who have less auditory exposure to ageist language, be it through media or day to day social interaction and their dependence and positive role modelling as reported to occur within the deaf community (Becker, 1980 in Levy and Langer, 1994), that this would have a large influence on their self-perceptions of ageing. The Chinese, with their tradition of filial piety that holds older people with reverence and respect ought to also buffer them to some degree to negative views that might influence their own self-perceptions of ageing (Levy & Langer, 1994). The Levy and Langer (1994) study utilised a modified version of the 7/24 (Lezak, 1983) and assessed three types of memory – immediate recall, learned recall and delayed recall. An additional fourth recall in a probed recall exercise was added. The present study utilised the same culturally-neutral visuospatial recall task (dot test that measured the three types of memory: immediate, learned and delayed - see Appendix C) and the California Verbal Learning Test (CVLT – see Appendix C). The Levy and Langer (1994) combined their memory scores and analysed the variable of memory as the dependent variable, exploring the effect of ‘culture’ with an analysis of variance utilising the Scheffe test of means to see how the various groups differed in their performance. The test revealed that the older Chinese group differed significantly from the American Deaf and the American Groups. This supported their hypotheses that old Chinese would achieve the highest amongst cultural groups. Therefore, the study concluded that culture played a role in memory performance among the older groups, however there was no such effect for the younger groups (Levy & Langer). The study’s analysis was also able to show the relationship between attitudes to ageing and memory performance for the older groups. The path analysis conducted in the Levy & Langer (1994) study did not see a direct significant path between culture and memory.
performance, but rather that positive views of ageing (as measured by the Palmore’s f(1980) acts on ageing quiz) was a mediator between culture and memory performance.

Another study that explored differences in memory test performances was that of Yoon, Hasher, Feinberg and Winocur (2000). This study specifically attempted to replicate the Levy and Langer (1994) study; however, they recruited participants from differing cultures within the Toronto region in Canada. The two cultural groups in the Yoon et al. (2000) study, also younger (19 – 28 years, M=22.3) and older adults (60 – 88 years, M=70), were Chinese Canadians and Anglophone Canadians (English-speaking of European heritage).

While the Yoon et al. (2000) study did find that the Chinese Canadians held more positive attitudes towards ageing than the Anglophone Canadians, the older Chinese Canadians did not perform as well in memory tests as the younger groups, contrary to the Levy and Langer (1994) study. The older Chinese Canadians, however, did outperform the Anglophone Canadians on two of the four memory tests (Yoon et al., 2000). Yoon et al. (2000) conducted their own path analysis to determine whether culture and attitudes towards ageing moderated these differences in memory performance and found no statistical significance to support culture as moderator of age and memory performance. Instead, they speculated that the Chinese Canadians may have had the advantage of select memory tasks which required visual reproduction bearing resemblance to ideographic elements of the Chinese written language (Yoon et al., 2000). It is important to note that the two previously mentioned cross-cultural studies did not use any priming to create stereotype threat conditions. The memory test alone, was arguably enough of a threat.

The present study explored whether collectivist cultural values can influence memory for age-sensitive tests by also examining whether elder respect and inclusion (as measured by the COS) and more positive attitudes towards ageing (as measured by the AAQ) impacted memory test performance in the presence of negative and positive primes. As mentioned in the previous chapter on attitudes towards ageing the two cultures being examined within the present study are of individualism and collectivism. Australia rates higher on the individualism scale than the more collectivist Philippines (Hofstede, 1980), and the Philippines has been recognised as a country with collectivist values including social reciprocity (Church & Katigbak, 2002; Mossakowski, 2007; Shapiro, 2003). In this sense, the present study seeks to unpack culture further to narrow
down which cultural values can perhaps influence or create a psychological buffer for stereotype threat in memory tasks. Levy and Langer’s (1994) study revealed that individuals of different countries scored differently on memory test. Their study also revealed that individuals within the same country but who held differing cultural values also performed differently. However, the Levy and Langer’s (1994) study did not capture a measure for cultural values. The present study’s aim is to capture cultural values identified in the literature review as collectivistic or individualistic and examine the relationship between these, attitudes to ageing and memory performance.

The cultural orientation scale (COS) from the previous study (discussed in Chapter 5) was used in the present study to examine the relationship between cultural orientation, attitudes towards ageing and memory performance. This differs from the Levy and Langer (1994) study in several ways, in that 1) the sample is between Australians and Filipinos; 2) although the dot test is the same as Levy and Langer’s (1994), the verbal learning task is different; 3) COS was used to measure the degree to which participants were more collectivist or individualist in their values; 4) the ‘attitudes towards ageing’ questionnaire that was used in this study was deemed culturally appropriate across all cultures (Laidlaw, 2002; Laidlaw, 2010); and 5) prime conditions were introduced in the present study that were not used in either the Levy and Langer (1994) study or the Yoon et al. (2000) study.

It is expected that Filipinos will perform better on memory tasks than Australians, given that Filipinos have more positive attitudes about the elderly and the ageing process and, therefore, would be less impacted by the negative prime compared with Australians. However, it should also be the case that Filipinos are more positively affected by the positive prime condition. Although this would appear to be a straightforward hypothesis based on previous studies finding cross-cultural differences (Levy, 1994, Yoon et al., 2000), a meta-analysis conducted on a decade of stereotype threat studies found that mediators and moderators of threat are not always linear (Nguyen and Ryan, 2008). That is, several issues come into play around the exact mechanism for the triggering of the phenomena: whether individuals feel stigmatised powerfully enough; whether they identify with the domain with which they are being tested (in this case memory); and the difficulty of the test (Nguyen and Ryan, 2008, Hess et al., 2009, Hess et al., 2003, Hess et al., 2004). However, the Nguyen and Ryan (2008) meta-analysis was a review of race and gender stereotype threat, which might elicit differential forms of stereotype
confirmation versus stereotype reactance seen in age stereotype threat conditions (Kray et al., 2001).

More recent meta-analysis of stereotype threat literature by Lamont, Swift and Abrams (2015) showed that age-based stereotype threat was triggered more powerfully when primes were stereotype-based than when they were fact-based. For example, Lamont et al. (2015) point out that many of the reviewed age-based stereotype threat studies have used factual statements as primes, quoting O’Brian and Hummert as stating “past research has shown that memory performance declines with age” (Lamont et al., 2015, p. 347). Stereotype-based manipulations were not based on fact. For example, in the 2006 study by Abrams, Eller, and Bryant, participants were informed that “it is widely assumed that intellectual performance declines with age” (Lamont et al., 2015, p. 694).

Thomas Hess’s (2005) work on memory and age found that different levels of threat made a difference in how they affected memory performance. For example, subtle explicit primes sometimes gave rise to alternative strategy-making for remembering items of memory tasks, whereas blatant explicit primes had more impact that were more difficult for older adults to overcome (Hess, 2005). Other theorists posit that there are more than stereotype threats to memory test performance at play when one’s identity is at risk, such as stereotype reactance. Kray et al (2001) suggest that if there are explicit primes that might be blatantly negative, these can have the opposite reaction to stereotype confirmation, producing instead a stereotype rejection (Kray et al., 2001, Nguyen and Ryan, 2008). Implicit primes that registered below the level of consciousness were deemed the most powerful of the three primes. As Levy (1996) contends, subtle explicit primes might have a weaker effect than subtle implicit prime, because the implicit primes manage to bypass one’s psychological processing for the task at hand, while still indirectly affecting memory performance (Levy, 1996, Nguyen and Ryan, 2008). The present study was cross-cultural in nature, therefore the setting up of necessary technology to create conditions for implicit primes was not possible within the constraints of the sample recruited across various settings. Therefore, a subtle explicit prime was chosen. In addition to this, the research by Lamont et al (2015) was published after the present study’s data had already been collected, therefore the finding about fact-based manipulations having more effect could not be applied to the current study’s hypotheses, however is elaborated on further within the context of the present studies findings.
6.1.3 Study aims and hypotheses

The present study seeks to investigate whether collectivist cultural values play any role in buffering against age stereotype threat by comparing memory performance under age-related prime conditions (negative, positive versus control/no prime) for participants from Australia and the Philippines. The main research question is: Do these influences result in a *psychological buffer* for the impact of negative attitudes and stereotypes about age for those from a *collectivist* culture? Following is a list of hypotheses based on several theories of age stereotype embodiment and age stereotype threat (Levy and Langer, 1994, Levy, 1996, Levy, 2009, Hess et al., 2003, Hess et al., 2004, Hess et al., 2009).

Given that older individuals within Western cultures showed more sensitivity to age-related primes, the following predictions were made:

$H_1$  Australian participants in the negative prime condition will have significantly poorer performance than the other Australian participants in the positive prime and control conditions on the memory tasks.

$H_2$  There will be no significant differences in the Australian participants’ performance on memory tasks in the positive prime and control conditions.

$H_3$  Filipino participants in the positive prime condition will perform significantly better on the memory tasks than the Filipinos in the negative prime and control conditions.

$H_4$  All Filipino participants will perform significantly better than Australians, regardless of experimental or control condition.

$H_5$  Filipino participants will perform significantly better than Australian participants on the memory tasks in the positive prime condition.

$H_6$  Filipino participants will perform significantly better than Australian participants in the negative prime condition.

$H_7$  Filipino participants will perform significantly better than Australian participants in the control condition.
6.2 Method

Ethics approval was obtained from the Australian National University Human Research Ethics Committees before the commencement of the data collection for the study. Informed consent was obtained from all participants (see Appendix C for consent forms). Participants recruited for Study 3, the present study, were the same individuals who carried out the survey in Study 2; however, for the purpose of minimising factors that might have influenced the age-related primes on memory performance, the survey on culture and attitudes towards ageing was provided after the memory tests were completed in the present study.

6.2.1 Participants

One hundred and nineteen participants (77 Australians and 42 Filipinos) were recruited through the same recruitment methods as described in the previous chapter on Study 2. Australians were recruited through an advertisement in the local paper, as well as the senior card e-news newsletter as circulated by the New South Wales Department of Health. Filipinos were recruited through word of mouth, ‘snowballing’ with the assistance of the Australian Embassy in Manila, Philippines, and through ex-Rotarians, an Australia-Philippines exchange program.

Unlike the Levy and Langer (1994) study, only older participants (53 – 79 years old), and not younger ones, were recruited in this study to test memory using age-related primes. A slightly larger overall sample was sought for the present study. Unlike the Levy and Langer (1994) study, there are three conditions in the present study with which to randomly assign participants.

Participants were allocated with a simple randomisation method using a central list that provided a pattern of conditions such as 1,2,3,3,2,1. Participants then signed up via email or phone and were added to the list that provided a separate participant identification number which was matched with a condition before they arrived for the experimental procedure. A power calculation showed that the optimal number of participants per condition was 45 (See Appendix C). Within the time constraints of the overall project, the desired number of participants was not completely met for the prime conditions; however, the number recruited was deemed appropriate to explore overall cultural differences. Participants were comparatively matched in their socio-economic status, with nearly all having received tertiary or post-graduate level education.

Education is an important factor to take into consideration, given that the degree to
which one values their knowledge can affect how predisposed they are to stereotype threat (Hess et al., 2009). From 119 participants recruited across both study 2 and study 3, 11 chose to not take the survey on attitudes towards ageing and therefore only sat for the memory test (1 participant’s data was excluded from this number due to not passing the TELE test – see Appendix C). There were 8 participants who were happy to take the survey in their own time and return it to the researcher, but chose to not sit the memory test. There was therefore some discrepancy between total numbers of participants between the two studies, however this was adjusted for in the full analysis, such that participants who did not complete the memory test from the last study could not be included in the present study.

### Table 6.1 Total participants’ characteristics for the memory tests (n = 109)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Australians n (%)</th>
<th>Filipinos n (%)</th>
<th>Culture p-value</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Culture</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Sample socio-demographic characteristics</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age, M (SD, range)</td>
<td>66.6 (3.66, 60-74)</td>
<td>66 (6.31, 52-79)</td>
<td>.598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>33 (45.8%)</td>
<td>Male = 10 (27)</td>
<td>.570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>39 (54.2%)</td>
<td>Female = 27 (73)</td>
<td>.042</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Technical college</td>
<td>11 (14.5%)</td>
<td>2 (4.8%)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>University degree</td>
<td>20 (26.3%)</td>
<td>21 (57.1%)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Post-graduate</td>
<td>22 (30.6%)</td>
<td>10 (28.6%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>11 (14.4%)</td>
<td>3 (7.1%)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Missing</em></td>
<td>10 (13.2%)</td>
<td>1 (2.4%)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

*Missing education of 10 participants who did not take the survey from Study 2.

### 6.2.2 Materials and procedure

Two measures were used in this study.

The dot test is another name for the 7/24 spatial recall test, is a basic memory task originally designed to pick up memory deficits in patients with cognitive impairment which were symptomatic of multiple sclerosis (Lezak, 2004). It is the same memory test used in Levy and Langer’s (1994) study. The test required that participants view a 4 × 6 grid of ten boxes, with seven dots placed on this grid in a particular design (See Appendix C) for 10 seconds. The researcher removes this dot design and replaces it with a blank grid of ten boxes and provides the participant with 7 black dots to replicate this design from their recollection of what they had just viewed. The first attempt at placing the black dots onto the blank grid is recorded as the measure of immediate
recall. There are three more attempts that are then recorded each time as *learning trials* for a total of three trials, and after a 5 – minute gap, a final attempt is recorded as *delayed* recall. The dot test does not require keen eyesight and was chosen because of its simplicity and culturally – neutral format (e.g., non-verbal, not reliant on any particular language).

California verbal learning test (CVLT): consists of two lists to recall. The first list- (A) is of four words from four categories (16 words in total). For example, the four categories might include: tools such as ‘wrench’, fruit such as ‘grapes’, herbs such as ‘chives’, and clothing such as ‘jacket’ (see Appendix C for full list A words). The participant or patient, depending on whether used experimentally or clinically, is presented the list of words verbally (the researcher reads out the words at a pace of around one word per second) and they must remember them and recite back as many words from the list in any order that they can recall (Strauss et al., 2006). The four word categories are jumbled, so that words from the same semantic category are never read out in consecutive order by their groups, such as clothes, tools or fruits. There is the first trial, which is for the measure of immediate recall, followed by two more learning trials, where the same list is again read out and the participant recites back to the researcher as many words as they can. In a clinical setting, a 20-minute time gap would be provided between the fourth learning trial and the last trial, where the patient is asked to recite as many of the memorised list that they can after an allocated gap in time, on this occasion without having list A read out to them. This is in order to measure delayed recall. For practicality and efficiency, in this project, the research allowed for a 5-minute time gap and the participant was provided with a filler task of basic matching of objects to words (see Appendix C for filler task items). Then there is a list- (B), a 16-word interference list that includes vegetables, animals, and introduces two new semantic categories of musical instruments and parts of a house (Strauss et al., 2006). List-B measures recognition.

### 6.2.3 Demographics effects: age, gender and education

According to the literature on the CVLT, one’s age has an effect on performance \((r=−.51)\), with performance declining with age. The test is recommended by authors for those between 16 and 89 years of age (Delis et al., 1987, Strauss et al., 2006). Women tend to score on average five more words than men across the five learning trials; however, for the forced recognition, there are no significant differences (Strauss et al., 2006). Normative data for the CVLT shows that education correlates with memory.
performance \((r=.29)\), as does intelligence \((r=.42)\) (Strauss et al., 2006). Coefficient alphas were calculated on word category across trials from both a standardised sample \((r=.82)\), as well as a clinical sample \((r=.83)\). Overall, Strauss et al. (2006) have deemed the CVLT’s internal reliability to be high across the word trials (Strauss et al., 2006).

The testing of differing learning trials provides the ability to quantify the degree to which an individual has verbal learning and memory ability or deficits within a normative range. The CVLT has also been conducted in non-English cultures, such as France and Korea after translation, and has been deemed reliable (Mitrushina et al., 2005). Clinical research has previously demonstrated the validity of the CVLT on the measure of memory and learning deficits (Delis et al., 1988). In order to streamline the experimental protocol for the present study, an alternate form of the CVLT was used with a shorter list, and only list A on the test was used for the verbal learning section of Study 3 (Delis et al., 1991).

Although this instrument is in English, it was deemed appropriate for the English-speaking Filipinos of this study, particularly because recruitment of Filipinos was through Australian-Filipino associations both in Australia and the Philippines. In addition, the Filipinos’ American-based education system largely promoted English in Filipino schools, with the exception of a decade during Corazon Aquino’s presidency, post-Marcos years, which took a swing towards adopting more of the national language in schools from around 1987 – 1997 (Gonzalez, 1998). The participants of the present study, being born between 1936 and 1960, could fully comprehend the listed words in English of the CVLT. However, a verbal subscale from the Wechsler intelligence test was adopted as an interpretive tool to ensure that there were in fact no significant differences between Filipinos’ process of this English-speaking memory task and the Australian participants who are native English speakers. The following section discusses the Wechsler adult intelligence scale (WAIS) verbal subscale in more detail.

### 6.2.4 CVLT in clinical application versus experimental study

The present study has used the CVLT to obtain memory test outcomes as an alternative measure to the visio-spatial task (dot test). The CVLT in the present study was focusing on basic recall and recognition measures. For this reason, the more sophisticated levels of measurements and scoring, such as position effects, serial clustering, semantic clustering and cued recall, were not specifically addressed as one might expect from a neuropsychological or clinical study.
6.2.5 WAIS – IV Weschler verbal subscale

Participants were asked to take a short comprehension task from the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS). The task is a verbal subscale and participants were provided with the following instructions: “I am now going to say some words. Listen carefully and tell me what each word means.” The researcher then points to a word on a cue card such as ‘apple’ and waits for the participant’s response. The researcher writes down the definition provided by the participant (see Appendix C for the full list of words, scoring sheet and general directions for the WAIS verbal subscales). The first two words out of the 25 words were used as examples to provide the participant a directive on how to proceed. The total score was based on 23 words, with 2 points for a fully correct answer. One point was awarded if the definition provided was partially accurate, and a score of zero if the definition did not meet any of the possible correct answers. Therefore, a total score of 46 was achievable if all definitions provided were correct.

The Wechsler verbal subscale is a list of 33 words where the words become progressively more sophisticated as the list progresses. It is designed to test an individual’s vocabulary and is part of the overall WAIS, which is a general test of intelligence (Wechsler, 2008).

6.2.6 Reliability and validity

Test-retest reliability over a two-week period ranged from 0.70 (7 subscales) to 0.90 (2 subscales). Inter-scorer coefficients were also very high, all being above 0.90. The test is designed to target psychoeducational disability, neuropsychiatric and organic dysfunction, and giftedness. The WAIS correlates highly with another standardised intelligence test, the Stabford-Binet IV test (r=0.88), and had high concordance with various measures such as memory, language, attention and cognitive ability (Wechsler, 2008).

The verbal subscale was included in the present study as an interpretive measure to ensure that the Filipino bi-lingual participants’ memory and recall on the CVLT was not impeded by their vocabulary, given their bi-lingual status, often with English as a second language.

6.2.7 TELE memory test

In order to screen for dementia, participants were provided with the TELE memory scale as a screening device. The TELE is a short set of questions, which should in theory indicate whether an individual has any issues with their working memory. This
particular scale was added at the end of the set of tasks, and not before, because it was important to preserve the effects of the prime/stereotype threat activation for the dependent measures – the dot test and the CVLT. It was explained to participants at the end of the experimental session when the debriefing form was provided, and any queries were answered by the researcher/s (see Appendix C for the debrief letter). Although the current study is experimental and not clinical, it was important to be able to exclude those who might have any signs of possible memory impairment, given that the independent variable is culture. The TELE was designed originally to parallel the mini-mental state exam (MMSE; Folstein et al., 1975); however, it could be used over the telephone for mass data collection in telephone interviews (Gatz et al., 1995). The TELE was employed as a memory screening instrument in the present study because it is brief, efficient, and there was the flexibility of being able to use the instrument in order to screen participants before they came into the university to undergo the experimental procedure.

6.2.8 Stereotype threat activation

A subtle explicit age-related prime was embedded within some instructions that were provided to participants before the first memory test. The following words (the same words used to activate stereotype threat in Hess, Emery and Queen, 2009) were read out to participants in the respective experimental conditions. The wording for the prime varied, depending on whether a participant was in the negative, positive condition or control condition.

6.2.9 Wording for the negative prime condition:

“One goal of this study is to examine age differences in memory ability. I am now going to examine your memory ability using a test that has been used extensively by researchers to study ageing effects on memory. Younger adults typically do much better than older adults on this task.”

6.2.10 Wording for the positive prime condition:

“One goal of this study is to examine individual differences in ability, and the factors that account for those differences. I am going to examine your ability to process verbal information. In an effort to reduce potential biases, we will be using a task that has been shown to be appropriate to individuals of all ages. Interestingly, older adults have been shown to do quite well on this task.” (Hess et al., 2009, p. 483).
The control condition had no prime or preamble to the basic instructions of the dot test. The participants were then given the dot test memory task.

After the dot recall test was completed, the participant was provided with the same prime again, in order to reinforce the stereotype threat activation before commencing the next memory task. The participant was then provided the instructions for the California Verbal Learning Test (CVLT). The instructions for the CVLT are as follows: “I’m going to read a list of items. Listen carefully, and when I’ve finished, I want you to say back as many of the items as you can. It doesn’t matter what order you say them in – just tell me as many as you can. Are you ready?”

6.3 Results

6.3.1 Preliminary analysis

In order to determine whether there were any significant differences in verbal learning with regard to the English language, an independent t-test was carried out on the WAIS verbal task scores. There were no significant differences between cultural groups, Australians (M=41.08, SD=7.76) and Filipinos (M=40.34, SD=7.20); t(108)=.488, p=.62. This result indicated that the Filipinos who were part of this study had a satisfactory grasp of the English language, enough to carry out the CVLT memory task in a way which was comparable to the Australian sample. One participant’s data was excluded from the memory study due to possible cognitive impairment as defined using published criteria. According to Gatz et al. (1995), if an individual failed to answer two of the questions and missed two out of three of the recall items, they were potential cases of dementia (Gatz et al., 1995).

6.3.2 Statistical analysis for hypotheses testing

6.3.2.1 Effects of primes on the Australians memory performance on the Dot test and the CVLT

All hypotheses were analysed using analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) and all models controlled for covariates age and gender. In an examination of H1 and H2 (see Table 6.1), there was no significant main effect of the negative prime condition compared with the positive prime and control group on the dot immediate recall of Australian participants when controlling for age, gender and education, \( F(2, 56)=0.352, p=0.70 \). Nor was there a significant effect of the negative prime on memory performance of the delayed recall of the dot test compared with the positive prime and the control group \( F(2, 2.56)=0.003, p=0.99 \) (see Table 6.2).
Table 6.2 Australian dot test immediate recall × prime condition

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
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</tr>
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</table>

Table 6.3 Australian dot test delayed recall × prime condition

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<th>SD</th>
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</table>

There was no significant main effect of the negative prime condition compared with the positive prime and control group on the CVLT immediate recall of Australian participants when controlling for age gender and education $F(2, 56)=1.85, p=0.16$ (see Table 6.3). Nor was there a significant effect of the negative prime on memory performance of the delayed recall of the CVLT compared with the positive prime and the control group $F(2, 56)=0.298, p=0.74$ (see Table 6.4).
Table 6.4 Australian CVLT immediate recall x prime condition

<table>
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6.3.2.2 Effects of primes on the Filipino memory performance on the Dot test and the CVLT

In an examination of H₃ and H₄, there was no significant main effect of the positive prime condition compared with the negative prime and control group on the dot immediate recall for Filipino participants when controlling for age, gender and education $F(2, 31)=0.383, p=0.685$ (see Table 6.5). Nor was there a significant effect of the positive prime on memory performance of the delayed recall of the dot test compared with the negative prime and the control group $F(2, 31)=0.383, p=0.68$ (see Tables 6.6).

### Table 6.5 Australian CVLT delayed recall x prime condition

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### Table 6.6 Filipino dot test immediate recall x prime condition

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Table 6.7 Filipino dot test delayed recall × prime condition

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Table 6.8 Dot test and CVLT mean memory scores for Australian participants

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<th>Maximum</th>
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<th>SD</th>
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<td>7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVLT immediate</td>
<td>72 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVLT delayed</td>
<td>72 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>3.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-score DOT</td>
<td>72 (100%)</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-score CVLT</td>
<td>71 (100%)</td>
<td>4.27</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>7.81</td>
<td>1.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.9 Dot test and CVLT mean memory scores for Filipino participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dependent Variables</th>
<th>n (%)</th>
<th>Minimum</th>
<th>Maximum</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dot immediate</td>
<td>38 (100%)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.36</td>
<td>1.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dot delayed</td>
<td>38 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVLT immediate</td>
<td>38 (100%)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>1.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVLT delayed</td>
<td>38 (100%)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10.34</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-score DOT</td>
<td>38 (100%)</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>5.48</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td>1.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z-score CVLT</td>
<td>37 (100%)</td>
<td>4.82</td>
<td>11.32</td>
<td>8.27</td>
<td>1.63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In a further examination of H₃ and H₄, a one-way between groups ANCOVA was conducted to test the effect of the positive prime on memory performance of the delayed recall of the dot test compared with the negative prime and the control group also controlling for age gender and education (see Table 6.6). The main effect of the positive
prime condition compared with the other two conditions was also not significant $F(2, 31)=0.265, p=0.76$. Nor was the effect of the positive prime condition compared with the negative prime and control group on immediate recall of Filipino participants when controlling for age gender and education significant $F(2, 31)=1.36, p=0.70$. Neither was the effect of the positive prime on memory performance of the delayed recall of the CVLT compared with the negative prime and the control group also controlling for age gender and education significant (see Table 6.6). The main effect of the positive prime condition compared with the other two conditions was also not significant $F(2, 31)=0.924, p=0.40$.

### 6.3.2.3 Memory performance between Filipinos and Australians

Given the potential lack of power and lack of significant effect of the prime between groups, memory performance across all experimental groups was assessed to examine differences between Filipinos’ and Australians’ performance on memory for the dot test, in order to test H$_5$, H$_6$ and H$_7$. There was no significant main effect between Filipinos and Australians on memory performance on the immediate recall task when controlling for age, gender and education, $F(1, 94)=0.299, p=0.586$, nor was there any significant differences between cultural groups on the dot delayed recall scores, $F(1, 0.94)=1.37, p=0.24$.

There was no significant main effect of culture on memory performance on the immediate recall CVLT task between Filipino and Australian participants when controlling for age, gender and education, $F(1,94)=0.68, p=0.795$, nor was there for the CVLT delayed recall comparing Filipino and Australian participants’ memory performance $F(1, 94)=2.68, p=0.105$.

### 6.3.2.4 Super memory scores and statistical analysis

The procedure of Levy and Langer (1994) and Yoon et al (2000) was used as a model to examine whether there was an overall difference between cultural groups on memory. Immediate recall, learning trial and delayed recall scores were combined to create super variables of ‘memory’. A combined score was created for the dot test scores (Immediate, learning trials 2- 4 and delayed recall) by taking the weightings of the first principal component, obtained from a principal components analysis, and multiplying the z-score transformations of the original variables by these weightings (see Table 6.10 for component weightings). The intention had been to rotate the principal components
and use the factor weightings but only one principal component had an eigenvalue greater than 1 so rotation was not performed. The same process was followed for the CVLT (Immediate recall, learning trials 2-3, and delayed recall and probed recall/recognition). The intention of super scores was to then repeat the analysis with using the super scores (see Table 6.10 for component values).

Table 6.10 Principal component weightings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component values on dot test</th>
<th>Non-verbal memory</th>
<th>Component values on CVLT</th>
<th>Verbal memory</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot learning trial 3</td>
<td>CVLT delayed recall</td>
<td>CVLT delayed recall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot delayed recall</td>
<td>CVLT learning trial 2</td>
<td>CVLT learning trial 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot learning trial 4</td>
<td>CVLT learning trial 3</td>
<td>CVLT learning trial 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot learning trial 2</td>
<td>CVLT immediate recall</td>
<td>CVLT immediate recall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot immediate recall</td>
<td>Probed recall/recognition</td>
<td>Probed recall/recognition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Component</td>
<td>Dot immediate recall</td>
<td>.883</td>
<td>.903</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot delayed recall</td>
<td>.836</td>
<td>.900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot learning trial 4</td>
<td>.801</td>
<td>.891</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot learning trial 2</td>
<td>.795</td>
<td>.762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dot immediate recall</td>
<td>.596</td>
<td>.362</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3.2.5 Hypothesis testing of the super scores

An analysis of covariance was used to examine super scores for the dot test, in order to further test H5 (that there would be differences in memory performance such that Filipino participants would outperform the Australian participants). There was no significant difference between Filipino and Australian participants’ super dot test scores when controlling for age, gender and education, $F(1, 94)=2.77$, $p=.09$, nor did groups differ on the super memory scores for the CVLT. Controlling for age, gender and education, there was no difference between Australians’ and Filipinos’ delayed recall scores, $F(1, 92)=1.48$, $p=.23$. There was, however, a significant effect for gender on the CVLT, $F(1, 92)=9.81$, $p=.002$.

6.3.2.6 Is cultural orientation or attitudes to ageing associated with memory performance?
A multiple regression analysis was calculated to predict the degree to which cultural orientation and attitudes to ageing predicts memory. In the first step of the hierarchical model (Model 1 – Table 6.11), cultural orientation was significantly associated with memory performance on the dot test, while no association was found with memory performance on the CVLT. In the second step, when attitudes to ageing were added (Model 2 – Table 6.11), cultural orientation remained a significant predictor of memory performance on the dot test, but not for the CVLT. In the second model, attitude to age was not associated with memory performance on either of the measures. In the third step (Model 3 – Table 6.11) when age, gender and education were added; gender was found to be significantly associated with memory performance on the CVLT, but not on the dot test. Controlling for age, gender and education, in model three, cultural orientation remained significantly associated with performance on the dot test but not with performance on the CVLT. The same analysis was repeated using the calculated super scores, and the same patterns of results were found (see Table 6.12).
Table 6.11 Hierarchical regression analysis for variables predicting memory performance (n=98)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Model 1</th>
<th>Model 2</th>
<th>Model 3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE B</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Memory on CVLT</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>0.46</td>
<td>0.38</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes to Ageing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Memory on Dot test</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>0.51</td>
<td>0.21</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes to Ageing</td>
<td>0.00</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Model 1</td>
<td>Model 2</td>
<td>Model 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SE</td>
<td>β</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Memory CVLT super</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes to Ageing</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>-.011</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.009</td>
<td>.034</td>
<td>-.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>1.20</td>
<td>.352</td>
<td>.336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>.179</td>
<td>.067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Memory Dot test super</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural Orientation</td>
<td>.28</td>
<td>.13</td>
<td>.212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes To Ageing</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>-.019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.010</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>-.082</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.134</td>
<td>.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>-.038</td>
<td>.067</td>
<td>-.057</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6.4 Discussion

The explicit prime that was embedded within the instructions prior to the memory tasks had no significant effect intra-culturally or cross-culturally. Although $H_2$ and $H_4$ were supported by the findings (such that there would be no significant differences on the effectiveness of the prime between the positive prime and control groups) this prediction was made with the expectation that the negative prime would have a significant effect in the opposite direction for Australians, which it did not. Therefore, none of the other hypotheses were supported by statistical analysis.

The negative prime which suggested that younger people typically perform better on these memory tests did not seem to have the desired effect on the Australian group’s performance on the memory tests, nor did the positive prime have a booster effect on the Filipinos’ performance. As the Hess et al. (2004) study showed, older adults in North America were able to counteract the impact of relatively subtle explicit primes, but not blatant explicit primes. It is therefore possible that rather than eliciting stereotype threat conditions, the primes embedded within the present study’s instructions before the memory tasks evoked stereotype reactance as described in Nguyen and Ryan’s meta-analysis on stereotype threat (2008) and had the opposite effect of motivating individuals rather than suppressing their performance. However, this is unlikely, given that it was typically the more ‘blatant’ types of primes that elicited stereotype reactance (Nguyen & Ryan, 2008).

Evidence from research on stereotype threat is mixed with regard to which pathways elicit the most powerful stereotype threat activation, depending on whether primes are blatant, subtle, implicit or explicit, self-relevant or whether individuals identify with the domain that is being tested, (e.g. memory in older adults). Although Levy (1996) and Hess et al. (2004) among others, have been able to demonstrate the effects of stereotype activation, whether threat exists cross-culturally is, unsurprisingly, a challenge to show consistently. Various interpretations of why stereotype threat has differing moderators and operating mechanisms are that threat can be activated both at the conscious and unconscious level (Levy, 1996, Hess et al., 2004, Bargh et al., 1996), or be more or less self-relevant which can affect motivational concerns, such as self-esteem or impression management (Shih et al., 2002). The most recent meta-analysis on aged-based stereotype threat suggests that while there is clear evidence that older adults’ memory and cognitive performance is negatively affected by threat manipulations, there is also a significant amount of publication bias ($d = .42$), with European journals citing effect sizes ($d = .94$) as well as North American journals ($d = .30$) (Lamont et al., 2015). Lamont et al. (2015) contend that the
bias against publishing of nonsignificant findings highlights the importance of including unpublished research within future meta-analyses of stereotype threat.

While many studies cite the identification with social stereotypes as being a source of anxiety when put in certain situations evoking negative age stereotypes, there may be different levels of identification. For example, although various cross-cultural studies have shown that ageism and age stereotypes exist pan-culturally (Cuddy et al., 2005, Arnhoff et al., 1964; North and Fiske, 2015), it is also important to address whether the interdependent self-construal (Markus & Kityama, 1991) is as affected by the internalisation of negative attributes as much as the independent self-construal is in individualistic cultures. In research looking at whether life satisfaction differs by culture, Diener and Diener (2009) found that self-esteem and life satisfaction were highly correlated for those in individualistic cultures but not collectivist cultures. They reasoned that the influence of self-esteem differs by culture and that the independent self is socialised to identify with one’s own internal attributes. In contrast, collectivist/interdependent self is generally socialised to fit in and identify with the needs of the group over the needs of the individual (Diener & Diener, 2009), thus taking one’s attention away from self as a ‘collection of attributes’ and seeing the self as more relational. It is possible that the non-identification with internal individual attributes might be protective against the worry of appearing old with all the negative aspects that accompany this stage of life. What this illustrates is that although stereotypes of age exist pan-culturally, as Cuddy et al. (2005) assert, it does not mean that self-esteem of individuals in collectivist cultures is necessarily attached to the identification with internal attributes that can align with such stereotypes. If this is the case, this might explain why age-related primes would have little or no effect on individuals from collectivist cultures. However, this does not explain why the primes had no effect in the present study on the Australians from an individualist culture.

There are several reasons that could explain why the primes in the present study were ineffective. First, as Hess et al. (2004) and Shih et al. (2002) found, subtle explicit primes were not as effective as the more blatant ones – older adults were able to counteract the effect of subtle explicit prime with certain strategies. Second, rather than the confirmation of the stereotype with the subtle prime, perhaps it could be that conditions evoked stereotype reactance as described by Nguyen and Ryan (2008), where individuals then felt motivated by the challenge of proving a stereotype wrong. Third, age stereotypes might elicit or trigger more anxiety for those who identify more with the stereotype and whose self-esteem is aligned with such
internalised attributes. However, effects might not have been shown in the present study potentially due to a lack of power, given that the number of Filipinos (n=38) who participated in the memory test was a great deal smaller than the Australian (n=72) group. It was a challenge to maintain consistency across the various settings between two cultures where the memory tests were carried out, thereby increasing any noise and masking any ability to detect an effect.

To answer the main research question, (Do cultural influences result in a psychological buffer for the impact of negative attitudes and stereotypes about age?), the present study would appear to have little evidence to suggest that culture makes some kind of impact in the defence against stereotype threat. However, judging from the very similar means across all conditions in this study, one could argue that there was no stereotype threat arising in the prime conditions, and it would therefore deem the research question for this chapter’s study a moot point. Even testing differences between the two cultural groups, ignoring the prime conditions showed that there were no differences. This was in contrast to the findings the Levy and Langer (1994) and also Yoon et al. (2000), which showed cultural differences on two out of the four memory tests. We know from the previous chapter’s study that culture has been shown to not only predict one’s attitudes towards age, but that collectivists tend to have more positive attitudes towards ageing. The present chapter’s Study 3, for various reasons, was not able to confirm whether the findings from Study 2 on more positive attitudes extended to performance on memory tests under potential stereotype threat conditions.

6.4.1 Limitations and future directions

Given that stereotype threat is quite difficult to replicate in controlled laboratory settings, conducting this experiment in different cultural settings would have had an impact on the outcome of this study. Some of the limitations from the previous study on the survey extend to the present study, given that the majority of participants in the survey study were in this study exploring stereotype threat and memory. The previous concerns were that rapport-building was an important part of the socialisation process with the Filipino participants. A particularly high priority value in a collectivist culture such as the Philippines is group harmony, given that individuals identify more with the group and social organisation revolves around group membership. Therefore, the previously mentioned social value of pakkisama (going along with) was an unavoidable aspect of the interaction between researcher and participants, where polite discussion was made prior to conducting the experimental protocol and survey which inadvertently may have had an impact on how comfortable and confident the participants felt in
carrying out the memory tasks. The Australian participants all undertook the experiment in the same space, a quiet room within the University of New South Wales Centre of Excellence in Population Ageing, in what would be considered a traditional experimental setting. However, given that Filipino participants were not as easy to recruit and that it was necessary to go to individuals’ homes or to community centres to carry out the experiment, these varied settings may have provided various confounders.

6.5 Conclusion
Apart from the technical and logistical constraints of carrying out this research cross-culturally, the present research brings into focus the question of stereotypes about age and whether it is applicable to more collectivist cultures as attitudes are. Somewhere in the discussion of a collectivist culture and the interdependent self-construal as brought to light by Markus and Kityama (1991), one must recognise that a relational self might identify more with relationships and less with attributes than the independent self-construal from more individualist cultures. The implications for this is that a ‘stereotype’ described by Shih and colleagues as “well-defined collections of trait concepts” (Shih et al., 2002, p. 639), is not a concept that collectivists readily identify with, let alone necessarily be affected by. Considering the findings from Levy and Langer’s (1994) study, which showed that Chinese older adults outperformed Americans and Deaf American adults, perhaps it is because Americans are more prone to the internalisation of age stereotypes and this extends to their self-belief of their memory ability. Although Levy and Langer (1994) did not use a prime, the presence of memory test alone may have triggered some self-beliefs about age and memory for the American participants, which in turn affected their performance. However, the Yoon et al. (2000) study between Chinese Canadians and Anglophone Canadians did not show such stark differences in memory performances and therefore, it is difficult to say whether culture consistently acts as a buffer to stereotype threat, particularly if the phenomenon is non-existent for those in the collectivist culture.

It is likely that having positive attitudes towards ageing serves as a protective factor to the negative aspects of ageing in many ways; however, this alone may not be a major factor in buffering against negative stereotypes about age, particularly if age stereotypes are less impactful in one culture than the other.

What the research has also highlighted is that Western models of psychology, which are largely centred on understanding the individual and their traits, are perhaps insufficient for trying to capture cultural influences, the presentation of attributes describing someone as ‘younger’ or
‘older’ might not have the desired effect of creating a threat if one’s identity is not aligned with traits or attributes. Not identifying with age stereotypes of being forgetful or having declining memory should then of course lead to better memory performance. However, the targeting of an internalised stereotype about age is not an appropriate means of establishing whether collectivist cultures provide a buffering effect for such stereotypes if the individuals in these cultures do not align their internal values with traits or attributes. The previous study and the present study indicate that collectivist cultures provide a buffering effect for the impact of negative attitudes about age, but not necessarily age stereotypes.
Chapter 7: Cultural orientation and self-perceptions of ageing

7.0 Chapter summary
This final chapter of general discussion will draw on some of the examples from the three studies that investigated attitudes towards ageing, age-related stereotypes and self-perceptions of ageing, to show how different cultural views can promote a different sense of the ageing self. The main emphasis will be on synthesising the literature on cultural orientation, age and self-identity to explain the findings from the studies in this thesis. These findings will then be linked to how this can affect one’s self-perceptions of ageing by addressing our underlying cultural thinking style. The issue of negative attitudes to age will be re-visited and how ageism and unfavourable views of ageing can be combated with this knowledge.

7.1 General discussion
The research conducted within this thesis was intended to shed light on some of the oblique or less salient factors that contribute to self-perceptions of ageing. The literature shows that self-perceptions of ageing whether positive or negative, can have important health consequences later in life (Levy, 2002, Levy et al., 2009) but that age, attitudes and self-identity are not straightforward matters to investigate, nor can we conclude that they fit neatly into a binary view of positive or negative (Whitbourne, 1977, Whitbourne, 2002, Whitbourne et al., 1992, Sneed and Whitbourne, 2001, Sneed and Whitbourne, 2005, Kite et al., 2002, Hummert, 1990, Greenberg et al., 2008, Westerhof, 2008). As Levy’s (2009) stereotype embodiment theory emphasises, societal messages about age can be internalised across the life span, operates unconsciously and uses multiple pathways. Therefore, theorists have asserted that the increasing prevalence of negative attitudes at the societal level, as seen in Western individualist cultures, cannot necessarily be quantified but can have direct negative effects on individuals ageing in these cultures (Levy, Slade and Kasl, 2002; Levy, 2009; Levy, Zonderman, Slade and Ferrucci, 2009; Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009; Nelson, 2004; Hess et al., 2004, Hess et al., 2009). The continued ‘normalising’ and promulgation of ageist attitudes seen in media, human resource practices and even greeting cards can contribute to the ongoing vicious cycle of normalising ageist behaviours within society which sees older people’s self-evaluation decline in the most detrimental of ways. This decline includes self-esteem, employment prospects, and financial, mental and physical health outcomes (Gringart et al., 2008, von Hippel et al., 2013, Chomik and Piggott, 2012, Levy, 2002, Levy et al., 2009, Sheedy, Brown, 2016).
Although collectivism could conceptually be considered the opposite social environment to individualism; it does not necessarily hold that collectivistic cultures are automatically more positive about ageing attitudinally or within societal structures (North & Fiske, 2015). Recent research has shown that less positive attitudes exist in Asian cultures such as China and Japan, and elder abuse and abandonment is also a growing phenomenon in the Philippines. Evidence points to the mismatch between expectations of filial piety and the socio-economic reality of a rapidly ageing population (North & Fiske, 2015; Philippines Commission on Women, 2014).

Investigating collectivist values has been helpful in elucidating which factors might contribute to defending the self against negative views of ageing. Further, an ageing self who sees later stages of life in a predominantly relational way that holds the principle of social reciprocity at its core, and as an opportunity to bestow wisdom onto younger generations might have a psychological advantage. Although, it is sometimes useful to describe concepts in dichotomies such as individualism/collectivism, West/East and young/old this is perhaps not useful for unpacking the complexity of such concepts. Oyserman et al. (2002) conducted a Meta-analysis on individualism and collectivism that showed the multidimensional nature of different nationalities, their cultures and their cultural orientation. Therefore, to assert that individualism is the opposite of collectivism is not entirely accurate; rather, one needs to consider that cultural orientation gives rise to multiple psychologies (Oyserman et al., 2002). These multiple psychologies and different notions of the ‘self’ have been used for addressing how dualism has guided thinking in terms of understanding age as an attribute (young/old) rather than that of a continual process across the life course. One of the pitfalls of dichotomous thinking is that if one’s self-esteem is aligned with a particular attribute then the opposite of that attribute is considered negative and less self-relevant. In the example of identifying with being young, one does not worry, or think much about being old, until being old becomes self-relevant (Levy, 2009). Even, when age becomes self-relevant, individuals can struggle with assimilating this new age identity of ‘old’ with their ‘youthful age identity’ (Whitbourne, 2002, Westerhof, 2008). In a study on dialectical thinking, Spencer-Rodgers et al. (2004) speculate that East Asians are inclined to acknowledge and accept contradictory appraisals of the self. Spencer-Rodgers et al. (2004) provides the example of Japanese who do not necessarily discount self-criticism but rather accept their failures as readily as their successes. Therefore, those with interdependent self-construals would suffer less cognitive dissonance when presented with negative feedback (Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004, Hamamura et al., 2008). Since age as an attribute (e.g. being young or old) is so value-laden, if we are raised in a culture which is attribute-oriented then
perceiving oneself as ‘old’ could have negative effects. This is because being old in Western
culture has become synonymous with lacking value (Nelson, 2004). Exploring psychological
tendencies within a cross-cultural paradigm can be fraught, given the influences of globalisation,
demographic and economic shifts, however, the present research has shown that patterns of
certain cultural values still hold in cultures where collectivism predominates. It has also
highlighted that individuals, regardless of their culture can hold higher collectivist values than
others, and this in turn has been shown to be associated with more positive attitudes to ageing.

7.1.1 Different opinions about ageing from Australian and Philippine focus groups

The focus group conversations between older Filipinos in Study 1 were largely focused on
family-centred activity, whereas older Australians’ views on ageing and transitioning into the
later stages of life mentioned family but also emphasised the role of work, study and
volunteering as a way of maintaining a sense of purpose. Some of the older Australians cited
differences between their roles that their own grandparents played when they were younger, and
the roles that they themselves now play within the family structure, lamenting that families
seemed so spread out now. The older Filipinos’ focus was largely turned inwards towards the
family structure and typically about the care of grandchildren. There was quite a stark contrast in
views of the roles that older people should play in society and also the degree to which
individuals spent time with family or friends of different generations. Older Australians seemed
concerned with two things regarding their transition into later life; 1) being able to competently
pursue some form of activity whether it be work or volunteering and 2) remaining as
independent as possible for as long as possible. Older Filipinos did not seem to be too
preoccupied with continuing personal pursuits; however, they did cite independence and not
relying too heavily on their family as important to them. There was discussion of club activities
such as dancing and church-related activities among Filipinos; however, they were not too
concerned about appearing old or not having work or volunteer activities to feel like they had a
purpose.

7.1.2 Self-identity, age and culture

A crucial and distinct cognitive event for older people in Western individualist cultures is when
they recognise that they have age-related decline either cognitively, or in appearance, which can
no longer be ‘masked’. Eastern cultures are arguably concerned with age-related appearances
too; however, as previously discussed, age is only one aspect of the self, which would potentially
reduce its psychological impact in the schema of the collectivist. This is particularly so if one
sees oneself in a relational way spanning several family generations rather than the bound autonomous individual self. These differences were highlighted by the comments made by individuals in focus group discussions from Study 1. An older Australian lamented that she noticed a decline in social interaction and engagement with work colleagues when it became known what her chronological age was, and that this was a major realisation. For this reason, she decided to no longer reveal her age in the work place. When discussing how older people are seen in the media or society in general, one Filipino participant was keen to highlight that when the younger generation succeed, this is linked to the family and older generations too and that this was incentive to remain in a care role for their grandchildren. The types of focus group comments have shown the differences in the use of the terms ‘I’ and ‘people’, Australians identify more with the independent self-construal, whereas Filipinos were more inclined to use the term ‘we’ as well as ‘I’ to explain and describe their perspectives on the ageing process. Evidence for a different sense of self on the individualism-collectivism dimension was in Study 2 sample where there were statistically significant differences in the cultural orientation scale scores between Australians and Filipinos.

What the present research has shown is that there are differences in one’s self-concept between individualist and collectivist cultures and that this can play a role in how one perceives oneself as one ages. What can be drawn from this research, then, is how we incorporate more intergenerational activities into everyday life in mutually functional and beneficial ways in Australian culture, and educate children about how to see ageing as a life course matter that is happening in youth as it is in later life. This might seem like very small steps, but it could play a significant role in one’s personal psychology of ageing. Enough evidence has been accrued to suggest that an important aspect of ageing well comes from appropriate psychological tools including positive self-perceptions of ageing (Levy, 1996, Levy et al., 2002, Levy, 2003, Levy et al., 2009, Levy, 2009).

7.1.3 Ageing, productivity and purpose
An important part about ageing from the focus group discussions for both younger and older generations was about one’s ability to continue with a chosen activity as one ages. For Filipinos, it was distinctly about family involvement and caring for grandchildren. For Australians, themes emerged about family too, but also about working and volunteer roles. As discussed in the findings for Study 1, these differences are likely representative of the sample population who were highly educated and urban-dwelling. Therefore, the need for working for some was less a
part of their everyday reality than others. However, the Australians who were no longer working expressed the desire to continue studying, with one focus group member who has three PhDs citing education and learning as his reason to ‘keep going’. Part of Whitbourne and Sneed’s (2002) paradox of wellbeing emphasises how the majority of older adults continue to experience high levels of satisfaction while ageing. This is despite the changes in their social roles and in the face of negative attitudes and ageist stereotypes. However, individuals who are transitioning into what can be considered ‘old age’ within Western cultures arguably have more psychological barriers than those in more collectivist cultures. Whereas, individuals in some collectivist cultures, are facing potentially more psychological and economic barriers because of the sheer demographic population burden of older people that cannot be supported. This is an area for further research; the impact of socio-economic circumstances on subjective ageing (North and Fiske, 2015; Westerhof, 2014).

Through identity process theory, it is hypothesised that individuals adapt their previous self-identity with the slightly incongruent societal messages about who they are now (e.g the older worker, grandparent or senior citizen) all the while having what is described as ‘youthful age identity’ (Westerhof, 2008, Westerhof et al., 2012) – the feeling that they are still their younger selves. By having a sense of self that is relational and embedded and aligned with other family members younger or older, one’s transition into later stages of life is perhaps less fraught with the psychological barriers that an individualist may go through. These things include adapting one’s self-identity with external messages about ageing to fit with one’s internal youthful age identity. In order to do this older people might seek out activities that fit with their previous sense of self which could include their career roles in order to maintain self-consistency. Consistency is an important part of the individualist’s self-identity (Cialdini et al., 1999, Suh, 2002).

### 7.1.4 Culture and self-consistency

Self-consistency, the tendency for Western psychology to link identity consistency with wellbeing has been discussed in previous cross-cultural psychological literature (Cialdini et al., 1999, Suh, 2002, Petrova et al., 2007). Subsequent cross-cultural research has outlined the need to revisit notions of self, dialectic thinking and wellbeing (Suh, 2002, Markus and Kitayama, 1991, Nisbett et al., 2001, Spencer-Rodgers et al., 2004). It is possible that part of the psychological barrier for individualists as they age is their struggle to maintain a consistent self. Suh et al (2002) explains that for collectivists, interpersonal harmony is paramount and an
underlying part of thinking for those living in East Asian cultures. For this reason, living within a more collectivist culture calls on a self-system that is highly malleable and adaptable to different social situations. In contrast, Western notions of self can emphasise the importance of maintaining self-consistency (Suh, 2002). What cross-cultural theorists assert is that unlike collectivist cultures, where the ‘relational self’ remains ever-sensitive to context and situations, individualists are more sensitive to consistently expressing stable and self-defining attributes than tailoring the self to fit into social expectations (Suh, 2002, Markus and Kitayama, 1991, Petrova et al., 2007). Further, the individualist sense of self generally has a worldview that centralises personal goals and peripheralises social relationships (Oyserman et al., 2002).

Age then can be seen as a position of authority in relation to someone else in one culture compared with being an attribute or category in another. An alternative way to see how the relational way can be immune to negative age stereotypes is that even if you are older, as a collectivist, your sense of self is keenly attuned to and aligned with those of all generations in close social circles and not just the older personal self. The difficulty with the Western mind-set with a perceivably less flexible self, is that once you feel as though you have moved from the category of young to old, you automatically unlock your unconscious negative messages that have built up over a lifetime (Levy, 2009). Because of the propensity in the West to polarise inconsistencies or contradictions, it is difficult to reconcile reaching the milestone of senior citizen with one’s sense of self which maintains a youthful age identity and still feel valued (Westerhof et al., 2012, Suh, 2002, Whitbourne and Sneed, 2002, Levy, 2009, Levy and Langer, 1994, Levy, Ashman and Slade, 2009). The likelihood that East Asians are more inclined to see different selves across different situations as a manifestation of complex selfhood is what would underscore their ability to draw on aspects of the ageing self that remain interdependently connected to the young in an instrumental and affective way (Suh, 2002).

7.1.5 Interconnectedness and different definitions of care

Interconnectedness is a primary feature of collectivism. This is not only instrumental in maintaining a more socially cohesive environment, but, as discussed before, it serves as a protective factor for maintaining a more buoyant sense of self in old age. Another by-product of interconnectedness would appear to be the level of care provided by family members for their elders. Although older Filipinos expressed a desire to not be a burden on younger family members, there was still a lot of discussion in focus groups around caring for grandchildren and also being cared for by their family. Equally younger Filipinos expressed a desire to care for
their older relatives and also mentioned the social norm of *untang na loob* (debt of gratitude). Older Australians tended to see care as an unfortunate milestone in ageing where one now became dependent and needed support. Younger Australian’s understanding of care was in the context of what kind of ‘care services’ were available in assisting their ageing parents or grandparents within the context of health care. The main differences in the term ‘care’ was where Filipinos defined care interchangeably as instrumental and affective care, Australians discussed care in the context of functional support. Intergenerational connectedness was also evidenced by the items on psychological growth within the attitudes towards ageing questionnaire (Laidlaw et al., 2007) in Study 2. Older Filipinos rated items such as “It is very important to pass on the benefits of my experiences to younger people” and “I want to give a good example to younger people” significantly higher than older Australians did. It is important to note, that these views are within a specific socio-economic bracket of educated individuals who seemingly had resources to be able to care for, or provide care for their elders. This is discussed further in the sections on limitations and future directions.

### 7.1.6 Old age, faith and the thought of death

Although death after old age was never explicitly raised as a question in focus group discussions, when individuals were asked about how important one’s faith is to them, the discussion inevitably turned to death and dying. This was the response for both cultures, with younger Australians discussing faith as a potential source of comfort and support to older Australians, and Filipinos of both generations emphasising the importance of their religious faith in old age. The older Australians were somewhat more ambivalent than their Filipinos counterparts when it came to how important faith was. This was also reflected in the sample who participated in Study 2. In the survey on cultural attitudes and attitudes towards ageing, older Filipinos rated the importance of faith significantly higher than older Australians in the study. This supports other literature that shows that Australia, a more pluralist and secular culture is less religious than other cultures such as the Philippines (Abad, 2001, Miller, 1982, Hughes and Black, 1999, Hughes et al., 2000, McAllister, 1988, Mackinlay and Trevitt, 2007). It was interesting to note that both younger and older, Filipino and Australian groups tended to link the subject of faith in old age with the finality of death, regardless of whether they were religious.

### 7.1.7 Culture, attitudes and stereotypes

Conceptually placing attitudes on the dimension of a scale or into yes/no or positive/negative categories is useful for grasping the basic attitude or feeling towards something or someone. It is
arguably less helpful when that someone is the self – particularly the ageing self, for many reasons discussed in the literature review and subsequent chapters, including the problem of youth age identity (Westerhof, 2008, Westerhof et al., 2003), varying identity processes of assimilation and accommodation (Whitbourne, 2002) and terror management (Greenberg and Kosloff, 2008). Therefore, we need to embrace different ways of coming at the problem of how we measure self-perceptions of ageing. Laidlaw’s (2007) attitudes towards ageing questionnaire (AAQ) has provided an important multidimensional tool which has been able to incorporate different but relevant dimensions such as psychological wellbeing, aspects of physical change and also address feelings about loss. One of the strengths of providing a variable such as culture, with which to investigate differences in attitudes is that it provides a comparison. There is some literature that describes collectivism as the opposite of individualism. Even though conceptually this might be true, in reality it may be less about opposites and more about different elements and different dimensions of culture and the self. This is why mixed methods has been instrumental in unpacking these different elements that at times overlap.

The two previous sections have addressed findings from both studies 1 (qualitative) and 2 (quantitative) to explain reasons why the older Filipinos reported being more ‘positive’ about ageing than the Australians. Scales are important for us to analyses the degree to which a certain construct accounts for the variance between sample populations; however, the whole picture does not always lie in what was more of or less of a measured outcome. Sometimes, is it about what is different but not directly comparable. We can apply a measure; however, it does not always account for subtle differences. With this is mind, the next section will discuss the findings from the first two studies about different cultural attitudes towards ageing and how this links to the final Study 3 on stereotype threat.

7.1.8 Attitudes to ageing, culture and age stereotypes

To revisit the basic guiding definition of attitudes from the literature review, attitudes were operationalised and described as the psychological tendencies expressed when evaluating a particular entity, either with some degree of favour or disfavour (Eagly et al., 1999), whereas, a stereotype might be considered a “well-defined collections of trait concepts” (p639, Shih et al., 2008) that is more of a concrete concept than a psychological tendency. Articulating these differences is important because negative attitudes towards ageing may not always result in being primed or affected by a negative age stereotype. According to Hess et al. (2004), the strength of a prime depends on a range of variables including whether it is implicit or explicit, it
is blatant or subtle, whether individuals are of a certain age or education and whether they hold memory performance as an important part of their self-identity.

As Levy (2009) contends, it is the *embodiment* of age stereotypes plus one’s internal evaluation of those stereotypes that results in the ongoing negative effects on psychological wellbeing and general health as one continues to age. One explanation could be that an individual’s self-evaluation is heavily reliant on notions of self-consistency for the individualist from Western cultures. This in turn is important to the individual’s subjective wellbeing (Suh, 2002). It is difficult to maintain a sense of self that feels young but is considered ‘old’ within one’s society. This is likely because the individualist does not see themselves aligned with any other identity but their own (Petrova et al., 2007, Markus and Kitayama, 1991). In contrast, the collectivist with the interdependent sense of self is at any moment aligning their identity with close others especially their children and grandchildren. Therefore, where the individualist sees themselves largely as bound set of well-defined traits or attributes, the collectivist sees themselves more in *relation* to their significant others and shares in the traits and attitudes of the group. Conformity and group harmony, in a way overrides the collectivist’s propensity to assert their individuality.

Of course, the degree to which people are ‘group-oriented’ or not varies at the individual level (Brewer and Chen, 2007). Some cross-cultural research further refines the notion of people who are from individualist cultures but are also ‘group-oriented’ or are ‘others-oriented’ in a relational way (Andersen and Chen, 2002, Brewer and Chen, 2007). However, there was not enough scope in the present set of studies to go into the specifics of these individual differences.

For the purposes of this research, individualism and collectivism as defined by Markus and Kitayama (1991), Triandis (1989) and Bierbrauer et al. (1994) as the main guiding theoretical cultural frameworks.

Attitudes appear to be readily accessible and can be evaluated by a survey as seen in Study 2. Deeper probing with open-ended questions can provide themes and context as seen in focus groups discussions. Measuring whether an individual harbours unfavourable stereotypes about age, and whether these stereotypes affect them negatively or positively is more challenging. This thesis has explored the link between culture and attitudes to ageing and found that individuals who are more collectivist in their orientation (holding collectivistic cultural values of social reciprocity) show more positive attitudes towards ageing. Study 2 also showed us that, on average, the Filipinos were significantly higher on collectivism than Australians. However, these same individuals did not show any signs of stereotype threat susceptibility in the prime.
conditions of the memory tests in Study 3. There was a significant association between cultural orientation and the dot test scores, such that those who were higher on cultural orientation also performed better on the dot test. However, this was not related to any effects of the positive or negative primes. Therefore, Study 3 on age stereotype threat was not able to provide evidence that collectivist culture provides a buffering effect for the impact of negative age stereotype threat. The subtle implicit prime of suggesting that younger people perform better than older people on the memory tests did not appear to be enough of a trigger for threat. Hess et al (2004) found that subtle explicit primes were the least powerful of a prime for threat, and that older adults from North America found strategies to counteract subtle explicit cues. A recent meta-analysis by Lamont et al. (2015) also found that older adults were more vulnerable to ‘stereotype-based’ rather than ‘fact-based manipulations.’ Study 3’s negative prime could be considered fact-based in that younger people do perform better on the dot test and the CVLT, (Levy and Langer, 1994, Delis et al., 1987). In fact, there are ceiling effects as some individuals score very highly on a task or test and it is then difficult to assess whether they have made any further improvement on such a task because early scores are already at their limit (Vogt and Johnson, 2011). However, the positive prime which suggests that older people perform better is not fact-based, and would perhaps be considered stereotype-based, but framed positively.

What the three studies have brought into focus is that attitudes are an important indicator for how one sees oneself as one ages, and those who were more collectivistic in their orientation were more positive about ageing. Whether this translates to a buffer against negative age stereotypes is not entirely answerable from these studies. However, based on the reasons for why individualists are vulnerable to age stereotype embodiment and age stereotype threat, it would follow that collectivists would find that the interdependent self would less likely be impacted by concerns of appearing old. This is particularly the case if the surrounding culture respects elders. Individuals who are collectivist in nature, who have grown up in a culture which promotes elder respect may be less likely to be affected by negative age stereotypes. This thesis has provided evidence that one’s cultural orientation can influence self-perceptions of ageing and potentially buffer against the impact of negative attitudes about ageing. However, given that stereotype embodiment is likely to affect individualists more because of specific way of seeing the self as a collection of attributes it would be reasonable to assert that by virtue of having more of a ‘relational self’ collectivists would then be less likely to embody negative age stereotypes. This may be because holding certain cultural values of the self in relation to others with social reciprocity, defends against negative views of an ageing self within one’s subjective experience.
7.1.9 Limitations and future directions

Limitations from the studies within this thesis include focus group discussions of 3 – 6 people who were predominantly female, of similar socio-economic status and education levels. Further, the age ranges varied between the cultural groups such that Filipinos varied widely (52 – 79 years, particularly because recruitment of older Filipinos were a challenge) than Australians (60 – 75 years) in Study 2. Both sample populations held university degrees and post-graduate level educations which might have an influence on the outcomes of their survey and its generalisability. Studies 2 and 3 were cross-sectional and therefore cannot provide a causal link between cultural orientation and positive attitudes towards ageing. Therefore, longitudinal and cross-cultural research would be an effective way to determine if younger adults who were higher on collectivism held the same attitudes to ageing when they were older as well as monitoring specific health markers. In addition, a rural element with views of other subpopulations may shed some light on the role cultural orientation plays in attitudes to ageing, and whether socio-economic forces are eroding collectivist values that once ascribed to filial piety as North & Fiske (2015) study contends. The investigation of culture and attitudes towards ageing is particularly pertinent to Australian Indigenous populations given that life expectancy for this subpopulation is markedly less than the rest of the general population. For Indigenous males, life expectancy is 12 years less and for females, 10 years less than the general population (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2015).

A limitation for the experimental aspect of the research was the varied settings under which the memory tests were carried out. As mentioned in Chapter 6, it is the nature of cross-cultural research is that settings are often varied. Efforts were made to minimise these differences; however, without the support of a Philippine institution, it was a challenge to carry out Study 3 without inadvertent confounds from the varied settings. Therefore, it is difficult to assess the degree to which these differences affected memory test performance, particularly for Philippine participants whose experimental settings varied more than the Australians in the study. Further, there was naturally a rapport built up with Filipino participants because of the Philippine tendency to initiate polite conversation during all encounters. This tendency is described as *pakikisama*, which generally means smooth interpersonal interactions, or to ‘go along with’ (Saito, 2010). The level of comfort created from this rapport may have had an effect on the memory performance of the Philippine sample.
Although there were perceivably issues in the varied settings between the two countries where the research was conducted, there were some valid findings about attitudes to ageing that have shed light on cultural values of intergenerational cohesion and the promotion of the relational self as seen in the Philippines. As mentioned in Chapter 2, ageist attitudes are likely to have grown with the onset of the industrial age where unique syncretic forces plied apart previous forms of intergenerational interdependence in Western countries. This coincided with the printing press, which slowly eroded the traditional role of elders as the bank of knowledge and wisdom and created the need to move to where paid work was, creating both geographical and social distance (Nelson, 2004). The economy and workforce are of course an integral part of modern society, and as we have seen from Chapter 4’s focus group discussions, an important part of older Australian’s self-identity too. However, the shape of the top-heavy population of elders in rapidly ageing Asian cultures has shown that socio-economic forces can erode cultural values which sees elders abused and or abandoned (North & Fiske, 2015). The shape of Australia’s top-heavy population is urgently calling us to revisit intergenerational interdependence, not just to meet the immediate care concerns for older Australians (Australian Institute of Family Studies, 2015, Australia, 2015), but to foster more inclusive attitudes that will benefit future generations. What the present research is highlighting from the sample of participants who were relatively well-off and educated, is that cultural values still seemed to play a role in subjective ageing and self-perceptions of the ageing self.

Attitudes are arguably the basis for why current social policy, education and employment structures maintain an implicit form of age segregation (Hagestad, 2008). It has been noted by Hagestad (2008), that very few perspectives within European social policies are promoting intergenerational interdependence, when the demographic reality is in desperate need of it! As Hagestad (2008) contends, because our way of life has carried into modernity from the industrial age, social policy and other forms of public and institutional discourse describe three major stages: preparation and education, family building, work, and retirement. Hagestad (2008) argues that this post-industrial life course results in age segregation, and that this segregation takes three forms: institutional, spatial and cultural. Hagestad’s (2008) account is from a European social policy perspective, but is not completely foreign to the Australian experience. Like other OECD countries, Australia has certain policies that direct the channel of funding for training, employment and health care. Carson and Kerr (2003) argue that the Australian government make policy decisions about spending based on the assumption that intergenerational dependency is currently how families operate in Australia, without taking into
consideration the evolution and changes to this structure called the ‘family’ over the last half-century. Carson and Kerr (2003) refer to the baby boomer (born between 1945 and 1965) as the ‘pivot generation’ who are often sandwiched between caring for their younger generations and also their frail old-older parents. Quite often, the current ‘fragmented families’ are not meeting means tests for government aid due to shifting job security, increasing casualisation of the work force, sexual politics and blended families. Be that as it may, the approach for creating more intergenerational cohesion may not be in the previous form of the nuclear family in a contemporary, pluralist and multicultural society.

As Hagestad (2008) noted, the implicit age segregation that shapes important societal structure such as family and work would also impact the way individuals view ageing and the evaluation of each stage of their lives. Providing funds to care for the old and cutting of funds to youth training and employment within the context of Australian policy does little to promote intergenerational cohesion or dependence. In fact, with the release of the latest intergenerational report (IGR), these types of policies have the opposite effect of encouraging interdependence. For example, an article in response to the IGR (Australia, 2015) was entitled ‘The IGR focuses on the old, when the future belongs to the young’ (Churchill, 2015). The focus of the article was predominantly on the lack of budget allocations or focus on youth unemployment for future generations. There were some important and valid issues raised about the lack of focus on youth in the IGR report; however, the continued discourse within Western culture implicitly promotes cultural and implicit segregation between generations. The future belongs to the young, the old and whoever is still living one would suggest. The young, barring misfortune will have the opportunity to experience old age too, and to that end we owe them not only the best opportunities for education and employment, but the psychological tools to foster positive self-perceptions of ageing.

7.1.10 Fostering intergenerational cohesion

Intergenerational cohesion can be fostered in educational institutions and through work and community programs. This was discussed in Chapter 5, where the forward-thinking few have introduced preschools into nursing homes, and have encouraged university students who couldn’t afford accommodation to live with, and help the elderly (Jansen, 2016, Reed, 2015). However, this cannot, and will not, be done until the barrier of the social prejudice – ageism is fully recognised.
Butler (1969) suggested back in the 1960s, that age-ism would be one of America’s biggest sleepers in decades to come, in that no-one is willing to formally recognise this form of social prejudice. Not only is ageism not recognised enough, it is institutionalised, and Australia is no different (R. Brown, 2016; Ryan, 2016). Age stereotypes and ageism of course are not only a problem for the old. Age stereotypes for the young are a problem too (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2016). The research conducted within this thesis addressed different cultural perspectives to highlight how a different way of seeing the self might aid in less fixation on age as a category or attribute. In addition to this, a greater degree of intergenerational engagement, with higher social reciprocity, throughout the life course may add to stronger self-perceptions of ageing built up over time. Attitudes need shifting first, then societal structures to support this shaping will naturally follow. This would be a more organic way than trying to ‘impose financial intergenerational dependency’ on a population who are largely unaware of their age biases (Australia, 2015, Churchill, 2015, Carson and Kerr, 2003). Expectations for families to promote intergenerational cohesion is unrealistic given the shape that families continue to take in modernity (Carson and Kerr, 2003). Instead a national conversation about ageism are in society is needed in schools, health institutions and human resources.

As Robert Butler noted not long before his death in 2010:

“The advent of possible means to delay ageing and extend longevity is a great intellectual and social as well as medical achievement. It is ironic, then, that at the same time Americans are beginning to see an unfolding of the entire life cycle for a majority, we continue to have embedded in our culture a fear of growing old, manifest by negative stereotypes and language that belittles the very nature of growing old, its complexities and tremendous variability.”

(Butler, 2008 in Achenbaum, 2015)

As Achenbaum (2015) suggest, the ‘gift’ of the extra years that come with longevity should be a time to cherish bonds, review the meaning of one’s life and bestow knowledge on younger generations. Rather than finding oneself increasingly marginalised that in turn diminishes one’s capacities to make a contribution, or to matter. Hagestad (2008) refers to another important theorist Eric Erikson’s ponderings on old age and emphasises Erikson’s concept of generativity in interdependence:
“In a family where the old do not fear death, the young do not fear life.”
(Erikson, 1986 in Hagestad, 2008)

In a state of not just interdependence but mutual social engagement, Erikson emphasised how intergenerational ties within family allowed for ‘previewing and reviewing’. That is, by observing the old, the young can explore their future selves; through interactions with the young, the old review their previous stages of life. Each generation is arguably personally and socially enriched through this process (Hagestad, 2008).

7.2 Conclusion
Positive self-perceptions of ageing are important. The research presented in this thesis has looked at the complex and different cultural dimensions of self and how an understanding of collectivist cultural values can aid and improve how we view ourselves as we age. The history and psychology of ageism has led us to important understandings of how detrimental negative attitudes can be to individuals. Until we openly discuss this social prejudice, we will continue to have implicit ageism guiding our social policies, health policies and human resource practices, undermining an individual’s ability to live and age well.
Chapter 8: References


doi: 10.1177/1468794104044434


Brown, R. (2016). Age discrimination is systemic and ongoing, according to a national inquiry led by Age and Disability Discrimination Commissioner Susan Ryan. *Human Resources Media online.*


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Appendix A: Material from Study 1

Variation - Human Ethics Protocol 2011/270

aries@anu.edu.au

To: Natasha Ginnivan
Cc: Human.Ethics.Office@anu.edu.au; Karin Andrey

You forwarded this message on 19/07/2013 10:30 AM

THIS IS A SYSTEM-GENERATED E-MAIL. PLEASE DO NOT REPLY. SEE BELOW FOR CONTACT DETAILS

Dear Ms Natasha Ginnivan,

Protocol: 2011/270
Self-perceptions of ageing from a cross-cultural perspective: do collectivist cultures provide a buffering effect for the impact of negative stereotypes about age?

I am pleased to advise the Chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the variation you submitted on 27/03/2013 requesting:

"Researcher is now based in Sydney collaborating with the Centre of Excellence in Population Ageing Research (CEPAR), UNSW and data collection will now occur in Sydney and Manila & Recolod in the Philippines as it has been determined by the supervisory panel after a consult with the ANU statistics department that a much larger sample is required. Changes to the design of the second phase, memory testing, where to make this process more stream-lined and manageable for the researcher and the collaborator at the University of the Philippines, given the number of participants required for this study has doubled."

You may now commence your research as per your modified protocol.

All the best with your research,

Kim

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Consent Form

Focus Group Participation: ‘Transitioning through life stages’

Consent for the participation in a focus group discussion on different relationships in life and their changing nature throughout the lifespan as well as issues of self-identity in later life. The focus group will address topics such as:

- Intergenerational contact and activities
- Family roles in later stages of life
- Media portrayal of senior citizens in Australia
- How the elderly are viewed in Australian culture
- Self-Efficacy in later life
- Support structures in place for older Australians
- The role of ‘Faith’ in later life

Name of participant:_____________________________________________________

Name/s of Investigator/s: Ms Natasha Ginnivan (PhD Candidate)

1. I agree to participate in this project. Natasha has explained to me about this project on ‘transitioning through life stages’.

2. I agree that it is alright for Natasha to ask me questions about my culture and life experience, or record me telling stories, and for this material to be recorded and put in a safe keeping-place.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the focus group at anytime in the discussion, however, any recorded information/data that I have provided until that point will be kept for the use of the researcher/s.

4. The information gained from the focus group will be used as part of research investigating the self and life stages in different cultures.

5. Any information provided by me will not include my name or any personal details.

6. If there is anything I want to know about this study, or if I am concerned about any part of this research, I can contact Natasha Ginnivan, PhD Candidate (Ageing Research Unit – Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU) on +61-2-6125 2544 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au
   Or, if I have any serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted, I can contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:
Consent Form

Focus Group Participation: ‘Transitioning through life stages’

Consent for the participation in a focus group discussion on different relationships in life and their changing nature throughout the lifespan as well as issues of self-identity in later life. The focus group will address topics such as:

- Intergenerational contact and activities
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- Media portrayal of senior citizens in Australia
- How the elderly are viewed in Australian culture
- Self-Efficacy in later life
- Support structures in place for older Australians
- The role of ‘Faith’ in later life

Name of participant:_____________________________________________________

Name/s of Investigator/s: Ms Natasha Ginnivan (PhD Candidate)________________

1. I agree to participate in this project. Natasha has explained to me about this project on ‘transitioning through life stages’.

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Or, if I have any serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted, I can contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Secretary
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Phone: (61-2)6125 7945
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

Signature
Date
[Participant]

Signature
Date
[Witness]
Participant Information Sheet

Identification:
Australian National University

Title of project:
‘Transitioning through Life Stages’

Purpose of the project:
This project is interested in how we view ourselves and others in later life. Including topics such as:
- Intergenerational contact and activities
- Family roles in later stages of life
- Media portrayal of elderly in Australia
- How Senior Citizens are viewed in Australia
- Self-Efficacy in later life
- Support structures in place for older Australians
- The role of ‘Faith’ in later life

What you will do in the project:

Your participation in a focus group discussion will contribute to better understanding of attitudes about how people see themselves and others as they transition into the later stages of life. To inform our data accurately we will record the comments that you provide together with the others in the focus group. You are able to withdraw at anytime, however the comments made until such time will be irretrievable from the recording and utilized for the research project of the investigators.

Storage of the material:

Focus Group recordings will be kept in a secure place at the Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU Canberra and will only be accessed by the investigators of the project.

The consent form

There is another piece of paper called a ‘Consent Form’ which we will ask you to sign if you are happy to participate in the focus group described earlier. There are some things on it which we will go through with you beforehand to explain in a bit more detail. If you are happy to
participate in the focus group discussion, we will need you to sign it before we start the focus group. If you don’t want to sign it, you don’t have to and then we will not expect your participation in the focus group.

**Other questions or concerns**

If there is anything you want to know more about, or if you have any concerns about any part of this research, you can contact Natasha Ginnivan, PhD Candidate (Ageing Research Unit – Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU) on +61-2-6125 2544 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au

Or, if you have serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted please contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Secretary  
Human Research Ethics Committee  
Research Office  
The Australian National University  
ACT, 0200, Australia  
Phone: (61-2) 6125 7945  
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au
Participant Information Sheet

Identification:
Australian National University
University of the Philippines ~ Diliman

Title of project:
‘Transitioning through Life Stages’

Purpose of the project:
This project is interested in how we view ourselves and others in later life. Including topics such as:
- Intergenerational contact and activities
- Family roles in later stages of life
- Media portrayal of senior citizens in the Philippines
- How Senior Citizens are viewed in the Philippines
- Self-Efficacy in later life
- Support structures in place for senior citizens of the Philippines
- The role of ‘Faith’ in later life

What you will do in the project:
Your participation in a focus group discussion will contribute to better understanding of attitudes about how people see themselves and others as they transition into the later stages of life. To inform our data accurately we will record the comments that you provide together with the others in the focus group. You are able to withdraw at anytime, however the comments made until such time will be irretrievable from the recording and utilized for the research project of the investigators.

Storage of the material:
Focus Group recordings will be kept in a secure place at the Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU Canberra, and the Psychology Department of the University of the Philippines, and will only be accessed by the investigators of the project.

The consent form
There is another piece of paper called a ‘Consent Form’ which we will ask you to sign if you are happy to participate in the focus group described earlier. There are some things on it which we
will go through with you beforehand to explain in a bit more detail. If you are happy to participate in the focus group discussion, we will need you to sign it before we start the focus group. If you don’t want to sign it, you don’t have to and then we will not expect your participation in the focus group.

**Other questions or concerns**

If there is anything you want to know more about, or if you have any concerns about any part of this research, you can contact **Natasha Ginnivan**, PhD Candidate (Ageing Research Unit – Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU) on +61-2-6125 2544 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au

Or **Prof Apryl Parcon** (Department of Psychology - University of the Philippines) on summerparcs@yahoo.com

Or, if you have serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted please contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Secretary
Human Research Ethics Committee
Research Office
The Australian National University
ACT, 0200, Australia
Phone: (61-2) 6125 7945
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au
Transitioning Through Life Stages

The Ageing Research Unit at the Australian National University is seeking volunteers to participate in a focus group discussing self-perceptions of ageing.

Are you:

✓ Aged between 20-35
✓ Living in Australia for more than a decade
✓ Interested in discussing social issues
✓ Able to spare 30-40mins of your time

If you are interested in participating and think you are eligible for this study, please contact Natasha Ginnivan on 02 61252544 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au

Your interest is greatly appreciated
## COREQ (COnsolidated criteria for REporting Qualitative research) Checklist

A checklist of items that should be included in reports of qualitative research. You must report the page number in your manuscript where you consider each of the items listed in this checklist. If you have not included this information, either revise your manuscript accordingly before submitting or note N/A. **Topic**

### Domain 1: Research team and reflexivity

#### Personal characteristics

**Interviewer/facilitator**

1. Which author/s conducted the interview or focus group? p42

**Credentials**

2. What were the researcher’s credentials? E.g. PhD, MD

**Occupation**

3. What was their occupation at the time of the study? n/a

**Gender**

4. Was the researcher male or female? n/a

**Experience and training**

5. What experience or training did the researcher have? n/a

#### Relationship with participants

**Relationship established**

6. Was a relationship established prior to study commencement? n/a

**Participant knowledge of the interviewer**

7. What did the participants know about the researcher? e.g. personal goals, reasons for doing the research p41

**Interviewer characteristics**

8. What characteristics were reported about the interviewer/facilitator? e.g. Bias n/a
## Domain 2: Study design

### Theoretical framework
Methodological orientation and Theory

What methodological orientation was stated to underpin the study? e.g. grounded theory, discourse analysis, ethnography, phenomenology, content analysis p52

### Participant selection
Sampling

How were participants selected? e.g. purposive, convenience, consecutive, snowball p50

Method of approach

How were participants approached? e.g. face-to-face, telephone, mail, email p50

Sample size

How many participants were in the study?

Non-participation

How many people refused to participate or dropped out? Reasons? zero

### Setting
Setting of data collection

Where was the data collected? e.g. home, clinic, workplace p41

Presence of non-participants

Was anyone else present besides the participants and researchers? p59

### Description of sample

What are the important characteristics of the sample? e.g. demographic data, date p41

### Data collection
Interview guide

Were questions, prompts, guides provided by the authors? Was it pilot tested? p41

Repeat interviews

Were repeat interviews carried out? If yes, how many? n/a
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain 3: analysis and findings</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Data analysis</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of data coders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description of the coding tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivation of themes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Software</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Participant checking</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Reporting**

| Quotations presented          | 29 |

**Domain 3: analysis and findings**

| Data and findings consistent | 30 |
| Clarity of major themes      | 31 |
| Clarity of minor themes      | 32 |
Is there a description of diverse cases or discussion of minor themes? pp48-58

Appendix B: Material from Study 2

Variation - Human Ethics Protocol 2011/270
aries@anu.edu.au

To: Natasha Ginnivan  
Cc: Human.ethics.Office@anu.edu.au, Gavin Arlley

You forwarded this message on 15/07/2013 10:30 AM.

THIS IS A SYSTEM-GENERATED E-MAIL. PLEASE DO NOT REPLY. SEE BELOW FOR CONTACT DETAILS.

Dear Ms Natasha Ginnivan,

Protocol: 2011/270

Self-perceptions of ageing from a cross-cultural perspective: do collectivist cultures provide a buffering effect for the impact of negative stereotypes about age?

I am pleased to advise the Chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the variation you submitted on 27/03/2013 requesting:

"Researcher is now based in Sydney collaborating with the Centre of Excellence in Population Ageing Research (CEPAR), UNSW and data collection will now occur in Sydney and Manila & Bacolod in the Philippines as it has been determined by the supervisory panel after a consult with the ANU statistics department that a much larger sample is required. Changes to the design of the second Phase, memory testing, where to make this process more stream-lined and manageable for the researcher and the collaborator at the University of the Philippines, given the number of participants required for this study has doubled."

You may now commence your research as per your modified protocol.

All the best with your research,

Kim

Ms Kim Tiffen
Human Ethics Manager
Office of Research Integrity, Research Services,
Ground Floor, Chancellery 108
Ellery Crescent,
The Australian National University
ACTOR ACT 0200
T: +61 6125 3427
F: +61 2 6125 4807
Kim.Tiffen@anu.edu.au OR
human.ethics.office@anu.edu.au

Attitudes towards Ageing Questionnaire

Subscale on Physical Change

38. It is important to take exercise at any age

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree

39. Growing older has been easier than I thought

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree

40. I don't feel old

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree

41. My identity is not defined by my age

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree

42. I have more energy now than I expected for my age

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree

43. Problems with my physical health do not hold me back from doing what I want

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree

44. My health is better than I expected for my age

* 1 strongly disagree * 2 disagree * 3 neither agree nor disagree * 4 agree * 5 strongly agree

45. I keep as fit and active as possible by exercising

☐ 1 strongly disagree  ☐ 2 disagree  ☐ 3 neither agree nor disagree  ☐ 4 agree  ☐ 5 strongly agree
**Subscale on Psychological Growth**

46. As people get older they are better able to cope with life

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

47. It is a privilege to grow old

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

48. Wisdom comes with age

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

49. There are many pleasant things about growing old

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

50. I am more accepting of myself as I have grown older

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

51. It is very important to pass on the benefits of my experiences to younger people

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

52. I believe my life has made a difference

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

53. I want to give a good example to younger people

- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree
**Subscale on Psychological Loss**

54. Old age is a time of loneliness
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

55. Old age is a depressing time of life
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

56. I find it more difficult to talk about my feelings as I get older
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

57. I see old age mainly as time of loss
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

58. I am losing my physical independence as I get older
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

59. As I get older I find it more difficult to make new friends
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

60. I don't feel involved in society now that I'm older
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

61. I feel excluded from things because of my age
- 1 strongly disagree
- 2 disagree
- 3 neither agree nor disagree
- 4 agree
- 5 strongly agree

Debrief Form

Thank you for your participation and completion of the tasks and survey for our research project. The memory and cognition task that you did in the laboratory was described as a study on psychology of information processing. We were also interested in memory performance under different experimental conditions. To do this we used different kinds of instructions at the beginning of the memory tasks to either increase or decrease your sensitivity to age related concepts, or have no effect, depending on which condition you were randomly assigned too.

We were then interested to examine how this increased sensitivity to age-related concepts and/or may have unconsciously affected performance on the recall tasks.

The purpose of the online survey after the memory test was to understand unconscious and conscious attitudes towards ageing and older adults.

At this point, you are entitled to request that your data be withdrawn from the study by letting the researchers know before you leave the experimental session. However, once you have left the session your data will be included with the rest of the participants’ data and you will no longer be able to request that your data be withdrawn.

If you have any further questions about this research project, or you would like to receive a report on my research findings, please do not hesitate to contact me, Natasha Ginnivan (PhD Candidate) on +61-2-93857081 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au. Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor if you have any queries relating to the research that I am conducting on kaarin.anstey@anu.edu.au.

If you have any serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted, you can contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Ethics Manager
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
The Australian National University
Telephone: +61 2 61253427
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au
Information & Consent Form

Identification:
Australian National University

Title of project: 
Language Proficiency and Recall

Purpose of the project:
This project is interested in certain aspects of memory and cognition; specifically information processing styles in sentence generation and also the order in which words are recalled.

What you will do in the project:
Your participation in these memory and cognition tasks will contribute to better understanding of what cognitive strategies people use when recalling lists of words and generating sentences.

Storage of the material:
Data from the participants in this study will be kept in a secure place at the Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU Canberra and will only be accessed by the investigators of the project.

Consent:
Consent for the participation in this experiment investigating the cognitive strategies employed in a language proficiency task generating sentences and recall task.

Name of participant:_____________________________________________________

Name/s of Investigator/s: Ms Natasha Ginnivan (PhD Candidate) ________________

1. I agree to participate in this project. Natasha has explained to me about this project on sentence generation and word recall.

2. I agree that it is alright for Natasha to record my answers provided in the tasks, and for this material to be used in the afore-mentioned study which will be stored in a safe place.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the experiment, and can request that my data not be used at any point during the experimental session. However, once I have completed the tasks in the
experiment and left, I can no longer withdraw my data as it will be collated with other participants data for the research project.

4. The information gained from the language proficiency and recall tasks will be used as part of research investigating cognitive strategies in sentence generation and word recall.

5. Any information provided by me will not include my name or any personal details.

6. If there is anything I want to know about this study, or if I am concerned about any part of this research, I can contact Natasha Ginnivan, PhD Candidate (Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU) on +61-2-6125 2544 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au

Or, if I have any serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted, I can contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Secretary
Human Research Ethics Committee
Research Office
The Australian National University
ACT, 0200, Australia
Phone: (61-2)6125 7945
Email: Human.Ethics.Offer@anu.edu.au

Signature
Date
[Participant]

Signature
Date
[Participant]
Participant Information Sheet

Researcher:
My name is Natasha Ginnivan. I am a PhD student from the Australian National University researching psychology of information processing in adults. My supervisor is Professor Kaarin Anstey, with the Research School of Population Health, ANU and I am collaborating with and operating from UNSW.

Project Title: The psychology of information processing: individual and cultural differences on basic recall tasks in adults

General Outline of the Project:
- Participants of this research project will be asked to study various simple patterns and replicate them. You will also be asked to do some matching of words with images, and some word recall tasks. In addition to these tasks there will be an online survey.
- Data will be collected from roughly one hundred adults of various age groups, collated and shared with various collaborating universities, as well as presented at various university seminars and conferences as part of my PhD requirements. Results can be shared with participants in due course, once I have completed my thesis.
- The data collected from this research will be analysed and used as part of my PhD thesis, potential journal articles and other related publications.

Participant Involvement:
You will be asked to study various simple patterns and replicate them. You will also be asked to do some matching of words with images, and some word recall tasks. In addition to these tasks there will be an online survey. At the end of the online survey there will be a computer-aided task with straightforward instructions provided. The cognitive tasks and survey should take approximately half an hour.

Participants can withdraw from the experiment, and can request that their data be destroyed at any point during the experimental session. However, once you have completed the tasks in the experiment and left the session, you can no longer withdraw your data as it will have been collated with the other participants’ data for the research project.

Confidentiality:
All information collected from participants of this study will remain confidential, as far as the law allows. No participant will be identified in any publication or presentation of results.

Data Storage:
The data are held in a secured area and only accessible to the project's researchers. Data for this research project will be stored at the University of New South Wales in secure facility where researchers require security passes in order to access the building. The data will be kept on a password secure computer within this building and/or on a password secured laptop. The data collected from participants of this study will be analysed and then kept for approximately 5 years from publication of dissertation and any articles arising from the research project.

Queries and Concerns:
If there is anything I want to know about this study, or if I am concerned about any part of this research, I can contact Natasha Ginnivan, PhD Candidate (Australian National University in collaboration with University of New South Wales on +61-2-9385 7081 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au). Alternatively, if you have any queries or concerns about my research you can contact Professor Kaarin Anstey on kaarin.anstey@anu.edu.au.

**Ethics Committee Clearance:**

The ethical aspects of this research have been approved by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee.’ If you have any concerns or complaints about how this research has been conducted, please contact:

Ethics Manager
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
The Australian National University
Telephone: 6125 3427
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au
Telephone Cognitive Assessment

What is your name? 1 point
How old are you? 1 point
What is your date of birth? 1 point
In what year were you born? 1 point
What is your current address? 1 point
What kind of place is that? 1 point
What is the date today? 1 point
What month is it? 1 point
What year is it? 1 point
Please repeat these words: 1 point
“toothbrush”, “key”, “lamp”
Count back from 20 by 3’s 3 points for first three steps
Who is the current Prime minister? 1 point
Who was the previous Prime minister? 1 point
Recall 3 words 3 points
Recognition task for missed words (if missed recall)0.5 points each
How are “dog” and “lion” similar? 1 point
How are “sugar” and “vinegar” different? 1 point

Total Score ------/20

Appendix C: Material from Study 3

Seeking participants for a study on the Psychology of Information Processing

Are you:
• fluent in written and spoken English,
• been living in Australia for over a decade,
• aged between 60-75 and
• able to spare an hour of your time.

If you are interested in participating and think you are eligible for this study, please contact Natasha on 02 93857081 or email: z3103766@unsw.edu.au

Your interest is greatly appreciated!
CVLT

1. Let's suppose you were going shopping tomorrow. I'm going to read a list of items for you to buy. Listen carefully, and when I've finished I want you to say back as many of the items as you can. It doesn't matter what order you say them in - just tell me as many as you can. Are you ready? Before proceeding, make sure that Respondent understands the task. Then read stimulus words at a rate of approximately one word per second, reading down the list.

   a  drill  g  sweater  l  jacket  
   b  plums  h  wrench  m  nutmeg  
   c  vest  i  chives  n  apricots  
   d  parsley  j  tangerines  o  pliers  
   e  grapes  k  chisel  p  slacks  
   f  paprika  q  None  r  Refused  
   recalled  

If necessary, prompt with Are you ready to recall? After recalling as many items as they can, say Thanks for that.

   Immediate recall score=________

2. I read some shopping items to your earlier. I'd like you to tell me all the items you can from the shopping list, starting now.

   a  drill  g  sweater  l  jacket  
   b  plums  h  wrench  m  nutmeg  
   c  vest  i  chives  n  apricots  
   d  parsley  j  tangerines  o  pliers  
   e  grapes  k  chisel  p  slacks  
   f  paprika  q  None  r  Refused  
   recalled  

   Delayed recall score=______________

3. Recognition

   Now I am going to read a list of things people can buy. After I read each one say “yes” if it was on the list that I read to you earlier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweater</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Oregano</td>
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<tr>
<td>Flounder</td>
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<td>Rug</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tires</td>
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<td>Shoes</td>
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<td>Grapes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paprika</td>
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<td>Racquet</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ginger</td>
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<td>Slacks</td>
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<td>Soap</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Debrief Form

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We were then interested to examine how this increased sensitivity to age-related concepts and/or may have unconsciously affected performance on the recall tasks.

The purpose of the online survey after the memory test was to understand unconscious and conscious attitudes towards ageing and older adults.

At this point, you are entitled to request that your data be withdrawn from the study by letting the researchers know before you leave the experimental session. However, once you have left the session your data will be included with the rest of the participants’ data and you will no longer be able to request that your data be withdrawn.

If you have any further questions about this research project, or you would like to receive a report on my research findings, please do not hesitate to contact me, Natasha Ginnivan (PhD Candidate) on +61-2-93857081 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au. Alternatively, you can contact my supervisor if you have any queries relating to the research that I am conducting on kaarin.anstey@anu.edu.au.

If you have any serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted, you can contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Ethics Manager
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee
The Australian National University
Telephone: +61 2 61253427
Email: Human.Ethics.Offer@anu.edu.au
Information & Consent Form

Identification:
Australian National University

Title of project:
Language Proficiency and Recall

Purpose of the project:
This project is interested in certain aspects of memory and cognition; specifically information processing styles in sentence generation and also the order in which words are recalled.

What you will do in the project:
Your participation in these memory and cognition tasks will contribute to better understanding of what cognitive strategies people use when recalling lists of words and generating sentences.

Storage of the material:
Data from the participants in this study will be kept in a secure place at the Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU Canberra and will only be accessed by the investigators of the project.

Consent:
Consent for the participation in this experiment investigating the cognitive strategies employed in a language proficiency task generating sentences and recall task.

Name of participant:_____________________________________________________

Name/s of Investigator/s: Ms Natasha Ginnivan (PhD Candidate)_________________

1. I agree to participate in this project. Natasha has explained to me about this project on sentence generation and word recall.
2. I agree that it is alright for Natasha to record my answers provided in the tasks, and for this material to be used in the afore-mentioned study which will be stored in a safe place.

3. I understand that I can withdraw from the experiment, and can request that my data not be used at any point during the experimental session. However, once I have completed the tasks in the experiment and left, I can no longer withdraw my data as it will be collated with other participants data for the research project.

4. The information gained from the language proficiency and recall tasks will be used as part of research investigating cognitive strategies in sentence generation and word recall.

5. Any information provided by me will not include my name or any personal details.

6. If there is anything I want to know about this study, or if I am concerned about any part of this research, I can contact Natasha Ginnivan, PhD Candidate (Centre for Mental Health Research, ANU) on +61-2-6125 2544 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au

Or, if I have any serious concerns regarding the way the research was conducted, I can contact the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee at the address below:

Secretary
Human Research Ethics Committee
Research Office
The Australian National University
ACT, 0200, Australia
Phone: (61-2)6125 7945
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au

Signature
Date
[Participant]

Signature
Date
[Participant]
Participant Information Sheet

Researcher:
My name is Natasha Ginnivan. I am a PhD student from the Australian National University researching psychology of information processing in adults. My supervisor is Professor Kaarin Anstey, with the Research School of Population Health, ANU and I am collaborating with and operating from UNSW.

Project Title: The psychology of information processing: individual and cultural differences on basic recall tasks in adults

General Outline of the Project:

• Participants of this research project will be asked to study various simple patterns and replicate them. You will also be asked to do some matching of words with images, and some word recall tasks. In addition to these tasks there will be an online survey.
• Data will be collected from roughly one hundred adults of various age groups, collated and shared with various collaborating universities, as well as presented at various university seminars and conferences as part of my PhD requirements. Results can be shared with participants in due course, once I have completed my thesis.
• The data collected from this research will be analysed and used as part of my PhD thesis, potential journal articles and other related publications.

Participant Involvement:
You will be asked to study various simple patterns and replicate them. You will also be asked to do some matching of words with images, and some word recall tasks. In addition to these tasks there will be an online survey. At the end of the online survey there will be a computer-aided task with straightforward instructions provided. The cognitive tasks and survey should take approximately half an hour.

Participants can withdraw from the experiment, and can request that their data be destroyed at any point during the experimental session. However, once you have completed the tasks in the experiment and left the session, you can no longer withdraw your data as it will have been collated with the other participants’ data for the research project.

Confidentiality:
All information collected from participants of this study will remain confidential, as far as the law allows. No participant will be identified in any publication or presentation of results.

Data Storage:
The data are held in a secured area and only accessible to the project’s researchers. Data for this research project will be stored at the University of New South Wales in secure facility where researchers require security passes in order to access the building. The data will be kept on a password secure computer within this building and/or on a password secured laptop. The data collected from participants of this study will be
analysed and then kept for approximately 5 years from publication of dissertation and any articles arising from the research project.

**Queries and Concerns:**

If there is anything I want to know about this study, or if I am concerned about any part of this research, I can contact Natasha Ginnivan, PhD Candidate (Australian National University in collaboration with University of New South Wales on +61-2-9385 7081 or natasha.ginnivan@anu.edu.au). Alternatively, if you have any queries or concerns about my research you can contact Professor Kaarin Anstey on kaarin.anstey@anu.edu.au.

**Ethics Committee Clearance:**

The ethical aspects of this research have been approved by the ANU Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns or complaints about how this research has been conducted, please contact:

Ethics Manager  
The ANU Human Research Ethics Committee  
The Australian National University  
Telephone: 6125 3427  
Email: Human.Ethics.Officer@anu.edu.au
Telephone Cognitive Assessment

What is your name? 1 point
How old are you? 1 point
What is your date of birth? 1 point
In what year were you born? 1 point
What is your current address? 1 point
What kind of place is that? 1 point
What is the date today? 1 point
What month is it? 1 point
What year is it? 1 point

Please repeat these words:
“toothbrush”, “key”, “lamp” 1 point

Count back from 20 by 3’s 3 points for first three steps

Who is the current Prime minister? 1 point
Who was the previous Prime minister? 1 point
Recall 3 words 3 points
Recognition task for missed words (if missed recall) 0.5 points each

How are “dog” and “lion” similar? 1 point
How are “sugar” and “vinegar” different? 1 point

Total Score ------/20