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**Age and Status: Young People's Impressions of Older and Young Adults**

**Alexandra Fioriello**

**A Thesis**

**in**

**The Department**

**of**

**Psychology**

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
For the Degree of Master of Arts at  
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Montreal, Quebec, Canada**

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## ABSTRACT

### Age and Status: Young People's Impressions of Older and Young Adults

Alexandra Fioriello

The hypothesis of the present research is that older adults relative to young adults will be perceived in a manner analogous to how low status individuals are perceived relative to high status individuals. Study 1 examines young participants' perceptions of older adults and young adults by having them rate traits that have been used to describe the typical old person (Schmidt and Boland, 1986). The findings are consistent with past research which reveals multiple types of older adults and young adults. Study 2 examines young participants' perceptions of low status and high status individuals by having participants rate the same traits used in Study 1. The methodology of Study 2 is derived from a study by Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount (1996) which measures people's perceptions of low status and high status individuals. Participants' representations of older adults in Study 1 are relatively complex as compared with their perceptions of status in Study 2. Older adults are not only attributed traits associated with low status (e.g., quiet, arouses pity, neglected) but are also attributed traits associated with high status (e.g., prejudiced and set in ways). Participants did not attribute traits associated with low status to young adults. However, participants did attribute traits reflecting selfishness to young adults and to high status individuals.

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## Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
List of Figures .....	vii
List of Tables .....	viii
Introduction .....	1
Study 1	
Method .....	10
Participants .....	10
Questionnaires .....	11
Procedure .....	13
Results .....	14
Discussion .....	39
Study 2	
Method .....	42
Participants .....	42
Questionnaires .....	42
Procedure .....	44
Results .....	46
Discussion .....	55
Results (Study 1 and Study 2) .....	56
General Discussion .....	74
References .....	80

## Table of Contents (continued)

Appendix A	Questionnaires for Study 1.....	83
Appendix B	Questionnaires for Study 2.....	120
Appendix C	Manipulation Checks for Study 2.....	139
Appendix D	Introduction for Study 1.....	141
Appendix E	Consent Form for Study 1.....	143
Appendix F	Introduction for Study 2.....	145
Appendix G	Consent Form for Study 2.....	147
Appendix H	Copyright Permission for using Figures from Hummert (1990).....	149



## List of Figures

		<u>Page</u>
Figure 1	Clusters Found in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults	15
Figure 2	Clusters Found in Participants' Impressions of Young Adults	16
Figure 3	Sets of Traits Found in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults	18
Figure 4	Clusters Found in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults	24
Figure 5	Clusters Found in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Young Adults	25
Figure 6	Sets of Traits Found in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults	26
Figure 7	Subcategories Representing Older Adults from Hummert (1990)	33
Figure 8	Subcategories Representing Young Adults from Hummert (1990)	35
Figure 9	Clusters Found in Participants' Impressions of Low Status Individuals	47
Figure 10	Clusters Found in Participants' Impressions of High Status Individuals	48
Figure 11	Sets of Trait Terms Found in Participants' Impressions of High Status Individuals and Low Status Individuals	49
Figure 12	Sets of Trait Terms Found in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals, and Participants' Impressions of Older and Young Adults	57
Figure 13	Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals, and Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults	61

## List of Tables

		<u>Page</u>
Table 1	Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults	19
Table 2	Individual Trait Terms in Clusters of Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults	21
Table 3	Trait Terms Included in at Least One or None of the Clusters in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults	22
Table 4	Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults	28
Table 5	Individual Trait Terms in Clusters of Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults	29
Table 6	Trait Terms Included in at Least One or None of the Clusters in Participants' Perceptions of Older and Young Adult Stereotypes	31
Table 7	Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Low Status Individuals and High Status Individuals	51
Table 8	Individual Trait Terms in Clusters of Participants' Impressions of High Status Individuals and Low Status Individuals	52
Table 9	Trait Terms Included in at Least One or None of the Clusters in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals	54
Table 10	Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Young and Older Adults and Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals	59
Table 11	Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Perceptions of Stereotypes of Older Adults, and Young Adults and Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals	63
Table 12	All Characteristics not Included in the Sets of Traits in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults, and Participants' Impressions of Low Status and High Status	66

## Introduction

Researchers have theorized that stereotypes may be determined by social status differences between groups (e.g., Sampson, 1993). Kunda (1999) states that in social perception, individuals tend to automatically categorize people along three major social status indicators: race, sex, and age. The present research focuses on age as a social status indicator. According to Burgess (1960), the stereotype of old persons includes images of passivity, dependency, rigidity, and senility. In more recent years, a study conducted by Schmidt and Boland (1986) has found that a mixed assortment of traits such as loving, bitter, wise, senile, fragile, and trustworthy have been used by young adults to describe the typical old person. It can be argued that traits typically attributed to older adults living in Western societies do not reflect power or strength. Berger, Cohen, and Zelditch (1972) propose that "high status individuals are expected to be more competent and are thus accorded more power and prestige in the group" (Lips, 1981, p. 161). Moreover, Williamson, Evans, and Munley (1980) argue that "being middle-aged or old in a society which exalts youth can lead to an assignment of low status" (p.126). Theorists, examining the relationship between social status and chronological age, suggest that status is an inverted U function of age; increasing from childhood, peaking in midlife, and then decreasing in old age (e.g., Dowd, 1975). However, there are no studies that have aimed at drawing parallels between young adults' impressions of older adults and young adults, and young adults' impressions of low and high status individuals. In the present research, given that participants were drawn from a Canadian sample, Western views on older and young adults, and low and high status individuals are examined.

In a first phase, the present research aims at replicating past studies on age stereotypes by examining how young participants perceive older adults and young adults in terms of traits used in previous studies. In a second phase, the present research examines, with a separate group of young participants, their impressions of low and high status individuals in terms of the same traits used in the first phase. The purpose of the present research is to compare participants' impressions of older adults and young adults with participants' impressions of low and high status individuals in order to determine the degree of parallel between age and status. In addition, participants' perceptions of people's age stereotypes will also be examined in terms of the traits used in phase 1 and phase 2 of the present research. Participants' perceptions of people's age stereotypes will be compared with their impressions of low and high status individuals in order to again examine for parallels between age and status.

Past research documenting people's stereotypes of older adults has found inconsistent results. Researchers have found that older adults are generally evaluated more negatively than young adults (Kite & Johnson, 1988; Brathwaite, 1986). In an early study conducted by McTavish (1971), young participants described older adults as more ill, tired, slow, forgetful, withdrawn, self-pitying, defensive, and unhappy than young adults. In a study conducted by Wetle (1991), young adults typically attributed trait terms such as sick, sedentary, sexless, senile, and poor to older adults. However, in other studies examining people's perceptions of older adults, young participants had a tendency to attribute inconsistent characteristics such as irritable and serene, suspicious and naively trusting, and conservative and eccentric to older adults in general (Brubaker & Powers, 1976; Green, 1981; for similar results see Schmidt and Boland, 1986). In

general, young respondents, as opposed to older respondents, are more likely to perceive older adults negatively.

Given these mixed findings, researchers started to investigate the possibility that people perceive different types of older adults. Research by Brewer, Dull, and Lui (1981) demonstrated that stereotyping occurs at a more specific cognitive level and that people may have several stereotypes for different types of older adults. In their study, Brewer et al. (1981) asked young participants to sort photographs of older and younger adults into types of individuals. The photographs of older adults were selected by the experimenters to correspond to specific stereotypes of older adults. The specific stereotypes were predetermined by the experimenters and were given the following labels: Grandmother, Elder statesman, and Senior citizen. Photographs of young adults were included to create a contrast for the photographs of older adults. The results of the sorting task of the older adult photographs confirmed that participants perceived three types of older adults which were consistent with the three stereotypes predetermined by the experimenters. Furthermore, when asked to attribute traits to the different types of older adults, participants attributed positive traits such as helpful, accepting, and trustworthy to the Grandmother type. The Elder statesman was described as conservative whereas negative traits such as lonely, weak, and worried were attributed to the Senior citizen type. The findings suggest that young people's cognitive representation of the term "older adult" reflects a superordinate category that may include several more specific subcategories (Hummert, 1999). In addition, the presence of the subcategories demonstrates that the label *older adult* represents a general category that includes negative types as well as positive types of older adults. The findings by Brewer et al.

(1981) may explain why inconsistent traits such as irritable and serene are simultaneously attributed to describe older adults.

Schmidt and Boland (1986) further investigated people's multiple stereotypes of older adults. In their study, young participants were asked to generate a list of words that they felt described the typical old person. Unlike in the study conducted by Brewer et al. (1981), Schmidt and Boland did not predetermine the stereotypes of older adults prior to the study. Participants produced a list that included 99 trait terms, 59 of the trait terms were negative (e.g., fragile, arouse pity, sick, useless, and burden to society), 32 were positive (e.g., loving, family-oriented, patriotic, and understanding), and the remaining eight traits were general physical traits applying to most older people (e.g., wrinkled skin, gray-haired, and poor eyesight). Participants were then asked to sort the traits into groups that represented different types of older adults. The findings demonstrated that young adults have more representations of the elderly than the three initially conceptualized by Brewer et al. (1981). In fact, Schmidt and Boland (1986) identified twelve different subcategories representing types of older adults. The following are examples: nosy neighbor, sage, despondent, liberal matriarch/patriarch, shrew/curmudgeon, recluse, and vulnerable. The subcategories varied in degree of negativity. However, 8 out of the 12 types were generally composed of negative trait terms.

In a subsequent study, Hummert (1990) examined how the traits that typically describe older adults, found in the study by Schmidt and Boland (1986), can also be used to describe different types of young adults. In a first study, one group of young participants was instructed to sort the traits derived from the list produced by Schmidt and Boland (1986) into as many categories of older adults they could think of. A second group of

young participants was asked to sort the same trait terms into as many categories of young adults they could think of. The experimenter then gave descriptive labels to each of the clusters of traits that represented different types of older adults, as well as to each of the clusters of traits that represented different types of young adults. The following are examples of labels for the clusters found for types of older adults: inflexible senior citizen, shrew/curmudgeon, recluse, and despondent. The majority of the clusters found for older adults replicated the subcategories found by Schmidt and Boland (1986).

In a second task, participants were asked to choose, among seven age ranges (i.e., 55-59, 60-64, 65-69, 70-74, 75-79, 80-85, and 85 and older), the age range that was most typical for each older adult cluster. Participants were also asked to choose, among five age ranges (i.e., 18-21, 22-25, 26-29, 30-33, and 34-37), the age range that was most typical for each young adult cluster. Participants typically assigned older age ranges (over 65 years of age) to subcategories reflecting negative stereotypes of older adults. The findings suggest negative stereotypes of older adults do exist among young people but they are more salient in young people's perceptions of individuals in the older age ranges (over 65 years old).

In sum, past studies have found evidence of positive and negative stereotypes of older adults. However, there are more negative stereotypes associated with young adults' perceptions of older adults, especially of older adults over 65 years of age. Research shows that young adults are likely to attribute negative traits that reflect weakness and dependence to describe older adults (e.g., fragile, sick, and burden to society). Conversely, positive traits attributed to older adults by young adults tend to reflect interpersonal sensitivity (e.g., loving, trustworthy, and understanding) rather than a disposition that reflects power or strength (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu, & Glick, 2002). Consistent

with these findings, young participants are less likely to attribute to older adults traits reflecting self-assertion, self-expansion, and the urge to master (Gekoski & Knox, 1990; Naus, 1973).

The stigmatization of older adults by younger adults, particularly in Western societies, can be examined from various psychological viewpoints. The present research will focus on how age stereotypes may be determined by status and power. High social status is usually linked with power (Lanski, 1966). Individuals of high social status have influence over decisions, control over rewards and punishments, and play an important role in the attribution of resources (Ng, 1980). In social interactions involving two groups of different social status a hierarchical relationship exists. Shils (1975) stated that when hierarchy is formed between two groups, the status of each group is reflected in the degree of power one group exerts over members of the other group. Power refers to control over others' outcomes, and implies an ability to influence others (Dépret & Fiske, 1993). Dowd (1975) states that in order to exercise power, an individual must possess power resources such as money, knowledge, persuasiveness, and social position. From an exchange theory perspective, the problems of aging are essentially problems of decreasing power resources (Dowd, 1975). According to Dowd (1975), the relationship between chronological age and the possession of power resources is curvilinear: resources tend to be limited in youth, increasing through late middle age, and decreasing sharply in old age. It can be argued that young adults perceive older adults as vulnerable and weak for this reason. Mulkay (1971) states: "Those with high status provide valuable services while those with low status respond with esteem and compliance" (p. 591).



In Western societies in which young and middle-aged adults hold the majority of jobs (e.g., in 1993, 2.7% of the work force in the United States was 65 years or older [U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1994] ), it can be argued that because young adults have more economic resources, they are more likely to be perceived as having high social status and are attributed traits consistent with their status. On the other hand, older adults have less power resources and may be perceived as low status and attributed traits consistent with their status position (Ridgeway & Balkwell, 1997).

Past studies have used different approaches to measure how people perceive low status and high status individuals. The methodology used in one of the studies of the present research is derived from a study by Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount (1996) that examined status as a function of communality and agency. The term communality is defined as an emotional, interpersonal inclination towards others whereas the term agency is defined as an assertive, instrumental type of behavior. Conway et al. (1996) conducted studies that addressed the hypothesis that low status individuals are perceived as more communal and less agentic than high status individuals.

In their methodology, Conway et al. (1996) presented participants with a recorded description of a fictitious culture which consisted of a low status and a high status group. Status markers such as personal ornamentation and priority access to certain resources were used to differentiate the two status groups. There were no differences across status group in terms of gender, social roles, occupation, or age. After listening to the description, participants rated low status individuals and high status individuals on communal and agentic traits. The results confirmed the hypothesis that low status individuals are perceived as more communal and less agentic than high status individuals. The

methodology used by Conway et al. (1996) has been used in other studies that have measured people's perceptions of low and high status individuals in terms of characteristics related to gender (Conway & Vartanian, 2000), as well as more transient states such as emotions (Conway, Di Fazio & Mayman, 1999).

In order to be able to draw parallels with participants' perceptions of low status individuals and high status individuals, the present research will assess both participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, and participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults and young adults. According to Devine (1989), there is a difference between knowledge of a cultural stereotype and endorsement of a stereotype. People have knowledge of many things they may not endorse. Stereotypes and personal beliefs are conceptually distinct cognitive structures. Beliefs are defined as "propositions that are endorsed and accepted as being true" (Devine, 1989, p.5). Knowledge about a stereotype does not imply congruency with an individual's personal beliefs.

The present research includes two studies. Study 1 will examine participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, as well as participants' perceptions of old and young stereotypes. Study 2 will examine participants' perceptions of low status individuals and high status individuals. Cluster analyses will be conducted on the data of each study. Clusters found in Study 1 are expected to replicate past findings by Schmidt and Boland (1986) and Hummert (1990) that revealed multiple types of older adults. Also, consistent with past studies, the trait terms used in Study 1 are expected to be more likely attributed to older adults than to young adults. Furthermore, the results of Study 1 will be compared with the results of Study 2 in order to examine whether older adults are perceived as are low status individuals. The hypothesis of the present research is to examine whether most

subtypes of older adults relative to subtypes of young adults will be perceived in a manner analogous to how low status individuals are perceived relative to high status individuals.

## Study 1

The goal of Study 1 is to examine participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, as well as their perceptions of older and young adult stereotypes, by having participants rate 49 trait terms that were typically attributed to older adults in a study by Schmidt and Boland (1986). The results are expected to be consistent with past findings which revealed multiple types of older adults (Brewer, Dull, and Lui, 1981; Schmidt and Boland, 1986; Hummert, 1990).

## Method

### Participants

Participants were recruited from a booth on the campus of Concordia University. Participants completed a packet of questionnaires in order to have their names entered in a lottery draw. The first item in the packet was a consent form in which students indicated their willingness to fill out the remainder of the packet, which included an information sheet, a future contact sheet, and questionnaires. From the pool of participants obtained through the recruitment procedure, participants who filled out the future contact sheet were contacted by telephone and were asked to participate in a questionnaire study. Participants were told that the study concerned their perceptions of others and would be approximately 1 hour in duration. Each participant received \$10 for participation.

Data from 77 undergraduate students (34 women and 43 men) from Concordia University were used in the present study. Participants were 18 to 35 years of age. The mean age for participants was 22.95 years.

## Questionnaires

At the experimental session, participants completed questionnaires concerning their personal beliefs regarding older adults and young adults, as well as their perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults and young adults. There were four questionnaires: one examining participants' impressions of older adults (over 65 years of age), a second examining participants' impressions of young adults, a third examining participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults (over 65 years of age), and a fourth examining participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of young adults. All participants completed all four questionnaires.

In the two questionnaires concerning impressions of others, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they personally believed each of the characteristics, listed in the questionnaires, were typical of older adults (or young adults). In the two questionnaires concerning perceptions of people's stereotypes, participants were asked to rate how well they thought each of the characteristics, listed in the questionnaires, made up the cultural stereotype that people have of older adults (or young adults).

Each questionnaire listed a total of 49 characteristics. The same 49 characteristics were listed in all four questionnaires. The order of the age groups (i.e., older adults and young adults) appearing on the questionnaires was counterbalanced, and the 49 characteristics were presented in different random orders. Each item in the questionnaire was followed by a 7-point scale with end-points labeled *never or almost never true* (1) and *always or almost always true* (7).

The 49 characteristics included in the questionnaires were taken from a study conducted by Hummert (1990) that investigated young people's multiple stereotypes of

older adults and young adults. The characteristics used in Hummert's study were derived from a pool of terms originally identified as typical characteristics attributed to older adults in a study by Schmidt and Boland (1986). Hummert (1990) examined how the traits that typically describe older adults, found in the study by Schmidt and Boland (1986), can describe different types of older adults as well as different types of young adults. From the set of 99 trait terms produced in the study by Schmidt and Boland, Hummert (1990) excluded 13 trait terms because the traits could only apply to elderly people and did not apply to young people, and two more traits were excluded (i.e., short and fat) because they were specific physical traits. A total of 84 trait terms remained.

For the purpose of the present study, a total of 36 of the 84 original trait terms were excluded or modified. Since the present research focuses primarily on stereotypes of older adults (i.e., over 65 years of age), only trait terms that participants in Hummert's study typically attributed to individuals over 65 years of age were used. For this reason, twenty-seven trait terms were excluded. In addition, six trait terms were excluded from the present research because the traits were specific physical characteristics that could not readily be attributed to groups other than the elderly: needs nursing care, physically handicapped, unable to communicate, incapable of handling job, waiting to die, and sexually inactive. Two characteristics were dropped because they did not fit the context of the culture described in the passage of Study 2 (i.e., lives on fixed income and poor driver). One trait term was modified because of the wording (i.e., "find difficult to change" was replaced by "finds change difficult"). In sum, 35 of the original trait terms were excluded from the studies and one trait term was modified. Forty-nine trait terms were included in Study 1 of the present research. The same 49 trait terms were also used in Study 2.

## Procedure

There were one to five participants scheduled per session. The experimenter began by reading an introduction with the participants. In the introduction, participants were informed that the study was examining their personal beliefs regarding older adults and young adults, as well as their perceptions of the stereotypes people have of older adults and young adults. After listening to the introduction, participants were invited to sign a consent form.

Participants were then given the first questionnaire of a series of four. Participants received a first questionnaire examining their impressions of older adults, a second examining their impressions of young adults, a third examining their perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults, and a fourth examining their perceptions of people's stereotypes of young adults. The two questionnaires examining participants' impressions were always given together, as were the two questionnaires examining participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes. However, the order in which the two pairs of questionnaires were given was counterbalanced. Moreover, the order of the age groups (i.e., older adults and young adults), appearing on the questionnaires, was counterbalanced. All four questionnaires were handed out separately and each questionnaire was collected as soon as completed.

After all four questionnaires were completed, participants were debriefed and were then asked to complete a fifteen minute computer task, unrelated to the present study. After completion of the computer task, participants were paid \$10 for their participation.

## Results

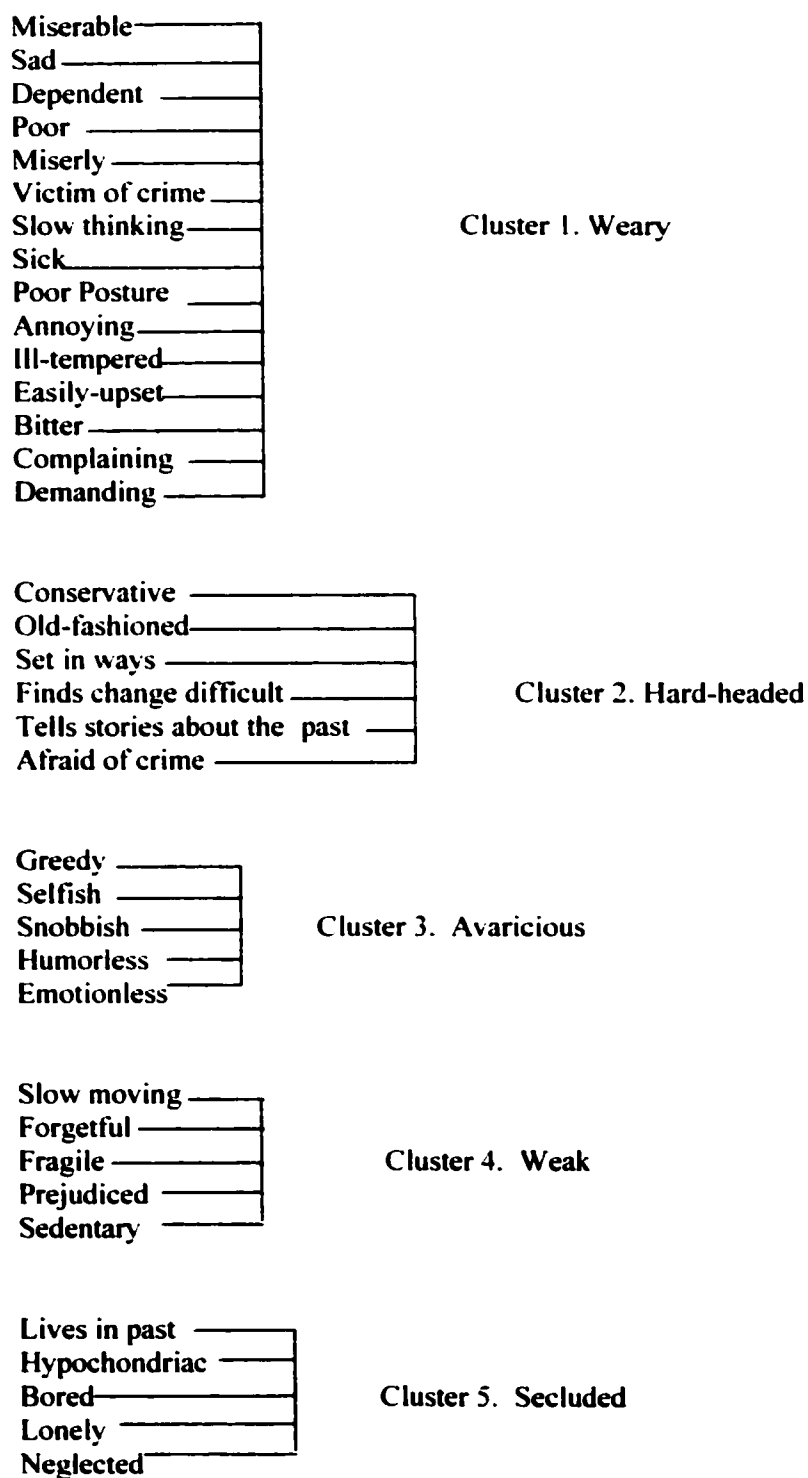
The data of the present research was analyzed by agglomerative hierarchical cluster analysis. This type of cluster analysis forms clusters by grouping the traits included in the questionnaire into bigger and bigger clusters of traits until all cases are members of a single cluster (Norusis, 1997). The average linkage between groups was selected as the criterion because this method provides information about all pairs of distances, not just the nearest or farthest. A principal components analysis was not used as a method of data analysis in the present research because the ratio of participants to trait items was too small. On the other hand, the reason for using cluster analysis was to replicate Hummert's subcategories representing young participants' perceptions of older and young adults. A cluster analysis was conducted on the data of Study 1 as well as on the data of Study 2.

### Results of Study 1

A cluster analysis conducted on participants' impressions of older adults revealed five clusters of traits (see Figure 1). The clusters were labeled as follows: weary, hard-headed, avaricious, weak, and secluded. A cluster analysis conducted on participants' impressions of young adults revealed four clusters which included more than two trait terms and one cluster which included only two trait terms (see Figure 2). The clusters were labeled as follows: frail/sick, vexatious, depressed, paranoid, and forgetful. In both cluster analyses, clusters were identified for which all characteristics were significantly, positively intercorrelated ( $p < .05$ ).

The clusters found in participants' impressions of older adults were then compared to the clusters found in participants' impressions of young adults to examine





**Figure 1. Clusters found in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults**

Useless
Burden to society
Sick
Humorless
Slow moving
Arousing pity
Slow thinking
Emotionless
Fragile
Frugal
Quiet
Lives in past
Old-fashioned
Tells stories about the past
Conservative
Hypochondriac

Cluster 1. Frail/Sick

Greedy
Selfish
Complaining
Demanding
Easily upset
Snobbish
Ill-tempered
Annoying
Poor posture
Bored
Naive
Dependent

Cluster 2. Vexatious

Bitter
Miserable
Sad
Lonely
Neglected
Prejudiced
Miserly
Poor
Victim of crime

Cluster 3. Depressed

Suspicious of strangers
Afraid of crime
Set in ways
Sedentary

Cluster 4. Paranoid

Finds change difficult
Rambling of speech
Forgetful

Cluster 5. Forgetful

**Figure 2.** Clusters found in Participants' Impressions of Young Adults

which trait terms were present in both cluster analyses, simultaneously. Nine sets of intercorrelated traits, common to both cluster analyses, emerged (see Figure 3). The sets were labeled as follows: irritating, stingy, self-absorbed, rigid, nostalgic, humorless, lonely, hypochondriac, and sick. The mean for each set of traits was derived by averaging participants' ratings across items within each set. A two-factor repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVAs) was conducted on the indices of the nine sets of traits. The factors included in the analysis were the sets of trait terms and age (i.e., old and young). Significant main effects emerged for both the sets of traits,  $F(8.608) = 60.54, p < .001$ , and age,  $F(1.76) = 120.93, p < .001$ . The Sets X Age interaction was also significant,  $F(8.608) = 98.15, p < .001$ .

In order to further examine the differences between the sets of traits, paired t-tests were conducted between each of the means of the sets found in participants' impressions of older adults and young adults (see Table 1 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Significant differences emerged for seven out of the nine sets identified. The results indicate that participants believed older adults to be significantly more hypochondriac, sick, lonely, nostalgic, rigid, and stingy than young adults. Also, the results indicate that participants believed young adults to be significantly more self-absorbed than older adults. No significant differences emerged for the sets of traits labeled *irritating* and *humorless*.

In addition to the nine sets of traits found in participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, there were six trait terms that were present in both cluster analyses but not included in a set. Paired t-tests for the six single trait terms were conducted between the means of participants' ratings of their impressions of older adults

Complaining Demanding Easily upset Ill-tempered Annoying Dependent Poor posture	Irritating
Bitter Miserable Sad Miserly Poor Victim of crime	Stingy
Greedy Selfish Snobbish	Self-absorbed
Afraid of crime Set in ways Finds change difficult	Rigid
Tells stories about the past Conservative Old-fashioned	Nostalgic
Humorless Emotionless	Humorless
Lonely Neglected	Lonely
Hypochondriac Lives in past	Hypochondriac
Sick Slow thinking	Sick

**Figure 3.** Sets of Traits found in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults

Table 1

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults

<u>Sets</u>		<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Irritating	<u>M</u>	4.05	4.19	1.03	n.s
	<u>SD</u>	.94	.84		
Humorless	<u>M</u>	2.75	2.63	-.79	n.s
	<u>SD</u>	1.04	1.09		
Hypochondriac	<u>M</u>	4.83	2.58	-12.32	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.16	1.01		
Lonely	<u>M</u>	4.95	3.49	-8.22	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.09	1.19		
Nostalgic	<u>M</u>	5.58	2.58	-18.51	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.85	.96		
Rigid	<u>M</u>	5.38	3.33	-14.10	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.81	.91		
Self-absorbed	<u>M</u>	3.13	4.41	6.58	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.15	1.26		
Sick	<u>M</u>	4.12	2.69	-8.08	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.97	.96		
Stingy	<u>M</u>	4.03	3.48	-4.52	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.83	.90		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

and young adults (see Table 2 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Significant differences emerged for five out of the six trait terms. The results indicate that participants believed older adults to be significantly more prejudiced, forgetful, fragile, sedentary, and slow moving than young adults. No significant differences were found for the trait term *bored*.

Also, there were 13 trait terms that were either in a cluster in only one of the clusters analyses, or not present in a cluster in either analysis for participants' impressions of older adults and young adults. Paired t-tests were conducted between the means of participants' ratings of their impressions of older adults and young adults. Significant differences emerged for 8 out of the 13 trait terms (see Table 3 for means and t-tests). Participants perceived older adults to be significantly greater for arousing pity, for not liking handouts, for being frugal, grateful for any aid, mellow, quiet, rambling in speech, and suspicious of strangers. No significant differences emerged for the characteristics *burden to society*, *busy-body*, *useless*, *naive*, and *tough*.

Table 2

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Individual Trait Terms in Clusters of Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults

<u>Traits</u>		<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Bored	<u>M</u>	4.51	4.29	-1.20	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.23	1.45		
Forgetful	<u>M</u>	4.71	3.88	-4.03	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.05	1.27		
Fragile	<u>M</u>	4.70	2.99	-7.41	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.40	1.40		
Prejudiced	<u>M</u>	4.62	3.84	-4.11	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.32	1.39		
Sedentary	<u>M</u>	4.68	3.13	-8.00	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.20	1.28		
Slow Moving	<u>M</u>	5.12	2.53	-12.59	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.12	1.14		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

Table 3

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Trait Terms Included in at Least One or None of the Clusters Found in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults

<u>Traits</u>		<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Arouses Pity	<u>M</u>	3.94	2.60	-6.62	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.44	1.17		
Doesn't like Handouts	<u>M</u>	4.38	3.47	-4.05	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.49	1.60		
Frugal	<u>M</u>	5.19	2.91	-10.24	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.36	1.41		
Grateful for any Aid	<u>M</u>	4.92	3.99	-4.47	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.35	1.44		
Mellow	<u>M</u>	4.52	3.66	-3.43	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.26	1.40		
Quiet	<u>M</u>	4.57	2.64	-8.93	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.53	1.15		
Rambling in Speech	<u>M</u>	4.25	3.53	-3.42	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.26	1.50		
Suspicious of Strangers	<u>M</u>	4.97	3.29	-9.67	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.36	1.23		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$



### Cluster Analysis Conducted on Participants' Perceptions of Old and Young Stereotypes

A cluster analysis conducted on participants' ratings regarding people's stereotypes of older adults revealed five clusters of traits (see Figure 4). The clusters were given the following labels: cranky, ill-humored, past-oriented, abandoned, and self-absorbed. A cluster analysis conducted on participants' ratings regarding people's stereotypes of young adults revealed four clusters which included more than two trait terms and four clusters which included only two trait terms (see Figure 5). The clusters were labeled as follows: nostalgic, melancholic, self-centered, arrogant, prejudiced, poor, naive, and tough. In both cluster analyses, clusters were identified for which all characteristics were significantly, positively intercorrelated ( $p < .05$ ).

The clusters found in participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults were then compared to the clusters found in participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of young adults to examine which trait terms are present in both cluster analyses. Nine sets of intercorrelated traits, common to both cluster analyses, emerged (see Figure 6). The sets were labeled as follows: fogyish, withdrawn, grumpy, impatient, humorless, sad, burdensome, greedy, and demanding. The mean for each set of traits was derived by averaging participants' ratings across items within each set. A two-factor repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the indices of the sets of traits. The factors included in the analyses were the nine sets of trait terms and age (i.e., old and young). Main effects emerged for both the sets of traits,  $F(8,608) = 35.43, p < .001$ , and age,  $F(1,76) = 128.57, p < .001$ . The Sets X Age interaction was also significant,  $F(8,608) = 117.63, p < .001$ .

Complaining \_\_\_\_\_  
 Demanding \_\_\_\_\_  
 Prejudiced \_\_\_\_\_  
 Conservative \_\_\_\_\_  
 Lives in past \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Lonely \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sedentary \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sick \_\_\_\_\_  
 Hypochondriac \_\_\_\_\_  
 Suspicious of strangers \_\_\_\_\_

Cluster 1. Cranky

Annoying \_\_\_\_\_  
 Ill-tempered \_\_\_\_\_  
 Easily upset \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bitter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Humorless \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miserable \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miserly \_\_\_\_\_  
 Poor \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bored \_\_\_\_\_  
 Slow thinking \_\_\_\_\_

Cluster 2. Ill-humored

Tells stories about the past \_\_\_\_\_  
 Old-fashioned \_\_\_\_\_  
 Set in ways \_\_\_\_\_  
 Finds change difficult \_\_\_\_\_  
 Slow moving \_\_\_\_\_  
 Fragile \_\_\_\_\_  
 Forgetful \_\_\_\_\_  
 Afraid of crime \_\_\_\_\_  
 Frugal \_\_\_\_\_

Cluster 3. Past-oriented

Neglected \_\_\_\_\_  
 Useless \_\_\_\_\_  
 Burden to society \_\_\_\_\_  
 Arousing pity \_\_\_\_\_  
 Dependent \_\_\_\_\_  
 Victim of crime \_\_\_\_\_  
 Rambling of speech \_\_\_\_\_

Cluster 4. Abandoned

Snobbish \_\_\_\_\_  
 Greedy \_\_\_\_\_  
 Selfish \_\_\_\_\_

Cluster 5. Self-absorbed

**Figure 4. Clusters Found in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults**

Conservative	_____
Old-fashioned	_____
Lives in past	_____
Tells stories about the past	_____
Quiet	_____
Sedentary	_____
Fragile	_____
Slow moving	_____
Hypochondriac	_____
Sick	_____
Arouse pity	_____
Humorless	_____
Frugal	_____
Miserly	_____
Suspicious of strangers	_____
Afraid of crime	_____

Cluster 1. Nostalgic

Slow thinking	_____
Sad	_____
Miserable	_____
Lonely	_____
Neglected	_____
Bitter	_____
Useless	_____
Burden to society	_____

Cluster 2. Melancholic

Greedy	_____
Selfish	_____
Complaining	_____
Demanding	_____
Poor posture	_____

Cluster 3. Self-centered

Easily-upset	_____
Ill-tempered	_____
Annoying	_____
Snobbish	_____

Cluster 4. Arrogant

Prejudiced	_____
Victim of crime	_____

Cluster 5. Prejudiced

Poor	_____
Doesn't like handouts	_____

Cluster 6. Poor

Naive	_____
Dependent	_____

Cluster 7. Naive

Busy-bodies	_____
Tough	_____

Cluster 8. Tough

**Figure 5.** Clusters Found in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Young Adults

Tells stories about the past Old-fashioned Fragile Slow moving Frugal Afraid of crime	<b>Fogyish</b>
--	----------------

Lives in past Conservative Sedentary Sick Suspicious of strangers Hypochondriac	<b>Withdrawn</b>
--	------------------

Slow thinking Miserable Bitter	<b>Grumpy</b>
--------------------------------------	---------------

Easily upset Ill-tempered Annoying	<b>Impatient</b>
--	------------------

Humorless Miserly	<b>Humorless</b>
----------------------	------------------

Sad Lonely	<b>Sad</b>
---------------	------------

Burden to society Useless	<b>Burdensome</b>
------------------------------	-------------------

Greedy Selfish	<b>Greedy</b>
-------------------	---------------

Demanding Complaining	<b>Demanding</b>
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**Figure 6.** Sets of Traits Found in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults

In order to further examine the differences between the sets of traits, paired t-tests were conducted between the means of the sets found in participants' perceptions of stereotypes of older adults and the means of the sets found in participants' perceptions of stereotypes of young adults (see Table 4 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Significant differences emerged for seven out of the nine sets identified. The results indicate that participants believed older adults to be significantly greater for being burdensome, fogyish, grumpy, humorless, sad, and withdrawn. Also, the results indicate that participants perceived people's stereotypes of young adults to be significantly greater for being greedy. No significant differences emerged for the sets of traits labeled *demanding* and *impatient*.

In addition to the nine sets of traits found in participants' perceptions of older and young adult stereotypes, there were seven trait terms that were present in both cluster analyses but not included in a set. Paired t-tests for the seven individual trait terms were conducted between the means of participants' ratings of older and young adult stereotypes (see Table 5 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Significant differences emerged for four out of the seven trait terms. The results indicate that participants perceived older adult stereotypes to be significantly greater for arousing pity, neglected, prejudiced, and victim of crime. No significant differences emerged for the trait terms *dependent*, *poor*, and *snobbish*.

Table 4

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults

<u>Sets</u>		<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Burdensome	<u>M</u>	4.40	3.21	-6.21	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.37	1.18		
Demanding	<u>M</u>	4.86	4.96	.74	n.s
	<u>SD</u>	.83	.97		
Fogyish	<u>M</u>	5.65	2.61	-22.73	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.76	.85		
Greedy	<u>M</u>	3.19	4.96	9.33	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.08	1.16		
Grumpy	<u>M</u>	4.37	3.26	-8.37	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.88	.91		
Humorless	<u>M</u>	4.24	2.89	-9.55	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.92	.92		
Impatient	<u>M</u>	4.33	4.16	-1.08	n.s
	<u>SD</u>	.95	1.09		
Sad	<u>M</u>	5.01	3.33	-9.61	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.90	1.15		
Withdrawn	<u>M</u>	5.15	2.61	-20.43	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.65	.79		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

Table 5

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Individual Trait Terms Included in at Least One Cluster in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults

<u>Traits</u>		<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Arousing Pity	<u>M</u>	4.43	2.78	-7.99	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.32	1.15		
Dependent	<u>M</u>	4.69	4.19	-2.24	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.33	1.50		
Neglected	<u>M</u>	4.81	3.21	-7.78	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.27	1.18		
Poor	<u>M</u>	4.05	3.92	-.72	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.09	1.30		
Prejudiced	<u>M</u>	4.88	3.76	-5.38	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.23	1.43		
Snobbish	<u>M</u>	3.51	4.04	2.63	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.26	1.24		
Victims of crime	<u>M</u>	4.61	3.50	-4.34	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.49	1.47		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

Also, there were 14 trait terms that were either present in a cluster in only one of the cluster analyses, or not present in a cluster in either analysis for participants' perceptions of older and young adult stereotypes. Paired t-tests were conducted between the means of participants' ratings of their perceptions of older and young adult stereotypes. Significant differences emerged for 7 out of the 14 trait terms (see Table 6 for means and t-tests). Participants perceived people's stereotypes of older adults to be significantly greater for finding change difficult, for being forgetful, grateful for any aid, quiet, rambling in speech, and for being set in ways. In addition, participants perceived young adult stereotypes to be significantly greater for being tough. No significant differences were found for the characteristics *bored*, *busy-body*, *emotionless*, *has poor posture*, *mellow*, *naive*, and *doesn't like handouts*.



Table 6

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Trait Terms Included in at Least One or None of the Clusters in Participants' Perceptions of Older and Young Adult Stereotypes

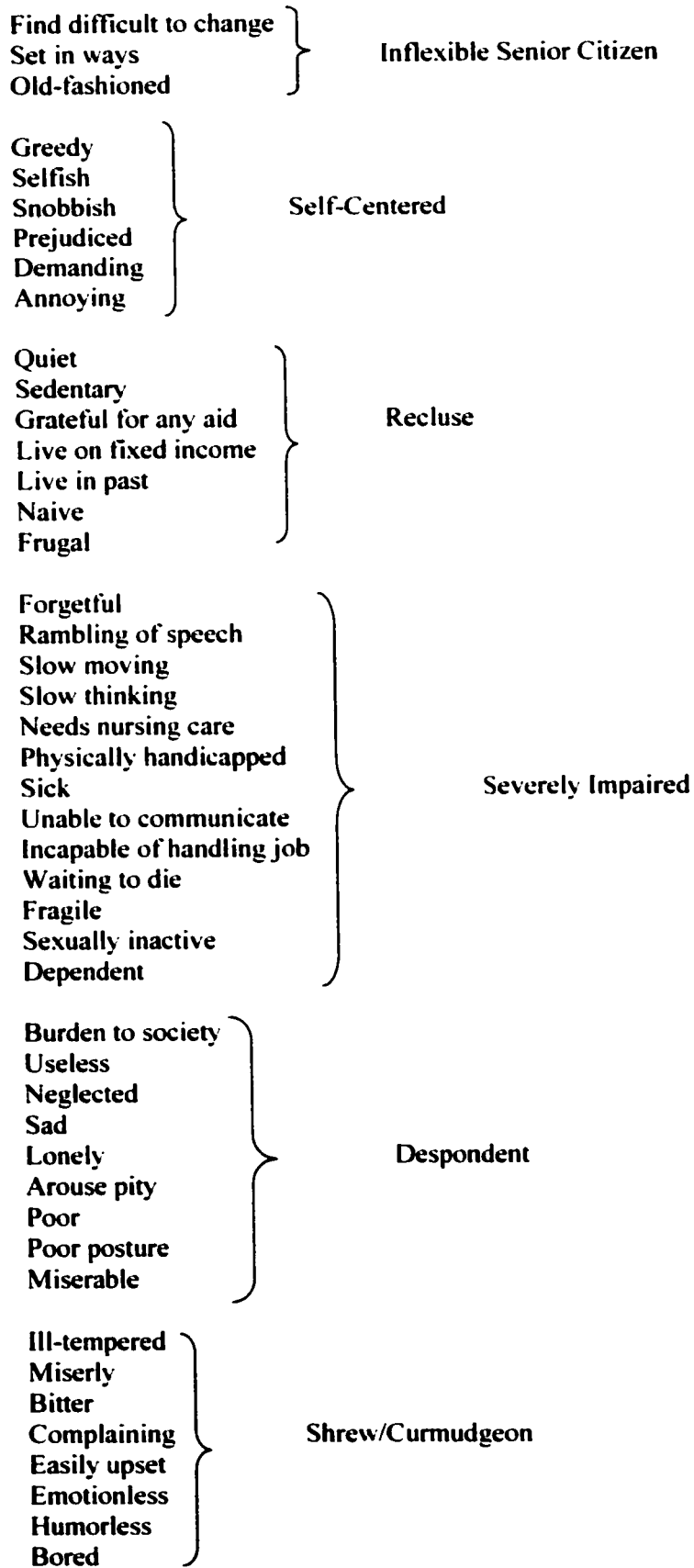
<u>Traits</u>		<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Finds change difficult	<u>M</u>	5.84	2.74	-14.86	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.03	1.46		
Forgetful	<u>M</u>	5.42	3.97	-6.17	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.24	1.40		
Grateful for any aid	<u>M</u>	4.70	3.64	-5.48	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.19	1.55		
Quiet	<u>M</u>	4.99	2.34	-13.44	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.26	1.06		
Rambling in Speech	<u>M</u>	4.64	3.53	-5.24	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.21	1.59		
Set in Ways	<u>M</u>	5.89	3.16	-13.15	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.92	1.43		
Tough	<u>M</u>	3.74	4.65	4.25	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.27	1.27		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

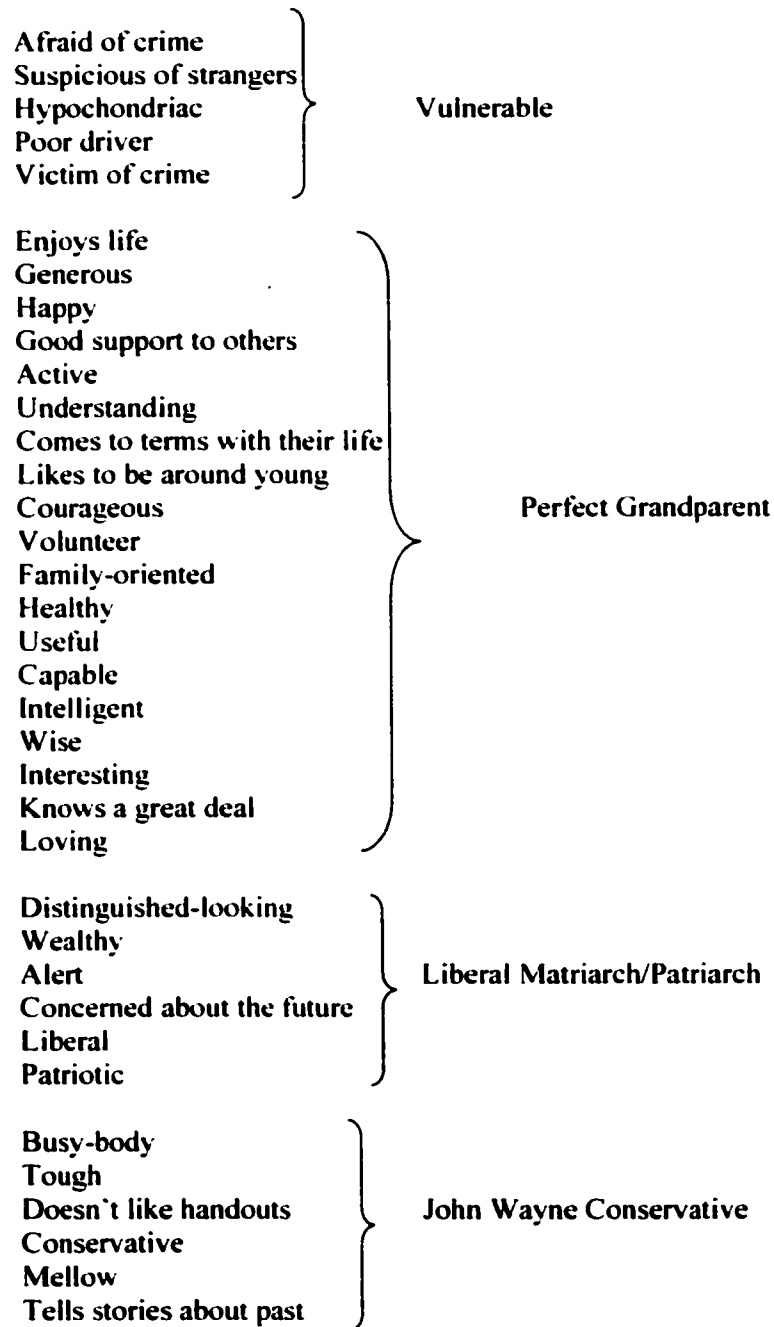
### Comparison Between Clusters in Study 1 and Subcategories from Hummert (1990)

Comparisons were made between the clusters representing participants' impressions of older adults and young adults and the subcategories representing older adults and young adults found in Hummert (1990). Comparisons were also made between the clusters representing participants' perceptions of people's old and young stereotypes and the subcategories representing older adults and young adults found in Hummert (1990). Although only 49 of the 84 traits used by Hummert were included in the present research, similarities were observed between the clusters found in the present study and the subcategories found in Hummert's study (see Figure 7 for Hummert's subcategories representing older adults and see Figure 8 for Hummert's subcategories representing young adults).

As noted earlier, cluster analyses were conducted on participants' impressions of older adults and young adults. The clusters found in participants' impressions of older adults and the clusters found in participants' impressions of young adults generally conceptually match the subcategories representing old and young adults found in Hummert (1990). That is, although none of the clusters perfectly match the subcategories found by Hummert, groups of intercorrelated trait terms found in Hummert's subcategories were also found in many clusters of the present research. In order to simplify the comparison between the clusters found in the present research and Hummert's subcategories, only clusters that most closely duplicated Hummert's subcategories will be mentioned.

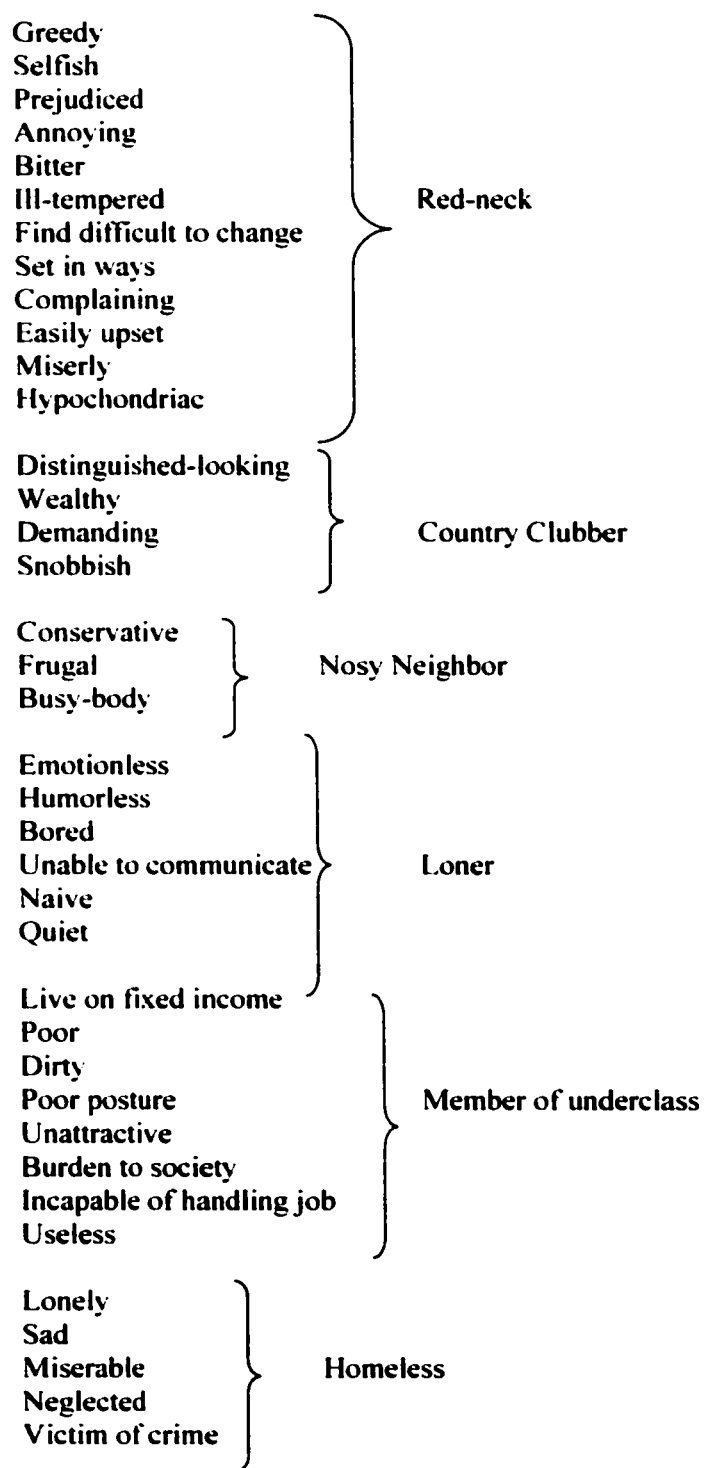


(figure continues)

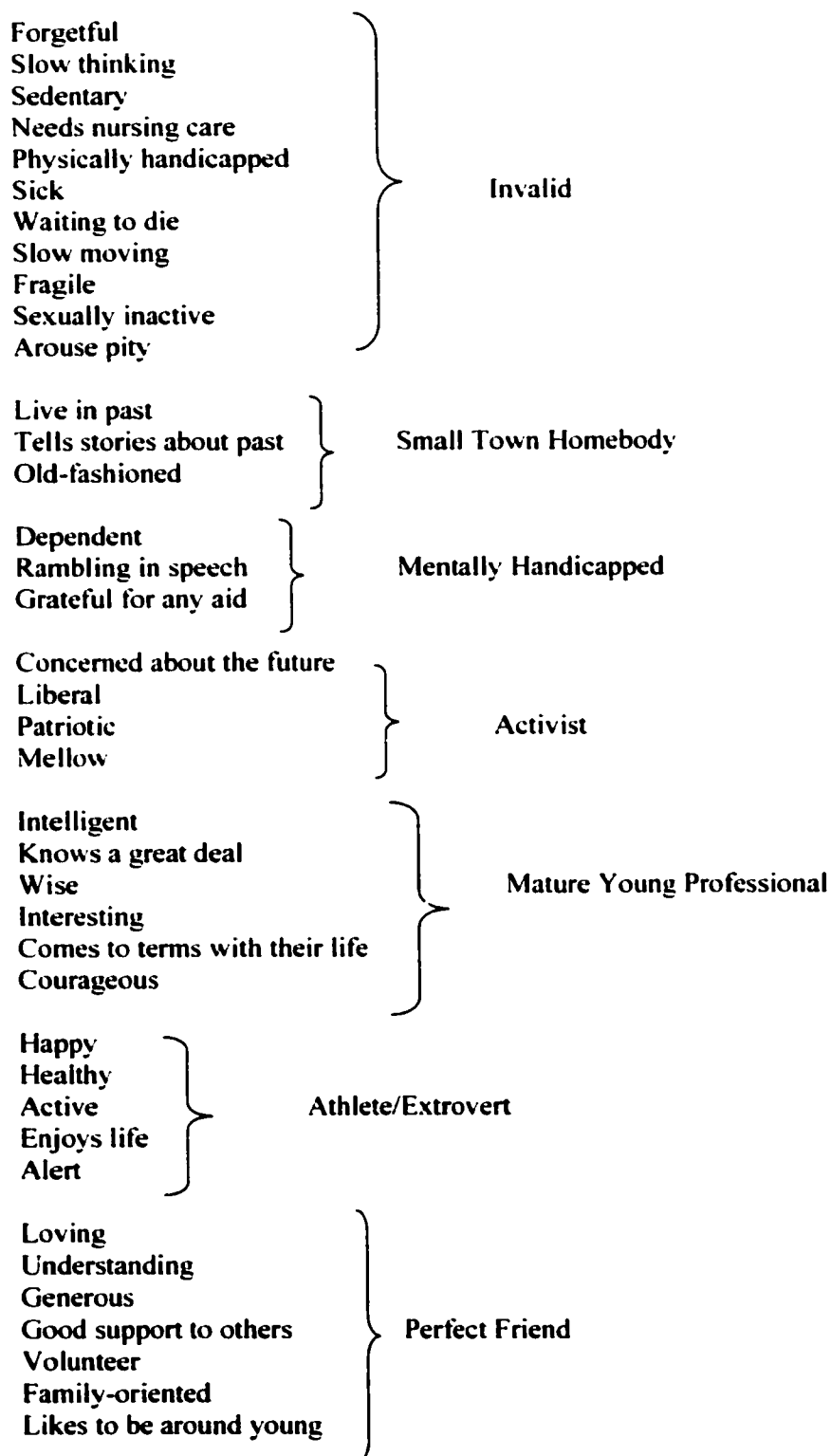


**Figure 7.** Subcategories Representing Older Adults from Hummert (1990)

**Note.** From "Multiple Stereotypes of elderly and young adults: A comparison of structure and evaluations".  
 by M. L. Hummert, 1990. *Psychology and Aging*, 5 (2), p. 184-185.  
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(figure continues)



**Figure 8.** Subcategories Representing Young Adults from Hummert (1990)

**Note.** From "Multiple Stereotypes of elderly and young adults: A comparison of structure and evaluations". by M. L. Hummert. 1990. *Psychology and Aging*, 5 (2), p. 186-187.

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### Clusters in Participants' Impressions of Older Adults

Three of the clusters found in the present study included groups of traits also found in Hummert's subcategories. The cluster labeled *weary* approximated Hummert's shrew/curmudgeon subcategory and Hummert's subcategory labeled despondent. The cluster labeled *hard-headed* approximated Hummert's subcategory labeled inflexible senior citizen. The cluster labeled *avaricious* approximated Hummert's subcategory labeled self-centered.

### Clusters in Participants' Impressions of Young Adults

The cluster analysis conducted on participants' impressions of young adults revealed three clusters that conceptually matched the subcategories representing different types of young adults found in Hummert (1990). The cluster labeled *frail/sick* approximated Hummert's small town homebody subcategory and invalid subcategory. The cluster labeled *vexatious* approximated Hummert's red-neck subcategory and country clubber subcategory. The cluster labeled *depressed* most closely duplicated Hummert's subcategory labeled homeless.

### Clusters in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults

Cluster analyses were also conducted on participants' perceptions of people's old and young stereotypes. Although none of the clusters matched perfectly with Hummert's subcategories representing older adults, four out of the five clusters found in participants' perceptions of older adult stereotypes conceptually matched subcategories found in Hummert's study. The clusters that most closely duplicated the subcategories found by Hummert are the cluster labeled *ill-humored* which approximated Hummert's subcategory labeled shrew/curmudgeon, the cluster labeled *past-oriented* which

approximated Hummert's subcategory labeled inflexible senior citizen. the cluster labeled *abandoned* which approximated Hummert's subcategory labeled despondent. and the cluster *self-absorbed* which approximated Hummert's subcategory labeled self-centered.

#### Clusters in Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Young Adults

The cluster analyses conducted on participants' perceptions of young adult stereotypes revealed four clusters of traits that conceptually matched subcategories describing different types of young adults found in Hummert (1990). The cluster labeled *nostalgic* included a number of traits from the following three subcategories found in Hummert (1990): small town homebody, nosy-neighbor, and invalid. The cluster labeled *melancholic* most closely duplicated Hummert's subcategory labeled homeless. The cluster labeled *self-centered* and the cluster labeled *arrogant* each included trait terms that were found in Hummert's red-neck subcategory.



## Discussion

In Study 1, participants were instructed to complete a series of four questionnaires. One pair of questionnaires examined participants' own impressions of older adults and young adults. The second pair of questionnaires examined participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults and young adults. The purpose of Study 1 was to examine how participants attributed the 49 trait terms used in Hummert (1990) to older adults and young adults in order to compare the findings of the present research to past findings.

Clusters in participants' own impressions were similar to clusters in participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes. This finding suggests that participants' knowledge of the cultural stereotype of older adults and young adults overlaps with their own personal beliefs towards older adults and young adults. In addition, the clusters found in participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, and the clusters found in participants' perceptions of old and young stereotypes generally conceptually matched those found by Hummert (1990). Despite the fact that the clusters do not perfectly match Hummert's subcategories, the same labels used to describe Hummert's subcategories also describe well the clusters found in the present research. Nevertheless, not all clusters from Study 1 conceptually matched Hummert's subcategories. Several explanations are provided to shed some light on the discrepancies between the clusters found in the present research and the subcategories found in Hummert (1990).

First, in the present research, only trait terms that participants in Hummert's (1990) age-association task attributed to subcategories describing individuals over 65 years of age were included in the questionnaires. Therefore, two subcategories found in

Hummert's study (i.e., perfect grandparent and liberal matriarch/patriarch), that included a total of 27 trait terms describing individuals below 65 years of age, were excluded from the present research. In addition, other trait terms were excluded because they did not conform to the context of the present research. Therefore, almost half of the original traits were excluded. Only 49 trait terms out of the 84 traits used by Hummert (1990) were included in the present research. Second, a different methodology from Hummert's trait sorting task was used in the present research. In the present study, participants completed questionnaires in which they rated their own impressions of older adults and young adults as well as their perceptions of people's stereotypes.

In the clusters analyses conducted on participants' impressions, the comparison between clusters representing older adults and clusters representing young adults revealed sets of intercorrelated trait terms. Analyses conducted on the mean indices of the sets of intercorrelated traits indicated that older adults were attributed the majority of the sets of traits. This finding demonstrates that the trait terms used in the present study were in fact trait terms that are typically attributed to older adults, consistent with the findings of Schmidt and Boland (1986). Overall, the findings suggest that older adults are more likely than young adults to be attributed traits reflecting hopelessness and uselessness, whereas young adults are more likely than older adults to be attributed traits reflecting strength, greediness, and selfishness. Similar results were found for sets of intercorrelated traits in participants' perceptions of people's older and young adult stereotypes. The same was also true for the individual trait terms that were not included in any sets of traits and traits not included in any cluster.

The results of Study 1 demonstrate that older adults are perceived more negatively for some attributes and young adults are perceived more negatively for other attributes. That is, older adults are more strongly attributed trait terms that represent weakness and vulnerability, whereas young adults are more strongly attributed trait terms that represent greediness, and a lack of regard for others. The finding that older adults are perceived as more weak and vulnerable by young adults is consistent with past studies such as McTavish (1971) and Wetle (1991). A statement by Williamson (1980) reflects the general idea behind the findings of the present research: "Just as blacks supposedly needed the "protection" of a master and women needed the "protection" of a husband, so are old persons portrayed as doddering creatures in need of a protective benefactor" (p.127).

In sum, the results of Study 1 confirm 3 conclusions: 1) cluster analyses conducted on participants' perceptions of older and young adults generally conceptually match the subcategories describing older adults and young adults found by Hummert (1990); 2) consistent with Schmidt and Boland (1986), the results of the present research confirm that most of the trait terms included in the questionnaires were attributed to older adults; 3) the findings from the cluster analyses, the sets of intercorrelated traits, and individual trait terms all reveal that older adults are perceived as vulnerable and that young adults are perceived as self-centered.

## Study 2

The aim of Study 2 was to examine participants' impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals in terms of the traits used in Study 1.

Consequently, the results of Study 2 will be compared with the results of Study 1 in order to examine whether older adults relative to young adults are perceived in a manner analogous to low status individuals relative to high status individuals.

### Method

#### Participants

Participants in Study 2 were recruited in the same manner as in Study 1. Data from 78 undergraduate students (41 women and 37 men) from Concordia University were used in the present study. The mean age for participants was 22.58 years; range was 18 to 35 years. Each participant received \$8.

#### Questionnaires

At the experimental session, participants completed two questionnaires: one examining their impressions of low status individuals and a second examining their impressions of high status individuals. All participants completed both questionnaires.

The first 42 participants that partook in the present study listened, over a set of headphones, to a recorded passage describing the life of a fictitious culture consisting of two groups of individuals, the low-status Gunada and the high-status Ngwani. The description of the culture was loosely based on anthropological research (Murdock, 1934), and was designed to match status groups on all but some status markers (i.e., ornamentation on clothing and priority access to certain resources). No other distinctions were provided to differentiate status groups. The last 38 participants that partook in the present study,

listened to a recorded passage describing the life of a different fictitious culture consisting of the low-status Mwangai and the high-status Bwisi. The description was based on Lessa (1966/1977) and included fictitious material such as the existence of the two status groups. Similar to the first description of the low-status Gunada and the high-status Ngwani, status markers such as ornamentation on clothing and priority access to certain resources were also used to distinguish the low-status Mwangai from the high-status Bwisi. In each section, there was an equal number of male and female participants. Both descriptions of the two pairs of fictitious status groups were included in the present study to ensure that any observed status effect cannot be attributed to the nature of the descriptions of the status groups. This methodology was previously developed and used in studies by Conway, Pizzamiglio, and Mount (1996).

After listening to the description twice, participants completed the two questionnaires examining their impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals. The 49 trait terms of Study 1 were listed in each questionnaire. The instructions on both questionnaires read as follows: "The following characteristics can be used to describe people. We would like you to think about the (*name of the fictitious status group inserted here*). How well do you think each of these characteristics describes them? In other words, how true of the (*name of the fictitious status group inserted here*) is each of these characteristics?"

The status groups appearing on the questionnaires were counterbalanced, and the 49 trait terms were presented in different random orders. Each item in the questionnaire was followed by a 7-point scale with end-points labeled *never or almost never true* (1) and *always or almost always true* (7).

After completing the two questionnaires on their impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals, participants completed a manipulation check. In the manipulation check, participants were asked: "How much power does the typical (*name of the fictitious status group inserted here*) have to choose and pursue their own activities and interests?" and "How much power does the typical (*name of the fictitious status group inserted here*) have to influence others?" Each question on the manipulation check was asked of each status group in a counterbalanced order. Participants responded to each question on a 7-point scale with end-points labeled *none at all* (1) and *a great deal* (7). Also, participants then made a forced choice in regard to which group held higher status.

#### Procedure

There were one to five participants scheduled per session. The experimenter began by reading an introduction of the study with the participants. Participants were informed that the study concerned the initial impressions people form of members of another culture on the basis of limited information. After listening to the introduction, participants were invited to sign a consent form.

Once the experimenter collected the signed consent forms, participants listened, over a set of headphones, to a recording of the description of a culture. Participants listened to the description twice in order to ensure familiarity with the material. A pen and some paper were provided to each participant if they wished to take notes. After listening to the description, participants completed the two questionnaires examining their impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals. The

questionnaires were handed out separately, in a counterbalanced order. Each questionnaire was collected as soon as completed.

Participants then completed the manipulation check, in which they rated their perceptions of low and high status individuals' power to influence others. Participants also rated their perception of low and high status individuals' power to control their own outcomes. The last question on the manipulation check required participants to make a forced choice in regard to which group held higher status.

After the two questionnaires and the manipulation check were completed, participants were debriefed and were each paid \$8 for their participation.

## Results of Study 2

Analyses of the manipulation check items confirmed that high- ( $M = 5.08$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ) relative to low-status ( $M = 3.31$ ,  $SD = 1.31$ ) individuals were perceived as more able to influence others,  $t(79) = 7.83$ ,  $p < .001$ . Also, high- ( $M = 5.11$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ) relative to low-status ( $M = 3.15$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ) individuals were perceived as more capable of controlling their own outcomes,  $t(79) = 9.77$ ,  $p < .001$ . All but one participant correctly selected the high-status group in the forced choice regarding which group held higher status.

A cluster analysis conducted on participants' impressions of low status individuals revealed four clusters which included more than two trait terms and two clusters which included only two trait terms (see Figure 9). The clusters were labeled as follows: never satisfied, needy, anxious, old-fashioned, quiet, and set in ways. A cluster analysis conducted on participants' impressions of high status individuals revealed five clusters which included more than two trait terms and three clusters which included two trait terms (see Figure 10). The clusters were labeled as follows: angry, forgotten, unalterable, bored, miserable, frugal, afraid of crime, and humorless. In both cluster analyses, clusters were identified for which all traits were significantly, positively intercorrelated ( $p < .05$ ).

The clusters found in participants' impressions of low status individuals were then compared to the clusters found in participants' impressions of high status individuals to examine which traits were present in both cluster analyses. Seven sets of intercorrelated traits, common to both clusters analyses, emerged (see Figure 11). The sets were labeled as follows: egotistical, hopeless, obstinate, bored, careful, demanding, and bitter.



Complaining	_____	
Annoying	_____	
Ill-tempered	_____	
Easily upset	_____	
Humorless	_____	
Bitter	_____	
Miserly	_____	
Greedy	_____	
Selfish	_____	
Lonely	_____	Never Satisfied
Neglected	_____	
Miserable	_____	
Sad	_____	
Arouses pity	_____	
Bored	_____	
Sick	_____	
Slow thinking	_____	
Slow moving	_____	
Poor posture	_____	
Poor	_____	
Victim of crime	_____	

Useless	_____	
Demanding	_____	Needy
Dependent	_____	

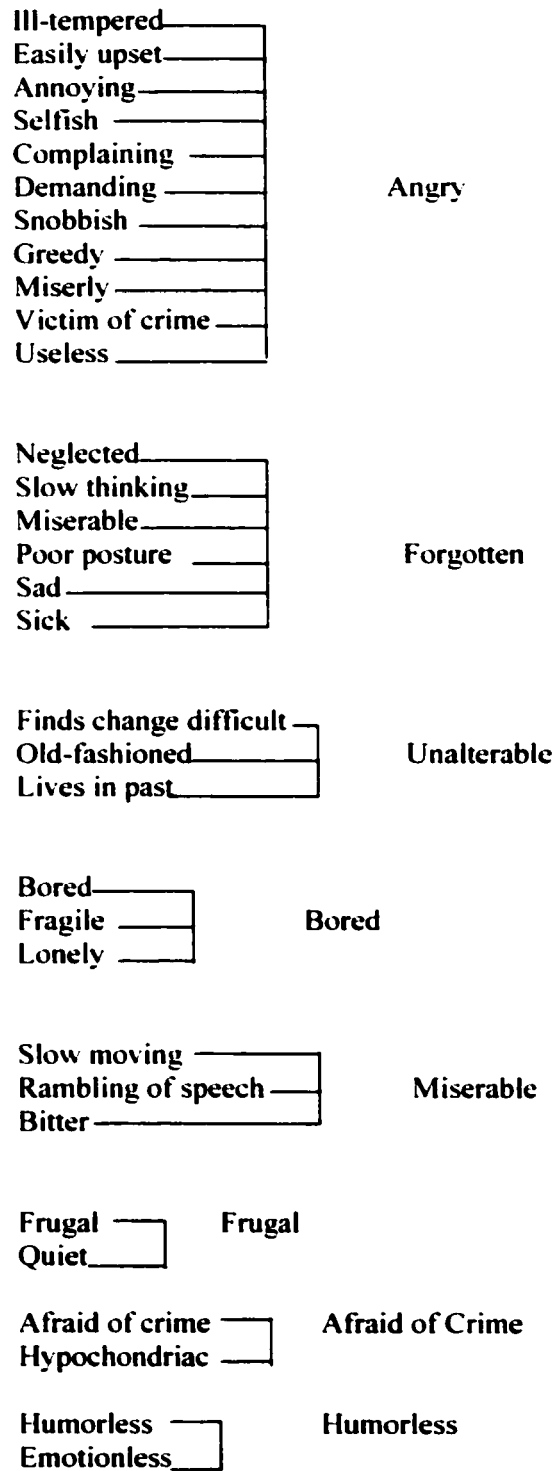
Rambling of speech	_____	
Burden to society	_____	Anxious
Hypochondriac	_____	

Finds change difficult	_____	
Old-fashioned	_____	Old-fashioned
Lives in the past	_____	

Quiet	_____	Quiet
Frugal	_____	

Set in Ways	_____	Set in Ways
Tells stories about the past	_____	

**Figure 9. Clusters found in Participants' Impressions of Low Status Individuals**



**Figure 10.** Clusters found in Participants' Impressions of High Status Individuals

Selfish		Egotistical
Easily upset		
Greedy		
Annoying		
Complaining		
Miserly		
Ill-tempered		
Victim of crime		

Neglected		Hopeless
Slow thinking		
Miserable		
Poor posture		
Sad		
Sick		

Finds change difficult		Obstinate
Old-fashioned		
Lives in past		

Bored		Bored
Lonely		

Frugal		Careful
Quiet		

Demanding		Demanding
Useless		

Bitter		Bitter
Slow moving		

**Figure 11.** Sets of Trait Terms Found in Participants' Impressions of High Status Individuals and Low Status Individuals

A mean for each set of traits was derived by averaging each participant's ratings across items within each set. A two-factor repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the indices of the sets of traits. The factors included in the analysis were the seven sets of trait terms and status (i.e., low status and high status). A significant main effect emerged for the sets of traits,  $F(6,462) = 100.74, p < .001$ , but not for status. The Sets X Status interaction was significant,  $F(6,462) = 19.31, p < .001$ .

In order to further examine the differences between the sets of traits, paired t-tests were conducted between each of the means of sets for participants' impressions of low status and high status individuals (see Table 7 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Significant differences emerged for four out of the seven sets identified. Participants believed low status individuals to be significantly greater for being hopeless. Also, the results indicate that participants perceived high status individuals to be significantly greater for being egotistical, for being obstinate, and for being demanding. No significant differences emerged for the trait terms *bitter*, *bored*, and *careful*.

In addition to the seven sets of traits found in participants' impressions of low and high status individuals, there were three trait terms present in both cluster analyses but not included in any of the sets. Paired t-tests for the three individual trait terms were conducted between participants' impressions of low and high status individuals (see Table 8 for means and t-tests). No significant differences emerged for the any of the trait terms.

Table 7

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Low Status Individuals and High Status Individuals

<u>Sets</u>		<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>P</u>
Bitter	<u>M</u>	2.79	2.76	-.34	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.30	1.21		
Bored	<u>M</u>	2.62	2.53	-.62	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.27	1.10		
Demanding	<u>M</u>	2.21	3.20	6.77	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.98	1.22		
Egotistical	<u>M</u>	2.60	3.23	6.23	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.03	1.17		
Careful	<u>M</u>	4.87	4.26	-2.88	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.35	1.33		
Hopeless	<u>M</u>	3.09	2.44	-6.78	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.04	.86		
Obstinate	<u>M</u>	4.35	4.78	2.90	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.33	1.38		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

Table 8

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Individual Trait Terms in Clusters of Participants' Impressions of High Status Individuals and Low Status Individuals

<u>Traits</u>		<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>P</u>
Humorless	<u>M</u>	2.55	2.74	1.45	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.24	1.30		
Hypochondriac	<u>M</u>	2.76	3.21	2.95	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.55	1.68		
Rambling of Speech	<u>M</u>	2.94	3.09	.93	n.s.
	<u>SD</u>	1.38	1.41		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

Also, there were 21 trait terms that were either present in a cluster in only one of the clusters analyses, or not present in a cluster in either analysis for participants' impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals. Paired t-tests were conducted between participants' ratings of their impressions of low and high status individuals. Significant differences emerged for 5 out of the 21 trait terms (see Table 9 for means and t-tests). Participants perceived low status individuals to be significantly greater for arousing pity and poor. In addition, participants perceived high status individuals to be significantly more set in ways, prejudiced, and snobbish than low status individuals. No significant differences emerged for the characteristics *afraid of crime, burden to society, busy-body, conservative, dependent, doesn't like handouts, emotionless, forgetful, fragile, grateful for any aid, mellow, naive, sedentary, suspicious of strangers, tells stories about the past, and tough.*

Table 9

**Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Trait Terms Included in at Least One or None of the Clusters of Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals**

<u>Traits</u>		<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>
Arouse Pity	<u>M</u>	3.31	2.13	-6.79	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.46	1.13		
Poor	<u>M</u>	4.13	2.47	-7.45	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.75	1.51		
Prejudiced	<u>M</u>	3.21	4.10	4.24	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.62	1.48		
Set in Ways	<u>M</u>	4.76	5.53	4.90	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.50	1.15		
Snobbish	<u>M</u>	1.92	3.77	8.58	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.07	1.76		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$



## Discussion

In Study 2, participants listened to a description of a fictitious culture that included two status groups. Afterwards, participants completed questionnaires examining their impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals. In each questionnaire, participants rated the same 49 trait terms that were included in Study 1.

Cluster analyses were conducted on participants' impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals. The comparison between both cluster analyses revealed sets of intercorrelated trait terms. The results indicate that some sets of traits were more likely to be attributed to low status individuals (i.e., hopeless and careful), whereas other sets of traits were more likely to be attributed to high status individuals (i.e., demanding, egotistical, and obstinate). The findings suggest that participants attribute traits that represent sadness and cautiousness to low status individuals, while high status individuals are attributed traits that describe them as being self-centered and difficult.

Differences in ratings were also examined for individual trait terms that were not included in any sets of intercorrelated traits. Consistent with Ridgeway and Balkwell (1997), in the present research, low status individuals were attributed traits that reflect a lack of resources (i.e., poor and arouse pity), whereas high status individuals were attributed trait terms referring to a lack of regard for others (e.g., prejudiced and snobbish). There were also traits that were not attributed to either low or high status individuals (e.g., lonely, forgetful, bored, and sedentary). These characteristics do not seem to subsume into a particular status category.

**Sets of Correlated Traits Found in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals, and Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults**

The seven sets of trait terms found in participants' impressions of low and high status individuals (see Figure 11) were compared to the nine sets of trait terms found in participants' impressions of older adults and young adults (see Figure 3) to examine which traits were simultaneously present in both sets. Intercorrelated trait terms were found in both sets of traits. Four sets of correlated traits, common to the sets found in participants' impressions of status and the sets found in participants' impressions of age emerged (see Figure 12 for sets of traits). The sets were labeled as follows: complaining, miserable, selfish, and slow thinking.

The mean for each set of traits was derived by averaging participants' ratings across items within each set. A two-factor repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the indices of the sets of traits representing participants' impressions of older adults and young adults. The factors included in the analysis were the four sets of trait terms and age (i.e., old and young). A significant main effect emerged for the sets of traits,  $F(3,228) = 18.34, p < .001$ , but not for age. The Sets X Age interaction was significant,  $F(3,228) = 77.69, p < .001$ . Another two-factor repeated measures MANOVA was conducted on the indices of the sets of traits representing participants' impressions of low and high status individuals. The factors included in the analysis were the four sets of trait terms and status (i.e., low status and high status). A significant main effect emerged for status,  $F(3,231) = 13.11, p < .001$ , but not for the sets of traits. The Sets X Status interaction was significant,  $F(3,231) = 53.82, p < .001$ .

Complaining ———  
 Easily upset ———  
 Ill-tempered ———  
 Annoying ———

Complaining

Miserable ———  
 Sad ———

Miserable

Selfish ———  
 Greedy ———

Selfish

Slow thinking ———  
 Sick ———

Slow thinking

**Figure 12.** Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status

Individuals, and their Impressions of Older and Young Adults

In order to further examine the differences between the sets of traits, paired t-tests were conducted between mean scores of sets for participants' impressions of older adults and young adults and mean scores of sets for participants' impressions of low status and high status individuals (see Table 10 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. Three out of the four sets were found to be significant both for impressions of age and impressions of status. The results indicate that participants believed older adults and low status individuals to be significantly greater for being miserable and for being slow thinking. The results also indicate that participants believed young adults and high status individuals to be significantly more selfish than older adults and low status individuals. No significant differences emerged in impressions of age and in impressions of status for the set of traits labeled *complaining*.

Table 10

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Older and Young Adults, and Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals

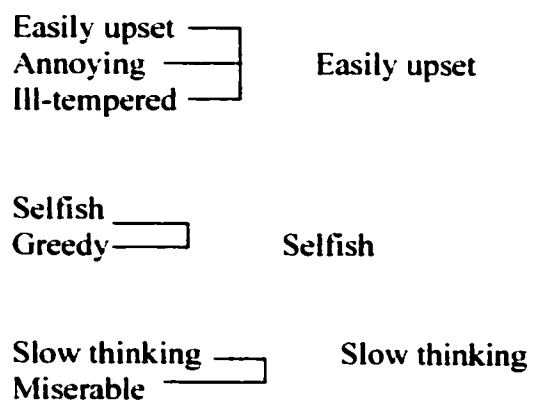
Sets	Old		Young		t	p	Low		High		t	p
	M	SD	M	SD			M	SD	M	SD		
<u>Age- Impressions:</u>												
Slow Thinking	M	4.12	2.69	-8.08	< .001*			2.87	2.67	-2.09	< .001*	
	SD	.97	.96					1.16	1.03			
Selfish	M	3.10	4.58	7.05	< .001*			2.25	3.55	8.43	< .001*	
	SD	1.26	1.35					1.07	1.45			
Miserable	M	3.89	3.35	-3.42	< .001*			3.04	2.50	-5.01	< .001*	
	SD	1.05	1.23					1.12	.98			
Complaining	M	3.93	4.14	1.31	n.s.			2.70	3.12	4.11	n.s.	
	SD	1.08	1.00					1.08	1.19			

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .00$

Sets of Correlated Traits in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals, and Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Age

The seven sets of trait terms found in participants' impressions of low and high status individuals (see Figure 11 for sets of traits) were then compared to the nine sets of trait terms found in participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of older adults and young adults (see Figure 6 for sets of traits). Three sets of intercorrelated traits, common to the nine sets of trait terms found in participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of age and to the seven sets of trait terms found in participants' impressions of status emerged (see Figure 13 for sets of traits). The sets were labeled as follows: easily upset, selfish, and slow thinking.

The mean for each set of traits was derived by averaging participants' ratings across items within each set. A two-factor repeated measures multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted on the indices of the sets of traits representing participants' perceptions of older and young adult stereotypes. The factors included in the analysis were the three sets of trait terms and age (i.e., old and young). A significant main effect emerged for the sets of traits,  $F(2,152) = 16.25, p < .001$ , but not for age. The Sets X Age interaction was significant,  $F(2,152) = 96.39, p < .001$ . Another two-factor repeated measures MANOVA was conducted on the indices of the sets of traits representing participants' impressions of low and high status individuals. The factors included in the analysis were the three sets of trait terms and status (i.e., low status and high status). A significant main effect emerged for status,  $F(1, 77) = 31.68, p < .001$ , but not for the sets of traits. The Sets X Status interaction was significant,  $F(2,154) = 55.92, p < .001$ .



**Figure 13.** Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals, and Participants' Perceptions of People's Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults

In order to further examine the differences between the sets of traits, paired t-tests were conducted between mean scores of sets for participants' perceptions of people's older and young adult stereotypes and for mean scores of sets for participants' impressions low status and high status individuals (see Table 11 for means and t-tests). The alpha level was set to .001 after using a Bonferroni correction for multiple comparisons. The results indicate that participants perceived older adults and low status individuals to be significantly greater for being slow thinking. The results also indicate that participants perceived young adults and high status individuals to be significantly more selfish than older adults and low status individuals. Significant differences emerged in participants' perceptions of status stereotypes but not in participants' impressions of age stereotypes for the set of traits labeled *easily upset*. Participants were more likely to attribute the set of traits labeled *easily upset* to high status individuals than to low status individuals.



Table 11

Means, Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of Sets of Trait Terms in Participants' Perceptions of Stereotypes of Older Adults and Young Adults, and Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals

<u>Sets</u>	<u>Old</u>	<u>Young</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>t</u>	<u>p</u>	
<u>Age-Stereotypes:</u>									
<u>Easily Upset</u>	<u>M</u>	4.33	4.16	-1.08	n.s.	2.68	3.20	4.82	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.95	1.09			1.15	1.22		
<u>Selfish</u>	<u>M</u>	3.19	4.96	9.33	< .001*	2.25	3.55	8.43	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	1.08	1.16			1.07	1.45		
<u>Slow Thinking</u>	<u>M</u>	4.27	3.20	-7.11	< .001*	2.86	2.49	-3.38	< .001*
	<u>SD</u>	.97	1.10			1.21	1.06		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

**Paired t-tests Conducted on the Traits not Included in Sets of Traits from Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults, and Participants' Impressions of Low and High Status Individuals**

Given that few common sets of intercorrelated traits emerged in the comparison between participants' impressions of low and high status individuals, and participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, individual paired t-tests were conducted on the remaining 39 traits that were not included in the sets of intercorrelated traits (see Table 12 for means and t-tests). The results indicate that participants gave significantly greater ratings in their impressions of older adults, as well as in their impressions of low status individuals for the following trait terms: *arouses pity*, *neglected*, and *quiet* (see Table 12, section 1.1). Moreover, participants gave significantly greater ratings in their impressions of older adults, as well as in their impressions of high status individuals for the following trait terms: *prejudiced* and *set in ways* (see Table 12, section 1.2). Individual analyses on the trait terms also revealed that young adults and high status individuals were attributed the trait term *snobbish* (see Table 12, section 1.3). There were no trait terms that were simultaneously attributed to young adults and to low status individuals.

Analyses revealed that some trait terms showed significant differences for age but not for status. Characteristics such as *afraid of crime*, *bitter*, *conservative*, *doesn't like handouts*, *finds change difficult*, *forgetful*, *fragile*, *frugal*, *grateful for any aid*, *humorless*, *hypochondriac*, *lives in past*, *lonely*, *mellow*, *miserly*, *old-fashioned*, *rambling in speech*, *sedentary*, *slow moving*, *suspicious of strangers*, and *tells stories about the past* (see Table 12, section 2.1) were attributed to older adults but no significant differences

emerged in participants' impressions of low and high individuals. On the other hand, the trait term *busy-body* was attributed to young adults but, again, no significant differences emerged in participants' impressions of low and high status individuals (see Table 12, section 2.2).

Analyses revealed that characteristics such as *has poor posture* and *poor* showed significant differences for participants' impressions of low status individuals but no significant differences emerged in participants' impressions of older adults and young adults (see Table 12, section 3.1). No significant differences emerged for participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, nor for participants' impressions of low and high status individuals for the following trait terms: *bored*, *burden to society*, *demanding*, *dependent*, *emotionless*, *naive*, *tough*, *useless*, and *victim of crime* (see Table 12, section 4.1).

Table 12

Means (M), Standard Deviations (SD), and t Values (t) of All Characteristics not Included in the Sets of Traits of Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults, and Participants' Impressions of Low Status and High Status

Traits	Old			Young			High			Low		
	M	SD	t	M	SD	t	M	SD	t	M	SD	t
<b>Section 1: Significant Differences in Impressions of Age</b>												
<b>Section 1.1: Older Adults &gt; Young Adults</b>												
Arouses Pity	M			2.60		6.62				2.13		6.79
	SD	3.94		1.17						1.13		
Neglected	M			3.40		6.87				1.94		9.28
	SD	4.83		1.49						1.06		
Quiet	M			2.64		8.93				3.53		4.26
	SD	4.57		1.15						1.25		
<b>Section 1.2: Older Adults &gt; Young Adults</b>												
Prejudiced	M			3.84		4.11				4.10		4.24
	SD	4.62		1.39						1.48		
Set in Ways	M			3.43		9.31				5.53		4.90
	SD	5.41		1.39						1.15		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

(table continues)

Traits	Old	Young	t	p	Low	High	t	p
<b>Section 1.3: Older Adults &lt; Young Adults</b>								
Snobbish	M 3.20	4.08	4.13	< .001*	1.92	3.77	8.58	< .001*
	SD 1.34	1.47			1.07	1.76		
<b>Section 2: Significant Differences in Impressions of Age</b>								
<b>Section 2.1: Older Adults &gt; Young Adults</b>								
Afraid of Crime	M 5.26	3.45	9.23	< .001*	3.47	3.27	.93	n.s.
	SD 1.22	1.34			1.83	1.58		
Bitter	M 4.01	3.33	3.43	< .001*	2.81	2.68	.88	n.s.
	SD 1.19	1.33			1.41	1.35		
Conservative	M 5.48	2.90	12.96	< .001*	4.41	4.94	3.23	n.s.
	SD 1.01	1.13			1.61	1.57		
Doesn't Like Handouts	M 4.38	3.47	4.05	< .001*	3.72	3.96	1.41	n.s.
	SD 1.49	1.60			1.54	1.72		
Finds Change Difficult	M 5.47	3.09	10.60	< .001*	4.23	4.85	3.14	n.s.
	SD 1.18	1.44			1.59	1.62		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

(table continues)

Traits	Old		Young		t	p	Low	High	t	p
	M	SD	M	SD						
Forgetful	4.71	1.05	3.88	1.27	4.03	< .001*	2.60	2.68	.47	n.s.
							1.33	1.12		
Fragile	4.70	1.40	2.99	1.40	7.41	< .001*	2.47	2.64	.84	n.s.
							1.45	1.45		
Frugal	5.19	1.36	2.91	1.41	10.24	< .001*	5.48	4.92	2.32	n.s.
							1.74	1.75		
Grateful for any aid	4.92	1.35	3.99	1.44	4.47	< .001*	4.49	3.95	3.25	n.s.
							1.51	1.54		
Humorless	3.10	1.26	2.45	1.11	3.42	< .001*	2.55	2.74	1.45	n.s.
							1.24	1.30		
Hypochondriac	4.70	1.41	2.82	1.42	7.91	< .001*	2.76	3.21	2.95	n.s.
							1.55	1.68		
Lives in Past	4.96	1.26	2.34	1.10	13.12	< .001*	4.12	4.54	2.17	n.s.
							1.74	1.75		
Lonely	5.08	1.17	3.57	1.47	6.80	< .001*	2.64	2.38	1.42	n.s.
							1.52	1.13		
Mellow	4.53	1.26	3.66	1.40	3.43	< .001*	4.37	3.86	2.84	n.s.
							1.27	1.39		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

(table continues)

Traits	Old		Young		t	p	Low	High		t	p
	M	SD	M	SD				M	SD		
Miserly	4.12		3.35		4.38	< .001*	2.87	3.05	.92	n.s.	
	1.32		1.39				1.51	1.48			
Old-Fashioned	5.51		2.00		16.66	< .001	4.71	4.95	1.34	n.s.	
	1.37		1.11				1.58	1.65			
Rambling in Speech	4.25		3.53		3.42	< .001*	2.94	3.09	.93	n.s.	
	1.26		1.50				1.38	1.41			
Sedentary	4.68		3.13		8.00	< .001*	4.03	4.36	1.71	n.s.	
	1.20		1.28				2.03	1.89			
Slow Moving	5.12		2.53		12.59	< .001*	2.78	2.83	.55	n.s.	
	1.12		1.14				1.58	1.39			
Suspicious of Strangers	4.97		3.29		9.67	< .001*	3.99	4.26	1.63	n.s.	
	1.36		1.23				1.46	1.63			
Tells Stories About the Past	5.74		2.84		15.25	< .001*	5.32	5.71	1.97	n.s.	
	.94		1.51				1.62	1.24			

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

(table continues)

Traits	Old		Young		t	p	High		t	p
	M	SD	M	SD			Low	High		
<b>Section 2.2: Older Adults &lt; Young Adults</b>										
Busy-Body	M	3.97	4.62	2.75	2.75	< .001*	Low Status = High Status		.55	n.s.
	SD	1.30	1.39				4.50	4.40		
<b>Section 3: No Significant Differences in Impressions of Age</b>										
<b>Section 3.1: Older Adults = Young Adults</b>										
Has Poor Posture	M	4.26	4.03	1.10	1.10	n.s.	Significant Differences in Impressions of Status		3.61	< .001*
	SD	1.30	1.36				3.15	2.40		
Poor	M	3.87	3.81	.36	.36	n.s.	Low Status > High Status		7.45	< .001*
	SD	1.25	1.30				4.13	2.47		
<b>Section 4: No Significant Differences in Impressions of Age</b>										
<b>Section 4.1: Older Adults = Young Adults</b>										
Bored	M	4.51	4.29	1.20	1.20	n.s.	No Significant Differences in Impressions of Status		.50	n.s.
	SD	1.23	1.45				2.59	2.67		
Burden to Society	M	2.82	2.49	1.49	1.49	n.s.	Low Status = High Status		.89	n.s.
	SD	1.59	1.41				2.33	2.51		

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

(table continues)



Traits	<u>Old</u>		<u>Young</u>		i	P	<u>High</u>		i	P
	M	SD	M	SD			Low	High		
Demanding	M	4.12	4.61	2.45	n.s.	7.61	4.14	n.s.	7.61	n.s.
	SD	1.27	1.22				1.30			
Dependent	M	4.25	4.18	.35	n.s.	.76	3.50	n.s.	.76	n.s.
	SD	1.35	1.34				1.56			
Emotionless	M	2.39	2.81	2.55	n.s.	2.13	2.76	n.s.	2.13	n.s.
	SD	1.10	1.48				1.36			
Naive	M	4.00	4.13	.59	n.s.	2.45	3.45	n.s.	2.45	n.s.
	SD	1.41	1.26				1.47			
Tough	M	4.00	4.43	2.12	n.s.	1.93	4.62	n.s.	1.93	n.s.
	SD	1.42	1.17				1.48			
Useless	M	2.67	2.34	1.64	n.s.	3.08	2.26	n.s.	3.08	n.s.
	SD	1.41	1.24				.97			
Victim of Crime	M	4.20	3.57	2.95	n.s.	2.64	2.37	n.s.	2.64	n.s.
	SD	1.35	1.33				1.56			

\* Note: Using a Bonferroni correction, the significance level was set at  $p < .001$

### Clusters in Age Study and Traits Attributed to Low and High Status Individuals

Clusters found in participants' impressions of older adults were examined in order to see whether individual traits attributed to low status individuals or high status individuals were included in specific clusters of older adults. The results indicate that the cluster representing older adults, labeled *weary*, included three traits (i.e., miserable, victim of crime, and sad) that were also attributed to low status individuals. The cluster representing older adults, labeled *hard-headed*, included three traits (i.e., conservative, set in ways, and finds change difficult) also attributed to high status individuals. The cluster representing older adults, labeled *past-oriented*, also included three traits (i.e., set in ways and finds change difficult) that were attributed to high status individuals.

Clusters found in participants' impressions of young adults were examined in order to see whether traits simultaneously attributed to low status individuals and high status individuals were included in specific clusters of young adults. The results indicate that the cluster representing young adults, labeled *vexatious*, included five traits (i.e., greedy, selfish, demanding, snobbish, and annoying) that were also attributed to high status individuals. There were no clusters that included traits simultaneously attributed to young adults and to low status individuals.

Clusters found in participants' perceptions of older adult stereotypes were examined in order to see whether individual traits attributed to low status individuals or high status individuals were included in specific clusters of older adults. The results indicate that the cluster representing older adults, labeled *abandoned*, included three traits (i.e., neglected, victim of crime, and arousing pity) that were also attributed to low status individuals. The cluster labeled *cranky* included four traits (i.e., conservative, prejudiced,

lives in past, and hypochondriac) that were also attributed to high status individuals. The cluster labeled *past-oriented* also included three traits (i.e., set in ways and finds change difficult) that were also attributed to high status individuals. The cluster representing young adults, labeled *self-absorbed*, included the traits greedy and selfish which were also attributed to high status individuals.

Clusters found in participants' perceptions of people's stereotypes of young adults were examined in order to see whether traits simultaneously attributed to low status individuals and high status individuals were included in specific clusters of young adults. The results indicate that the cluster representing young adults, labeled *self-centered*, included three traits (i.e., greedy, selfish, and demanding) that were also attributed to high status individuals. Also, the cluster representing young adults, labeled *arrogant*, included the traits easily upset and snobbish that were also attributed to high status individuals. There were no clusters that included more than one trait simultaneously attributed to young adults and to low status individuals.

## General Discussion

The present research included two studies. Study 1 examined participants' impressions of older adults and young adults, as well as participants' perceptions of old and young stereotypes. Study 2 examined participants' impressions of low status individuals and high status individuals.

Cluster analyses were conducted on the data of each study. Clusters found in Study 1 were consistent with past findings by Brewer et al. (1981), Schmidt and Boland (1986), and Hummert (1990). These past findings revealed that young adults perceive multiple types of older adults. In the present study, clusters emerged that seemed to represent different types of older adults. The following are examples of clusters representing older adults: weary, hard-headed, weak, and secluded. Clusters representing young adults, such as vexatious, depressed, and paranoid, also emerged in the present research.

The trait terms used in Study 1 derived from a study conducted by Schmidt and Boland (1986) in which young participants produced a list of traits that described the typical old person. Consistent with Schmidt and Boland (1986), results from Study 1 indicated that the traits were more likely attributed to older adults than to young adults. Older adults were more likely to be attributed traits reflecting weakness and sadness such as neglected, sick, fragile, and miserable, whereas young adults were more likely to be attributed trait reflecting selfishness and a lack of regard for others such as greedy, selfish, emotionless, and snobbish. The results of Study 1 also indicated that participants' own impressions of older adults and young adults overlap with their perceptions of older and young adult stereotypes.

Similar results emerged in Study 2 as a function of status. In the present research, clusters representing different types of low status individuals emerged. The following are examples of clusters representing low status individuals: never satisfied, needy, old-fashioned, and quiet. Clusters representing high status individuals such as angry, unalterable, and humorless also emerged. The results of Study 2 indicate that participants are more likely to attribute traits reflecting hopelessness and a lack of resources to low status individuals whereas traits reflecting selfishness and greediness are more likely attributed to high status individuals.

A more detailed examination of the clusters found in Study 1 and Study 2 reveal specific parallels between age and status. Results indicate that older adults are perceived as vulnerable just as are low status individuals and young adults are perceived as selfish, just as are high status individuals. This finding provides evidence for the hypothesis of the present research. However, although parallels between traits attributed to older adults and low status individuals, and young adults and high status individuals emerged, many of the traits included in the present study did not emerge in specific clusters. These findings indicate that there are not many parallels drawn between age and status when examining sets of intercorrelated traits. Nevertheless, the same pattern emerges throughout the present research in both participants' own impressions as well as in their perceptions of people's stereotypes. Furthermore, contrary to expectations, participants simultaneously attributed traits reflecting stubbornness and rigidity to older adults and high status individuals (i.e., finds change difficult, set in ways, and conservative). In light of the results of the present research, it can be argued that social status varies with young people's impressions of different types of older adults. In other words, older adults

are not uniquely perceived as are low status individuals, nor are they uniquely perceived as are high status individuals.

There were no trait terms that were attributed simultaneously to young adults and to low status individuals. It can be argued that in-group and out-group processes may be playing a role in the perception of social status. That is, young adults have more complex, positive representations of other young adults (i.e., in-group) than they do of older adults (i.e., out-group) (Linville, 1982). However, in-group and out-group processes do not explain why negative traits such as greedy, snobbish, and selfish were attributed to young adults as well as to high status individuals.

Overall results of the present research can be examined through a "stereotype content model" which holds that perceived competence and warmth distinguish out-group stereotypes (i.e., older adults) (Fiske, Cuddy, Xu, & Glick, 2002). In ageism, older adults associated with low status are often perceived low in perceived competence but high in perceived warmth. Fiske et al. (2002) state that stereotypes of older adults "portray a group disrespected but pitied, which carries undertones of compassion, sympathy, and even tenderness" (p. 880). On the other hand, young adults may be perceived as high in perceived competence but low in perceived warmth. It can be argued that if more positive traits were included in the list of traits, a larger proportion of traits reflecting warmth (i.e., kind, caring, and trustworthy) would be attributed to older adults and low status individuals whereas traits reflecting competence (i.e., hard-working, ambitious, and intelligent) would be attributed to young adults and high status individuals. Fiske et al. (2002) suggest that "for subordinate, non-competitive groups (e.g., elderly people), the

positive stereotype of warmth acts jointly with the negative stereotype of low competence to maintain the advantage of more privileged groups” (p.878).

Despite the parallels found in the present research there were a number of limitations that may help explain some inconsistencies found in the results. First, the sample used in the present research included uniquely undergraduate University students. Although the undergraduate population from which the present sample was drawn is heterogeneous with regards to age, there were no participants that were over 65 years of age in the present research.

Another limitation is the traits that were included in Study 1 and Study 2. The 49 traits derived from a study by Schmidt and Boland conducted in 1986. In their study, participants produced a list of traits that typically described an older person. The traits included a large proportion of negative traits relative to positive traits. One can argue that since the traits were taken from a study that was conducted 17 years ago, the traits may not reflect participants' perceptions of older adults in today's society. On the other hand, the results of the present research indicate that the majority of the traits were attributed to older adults. However, perhaps more positive traits would have emerged if participants were instructed to list traits representing older adults in the present research.

The status manipulation used in the present research may not have adequately reflected participants' impressions of low status and high status individuals. The study may have its limitations regarding the use of a description of fictitious status groups. Nevertheless, this methodology has been used in previous studies conducted by Conway et al. (1996), and Conway and Vartanian (2000) that have yielded consistent results in participants' perceptions of low status and high status individuals.

In sum, as we have seen in the findings by Brewer et al. (1981), Schmidt and Boland (1986), and Hummert (1990), the representation people have of older adults is complex and there exists multiple types of older adults. In turn, these different types of older adults can be either associated with high status or with low status. According to Dowd's theory, a lack of resources is typically associated with people's perceptions of lower status. The present research provides evidence that older adults are sometimes perceived as low status and are attributed traits reflecting a lack of resources. On the other hand, contrary to expectations, the present research also showed that young people perceive older adults as having high status as reflected in traits of stubbornness and crankiness. Interestingly, in the present research there were no traits that were attributed simultaneously to young adults and to low status individuals. The only traits attributed to young adults and high status reflected selfishness. These findings suggest that young adults are less likely to view themselves or other young adults as low status and are more likely to attribute traits that they also attribute to high status individuals to describe other young adults.

Future research is needed to further examine the specific subtypes older adults have of other older adults in today's society. Past studies examining older adults' impressions of older adults have found that older adults have different and a greater number of representations of older adults than young adults (Brewer & Lui, 1984; Hummert, Garstka, Shaner and Strahm, 1994). A study that included both older participants and young participants would probably yield very different results. Furthermore, as the population ages and baby-boomers enter their golden years, older adults are living a more active lifestyle, they are more in tune with technology and are working past retirement



age. Research examining the changes in people's perceptions of older adults and their status position may be worth pursuing.

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**Appendix A**

**Questionnaires for Study 1**

**(Participants' Perceptions of People's of Old and Young Stereotypes  
and  
Participants' Impressions of Older Adults and Young Adults)**

## Instructions

The following characteristics can be used to describe people. We would like you to think of *(insert age group here)* in **Canada and the United States**. How well do you think each of these characteristics makes up the cultural stereotype that people have of older individuals? In other words, how true do you think each of these characteristics is of the cultural stereotype that people have of older individuals? Please indicate your answer by circling the appropriate number on the scale which follows each item. If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

### PEOPLE STEREOTYPE OLDER INDIVIDUALS AS...

#### 1. Quiet

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 2. Frugal (i.e. not wasteful)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 3. Tough

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 4. Grateful for any aid

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 5. Old-fashioned

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

People stereotype older individuals as...

6. Finding change difficult

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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7. Forgetful

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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8. Emotionless

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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9. Lonely

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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10. Ill-tempered

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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11. Hypochondriac (i.e. worries about one's health)

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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People stereotype older individuals as...

12. Burdens to society

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

13. Easily upset

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

14. Selfish

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

15. Annoying

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

16. Don't like handouts

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

17. Fragile

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true



People stereotype older individuals as...

18. Bored

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

19. Afraid of crime

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

20. Busy-bodies

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

21. Slow thinking

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

22. Humorless

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

23. Miserable

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

People stereotype older individuals as...

24. Suspicious of strangers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

25. Demanding

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

26. Dependent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

27. Rambling of speech

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

28. Arouse pity

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

29. Sedentary

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

People stereotype older individuals as...

30. Set in ways

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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31. Slow moving

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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32. Bitter

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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33. Sick

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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34. Conservative

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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35. Naive

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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People stereotype older individuals as...

36. Living in the past

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

37. Greedy

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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38. Complaining

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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39. Victims of crime

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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40. Sad

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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People stereotype older individuals as...

42. Miserly (i.e. stingy)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

43. Prejudiced

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

44. Useless

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

45. Snobbish

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

46. Poor

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

47. Having poor posture

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

People stereotype older individuals as...

48. Neglected

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

49. Mellow

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

Now you are presented with the same characteristics, but this time we would like you to think of *(insert age group here)* **in Canada and the United States.** How well do you think each of these characteristics makes up the cultural stereotype that people have of young adults? In other words, how true do you think each of these characteristics is of the cultural stereotype that people have of young adults? Again, if you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

## PEOPLE STEREOTYPE YOUNG ADULTS AS...

### 1. Quiet

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

### 2. Frugal (i.e. not wasteful)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

### 3. Tough

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

### 4. Grateful for any aid

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

### 5. Old-fashioned

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

People stereotype young adults as...

**6. Finding change difficult**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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**7. Forgetful**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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**8. Emotionless**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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**11. Hypochondriac (i.e. worries about one's health)**

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People stereotype young adults as...

12. Burdens to society

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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13. Easily upset

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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16. Don't like handouts

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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19. Afraid of crime

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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23. Miserable

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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People stereotype young adults as...

24. Suspicious of strangers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

25. Demanding

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
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People stereotype young adults as...

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1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

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Once again, you are presented with the same characteristics, and we would like you to think of (*insert age group here*) **in Canada and the United States**. This time, however, we would like you to think about your personal beliefs concerning the characteristics that are typical of older individuals. How true do you personally believe each of these characteristics of older individuals? If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

MY IMPRESSION IS THAT OLDER INDIVIDUALS TYPICALLY ARE...

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My impression is that older individuals typically are...

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1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

49. Mellow

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
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occasionally  
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20. Busy-bodies

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

21. Slow thinking

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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22. Humorless

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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23. Miserable

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	---------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

My impression is that young adults typically are...

24. Suspicious of strangers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

25. Demanding

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

26. Dependent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

27. Rambling of speech

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

28. Arouse pity

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

29. Sedentary

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

My impression is that young adults typically are...

30. Set in ways

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

31. Slow moving

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

32. Bitter

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

33. Sick

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

34. Conservative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

35. Naive

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

My impression is that young adults typically are...

36. Living in the past

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

37. Greedy

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

38. Complaining

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

39. Victims of crime

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

40. Sad

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

41. Telling stories about the past

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true



My impression is that young adults typically are...

42. Miserly (i.e. stingy)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

43. Prejudiced

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

44. Useless

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

45. Snobbish

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

46. Poor

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

47. Having poor posture

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

My impression is that young adults typically are...

48. Neglected

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

49. Mellow

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

**Appendix B**

**Questionnaires for Study 2**

**(Participants' Impressions of Low Status and High Status Individuals)**

### Instructions

The following characteristics can be used to describe people. We would like you to think about the *(insert name of fictitious status group here)*. How well do you think each of these characteristics describes them? In other words, how true of the *(insert name of fictitious status group here)* is each of these characteristics? Please indicate your answer by circling the appropriate number on the scale which follows each item. If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

#### 1. Quiet

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 2. Frugal (i.e. not wasteful)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 3. Tough

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 4. Grateful for any aid

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

#### 5. Old-fashioned

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**6. Finds change difficult**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**7. Forgetful**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**8. Emotionless**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**9. Lonely**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**10. Ill-tempered**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**11. Hypochondriac (i.e. worries about one's health)**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**12. Burden to society**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**13. Easily upset**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**14. Selfish**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**15. Annoying**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**16. Doesn't like handouts**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**17. Fragile**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**18. Bored**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**19. Afraid of crime**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**20. Busy-body**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**21. Slow thinking**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**22. Humorless**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**23. Miserable**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

24. Suspicious of strangers

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

25. Demanding

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

26. Dependent

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

27. Rambling of speech

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

28. Arouses pity

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

29. Sedentary

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true



30. Set in ways

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

31. Slow moving

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

32. Bitter

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

33. Sick

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

34. Conservative

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

35. Naive

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

36. Lives in past

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

37. Greedy

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

38. Complaining

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

39. Victim of crime

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

40. Sad

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

41. Tells stories about the past

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

42. Miserly (i.e. stingy)

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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43. Prejudiced

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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44. Useless

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

45. Snobbish

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

46. Poor

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
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47. Has poor posture

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**48. Neglected**

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
not true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

**49. Mellow**

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
not true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

Now, we would like you to think about the *(insert name of fictitious status group here)*. How well do you think each of the following characteristics describes them? In other words, how true of the *(insert name of fictitious status group here)* is each of these characteristics? Please indicate your answer by circling the appropriate number on the scale which follows each item. If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

1. Quiet

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

2. Frugal (i.e. not wasteful)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

3. Tough

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

4. Grateful for any aid

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

5. Old-fashioned

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**6. Finds change difficult**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**7. Forgetful**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**8. Emotionless**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**9. Lonely**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**10. Ill-tempered**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**11. Hypochondriac (i.e. worries about one's health)**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**12. Burden to society**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**13. Easily upset**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**14. Selfish**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**15. Annoying**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**16. Doesn't like handouts**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**17. Fragile**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**18. Bored**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**19. Afraid of crime**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**20. Busy-body**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**21. Slow thinking**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**22. Humorless**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

**23. Miserable**

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---



**24. Suspicious of strangers**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**25. Demanding**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**26. Dependent**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**27. Rambling of speech**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**28. Arouses pity**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**29. Sedentary**

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

30. Set in ways

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

31. Slow moving

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

32. Bitter

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

33. Sick

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

34. Conservative

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

35. Naive

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

36. Lives in past

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

37. Greedy

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

38. Complaining

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

39. Victim of crime

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

40. Sad

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

41. Tells stories about the past

1 never or almost never true	2 usually not true	3 rarely not true	4 occasionally true	5 often true	6 usually true	7 always or almost always true
---------------------------------------	--------------------------	-------------------------	---------------------------	--------------------	----------------------	---

42. Miserly (i.e. stingy)

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

43. Prejudiced

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

44. Useless

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

45. Snobbish

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

46. Poor

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

47. Has poor posture

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
never or almost never true	usually not true	rarely not true	occasionally true	often true	usually true	always or almost always true

**48. Neglected**

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
not true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

**49. Mellow**

1  
never or  
almost  
never true

2  
usually  
not true

3  
rarely  
not true

4  
occasionally  
true

5  
often  
true

6  
usually  
true

7  
always or  
almost  
always true

## **Appendix C**

### **Manipulation Checks for Study 2**

We are interested in how the following questions pertain to the typical (*insert name of fictitious status group here*) and (*insert name of other fictitious status group here*). Please indicate your answer by circling the appropriate number on the scale which follows each item. If you are not sure, please give us your best guess.

1. How much power does the typical (*insert name of fictitious status group here*) have to choose and pursue their own activities and interests?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
none at all	very little	somewhat		quite a bit	a lot	a great deal

2. How much power does the typical (*insert name of other fictitious status group here*) have to choose and pursue their own activities and interests?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
none at all	very little	somewhat		quite a bit	a lot	a great deal

3. How much power does the typical (*insert name of fictitious status group here*) have to influence others?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
none at all	very little	somewhat		quite a bit	a lot	a great deal

4. How much power does the typical (*insert name of other fictitious status group here*) have to influence others?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
none at all	very little	somewhat		quite a bit	a lot	a great deal

...For the following question, please circle only one group.

Which group holds higher status? (*example*)

Bwisi

Mwangai

**Appendix D**

**Introduction of Study 1**



## **Instructions**

Psychology is interested in a number of topics such as how people interact with others, or how people perceive others. The research on social interactions has looked at people's behavior in different settings, including their work place and the home. The research focusing on how people see each other has looked at a number of issues, including the way people form first impressions of others and how people's impressions of others change over time.

In the past, a lot of research has also been done to better understand the way people perceive individuals of various groups. For instance, some of this research has been concerned with stereotypes, such as stereotypes people have about men and about women, about people of different ethnicity, or about people of different ages.

Whether people agree or not with different stereotypes, people often have a sense of what the stereotypes are of various groups in society. In the past few years, our research group has been interested in looking at people's perception of the stereotypes that exist in our society.

In this study that you are participating in today, we are interested in your perception of certain stereotypes. I will ask you to describe your perception of the stereotypes that people have of older adults and of young adults in North America. These are the stereotypes concerning the characteristics of older adults and of young adults. I'll be asking you to describe your perceptions of these stereotypes. Separately, I will ask you what your personal beliefs are about the characteristics that are typical of older adults and of young adults. In this case, the focus is on your personal beliefs, not on what you think other people might believe.

In summary, there are basically two things that I will ask you to do in this study. First, I will ask you to describe your perceptions of the stereotypes that people have in our society of what older adults are like, and of what young adults are like. Second, I will ask you to describe your personal beliefs concerning the characteristics of older adults and of young adults.

Throughout this study, your responses are confidential. Feel free to describe your views.

**Appendix E**  
**Consent Form for Study 1**

**CONSENT FORM**

This is to state that I agree to participate in research conducted by Alexandra Fioriello under the supervision of Dr. Michael Conway of the Psychology Department at Concordia University. I understand and agree to the following:

- I understand that I will be asked to fill out questionnaires concerning my perception of people.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and to discontinue participation at any time without giving notice and without negative consequences.
- I understand that my participation in this project will last approximately one hour.
- I understand that I will receive \$8 for my participation in this project.
- I understand that all responses I provide in this study are confidential, and will be accessed only by the researchers of this study. My questionnaires will be identified by a code number.
- I understand that the data averaged across many people who participate in this study may be published in a scientific journal.

**I HAVE CAREFULLY READ AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT AND THEREFORE I FREELY CONSENT AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.**

**SIGNATURE:** \_\_\_\_\_

**DATE:** \_\_\_\_\_

**INVESTIGATOR'S SIGNATURE:** \_\_\_\_\_

.

**Appendix F**  
**Introduction of Study 2**

## INTRODUCTION

In psychology, we are interested in a number of topics such as how people perceive others. A major area of research looks at people's impressions of others such as how individuals see different nationalities, different gender, or age groups. In this area, there are standard questionnaires that have been developed to measure the different aspects of how people see others. New research looks at different things that may operate in the way people describe other individuals. One part of the study that you are participating in today involves listening to descriptions of people and completing questionnaires on your impression of them. You will be listening to these recorded descriptions with the headphones that I have placed in front of you.

The present study will also look at the way you remember an event from your past. It is related to the study you participated in last time you were here. What I will ask you to do is quite similar to what you did last time. I will give you more details about this part of the study later.

To summarize the procedure of my study, first you will be listening to recorded descriptions of people with the headphones in front of you and I will ask you to complete some questionnaires on your impression of these people. After, I will ask you to remember an event related to your past.

It is important to keep in mind that your answers will remain confidential.

**Appendix G**  
**Consent Form for Study 2**

### **Consent Form to Participate in Research**

This is to state that I agree to participate in a program of research conducted by Alexandra Fioriello of the Department of Psychology at Concordia University under the supervision of Dr. Michael Conway.

#### **PROCEDURE**

I have been informed that in the first part of the study I will be listening to descriptions of people and completing questionnaires on my impression of them. The second part of the study involves remembering an event from my past. The procedure will take approximately 70 minutes. My name will only appear on this consent form, and code numbers alone will be used to label the questionnaires. The signed consent form will not be kept with my responses to the questionnaires; all these documents will be kept under lock and key. I understand that the information I provide is strictly confidential.

#### **CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION :**

- I understand that I am free to decline to participate in the experiment without negative consequences.
- I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent and discontinue my participation at any time without negative consequences.
- I understand that the data taken from the sample of participants of this study may be published.

**I HAVE STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT. I FREELY CONSENT AND AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.**

**NAME (please print)** \_\_\_\_\_

**SIGNATURE** \_\_\_\_\_

**WITNESS SIGNATURE** \_\_\_\_\_

**DATE** \_\_\_\_\_

**Appendix H**

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