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You're too old for that! : ageism and prescriptive stereotypes in the workplace

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ABSTRACT

YOU'RE TOO OLD FOR THAT! AGEISM AND PRESCRIPTIVE STEREOTYPES IN THE WORKPLACE

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Age discrimination and bias in the workplace is an imperative area of research. Few studies have examined prescriptive stereotyping, and only one study has specifically examined prescriptive age stereotyping. This thesis marks the first investigation into prescriptive age stereotypes in the workplace. Employing an experimental survey design, subjects ($n = 383$) were randomly assigned to view one of six vignettes. Results indicate that violators of prescriptive age stereotypes are rated less positively than adherers of prescriptive age stereotypes. Further, prescriptive age stereotype information does not necessarily lead to descriptive age stereotype information. Lastly processes other than prescriptive stereotyping (expectancy violation theory) are discussed. Implications and areas for future research are examined.

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YOU'RE TOO OLD FOR THAT!

AGEISM AND PRESCRIPTIVE STEREOTYPES IN THE WORKPLACE

BY

ELIZABETH A. HANRAHAN

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MASTER OF ARTS

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Thesis Director:
Lisa M. Finkelstein

*For the person who showed me joy
in dusty rocks & manta rays*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

American comedian George Burns jested, “You can’t help getting older, but you don’t have to get old.” Age is an endlessly fascinating topic to study because age is an inclusive category (one which we all experience, unlike other categories such as gender or race) with which we all have familiarity. In addition, ageism – “the systematic stereotyping of and discrimination against people simply because of their age” (Butler, 1969, p. 243) – can adversely impact individuals at any point in their lives.

Why should we concern ourselves with studying ageism? For a multitude of reasons, people are staying in the workplace longer (Wang, Olson, & Shultz, 2012). A recent study commissioned by the American Psychological Association (APA) reported that while 59% of workers stay with their employer for the pay, over two-thirds of respondents named enjoyment of their work and good job fit as factors for staying as well (APA, 2012). The average age of retirement in the United States is now 64.6 years old for men and 62.3 years old for women (Office for National Statistics, 2012). The American Association of Retired Persons (AARP, 2009) reported that 27% of workers aged 55-64 have postponed their plans to retire. In addition, the number of workers aged 55 to 64 is projected to rise 40% from 2006 to 2016, with those over 65 rising nearly 80%. By 2016, workers aged 65 and over are expected to account for 6.1% of the total workforce, compared with only 3.6% a decade ago (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). With a greater number of older workers in the workplace, studying ageism is more important than it has ever been.

Older workers are not without protection. In 1967, the Age Discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA) was passed by Congress. A large goal of the ADEA is to “promote employment of older persons based on their ability rather than age; to prohibit arbitrary age discrimination in employment; [and] to help employers and workers find ways of meeting problems arising from the impact of age on employment” (ADEA, 1967, Section 2). The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) enforces compliance with the ADEA. However, it seems as though the ADEA has not effectively protected older workers, with age discrimination claims reaching their highest peak in 2008 with 24,500 reports filed (EEOC, 2009). In 2012, this figure totaled 22,857 age discrimination claims (EEOC, 2014). While the EEOC is required to conduct a 60-day investigation into every age discrimination claim that is filed with them, most of the investigations close because there is insufficient evidence for the claim (Rothenberg & Gardner, 2011). Only a few number of the claims filed with the EEOC go to trial and of these, only 26% end in judgments awarded to the employee (Miller, Kaspin, & Schuster, 1990).

Not only are age discrimination complaints becoming increasingly commonplace, but more expensive as well. Between 1988 and 1995, the average payout in a lawsuit for age discrimination was \$219,000, however, some recent settlements have skyrocketed to range between \$6.2 million and \$58.8 million (McCann & Giles, 2002). Large corporations, like Allstate and 3M have recently been forced to pay out \$4.5 million dollars and \$3 million dollars, respectively, following discrimination lawsuits in relation to layoffs of older workers (Gutman & Dunleavy, 2015). Clearly, reducing age discrimination in the workplace will have benefits for both the employee and the employer.

Not only are there more age discrimination claims being filed with the EEOC, but more older workers are also feeling persecuted and fear being fired. In 2013, AARP reported that more than one-third of older workers are not confident that they would find another job right away without having to take a pay cut or move. Of those, about one in five say the reason they are not confident is due to age discrimination and 21% identify age limitations, such as feeling they are “too old” or limited in some way because of their age (AARP, 2013).

In addition, many negative stereotypes we associate with older individuals (like their incompetence with technology, lacking in creativity, and lacking flexibility) can directly impact how workers are viewed within the workplace setting (Rosen & Jerdee, 1976; Taylor & Walker, 1998). Further, studies have illustrated that merely interacting with older individuals may not be sufficient to change ageist views that younger individuals may hold (e.g., van Knippenberg, Dawson, West, & Homan, 2011). When older workers report that they have experienced age discrimination, it often leads to lower level of self-efficacy, decreased performance, and even some health risks like cardiovascular stress (Levy, 1996; Levy, Ashman, & Dior, 1999). In addition, age discrimination has been linked to lower levels of job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and job involvement (Orpen, 1995). Lastly older workers who perceive age discrimination in their workplace report higher levels of continuance commitment and have stronger intentions to retire early (Snape & Redman, 2003). Clearly, being on the receiving end of age discrimination negatively affects workers in a multitude of ways.

Several studies have implicated younger individuals as the most likely to endorse stereotypes associated with older individuals (e.g., Finkelstein, Burke, & Raju, 1995; Kalavar, 2001; North & Fiske, 2013a; Sanders, Montgomery, Pittman, & Balkwell, 1984; Rupp et al., 2005). In addition, researchers have demonstrated that when older individuals make attempts to

look younger, they often suffer a backlash from younger individuals (Schoemann & Branscombe, 2010). Thus, it seems as though the young in particular are concerned with preserving strict age boundaries. Younger individuals may be more determined to preserve their age ingroup boundaries because doing so may maintain self- and group-level esteem, offer them a way to assert autonomy, and help to safeguard against future problems (Bytheway, 1995; Greenberg et al., 2004; Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). However, not all perceptions held by the young of older workers are negative. Finkelstein, Ryan, and King (2013) found that younger raters reported 60% of older worker stereotypes to be positive. However, when older workers were asked to list metastereotypes – stereotypes they believe younger individuals hold about them – they generated mostly negative ones. Middle-aged workers were found to have both positive stereotypes and metastereotypes about them, with both younger and older workers viewing them as ideal workers.

Snyder and Meine (1994) hypothesized that holding negative beliefs about older individuals helps to protect the ego by allowing the stereotype-holding individual to deny self-threatening ideas of old age. In support of this view, Edwards and Wetzler (1998) found that when individuals encounter others who signify a threat to their self, they perceive the threatening individual as more negative. A somewhat related theoretical perspective, terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszynski, & Solomon, 1986), proposes that we all share a strong desire to live and that the eventuality of death instills great fear in us. Because we may associate older individuals with death, we may blame them for their old age, denying the reality that age is, in actuality, an inclusive group (Nelson, 2005). Martens, Greenberg, and Schimel (2004) conducted a series of studies in which they asked college students to view photos of young and elderly people. Relative to those who viewed the younger targets, those participants who viewed

photos of the elderly had more thoughts about death and also viewed the elderly more negatively and more dissimilar to themselves.

Another strong theoretical basis for prescriptive age stereotypes may be expectancy violation theory (EVT; Burgoon & Hale, 1988). Expectancy Violation Theory has been adapted to apply to social situations in which expectations are violated. Floyd and Voloudakis (2006) found that when an individual interacts with a target who has violated one's expectations, that individual is prompted to cognitively appraise the target. Violation valence is the term assigned to how the violation is evaluated (either negatively or positively). In relation to prescriptive stereotypes, EVT suggests that when individuals view others who have violated their expectations, the individual will likely then make a cognitive appraisal of that other individual. However, the violation of prescriptive stereotypes may go further – instead of merely prompting an individual to cognitively appraise a behavior, the violation of a prescriptive stereotype may increase the likelihood that the cognitive evaluation is negative.

Delving into the specific nature of stereotypes, we can divide stereotypes into two main categories: descriptive and prescriptive. Descriptive stereotypes state what people *are* like, while prescriptive stereotypes refer to what people *ought* to be like (Gill, 2004). While there exists a healthy body of research on prescriptive stereotypes and gender (e.g., Gill, 2004; Heilman, 2001), there are only two published investigations into prescriptive stereotypes and age (North & Fiske, 2013a,b). Further, there have been no investigations into prescriptive age stereotypes within the context of the workplace. This proposed study is necessary because age discrimination in the workplace is becoming more frequent (EEOC, 2014) and with more older workers staying in the workplace longer (Wang, Olson, & Schultz, 2012), the amount of age discrimination is likely to increase. As workers aged 40 and older are protected under discrimination laws, a larger

number of older workers in the workplace is likely to result in more age discrimination claims being filed. In addition, with more young and older workers interacting, there is the possibility of faultlines forming between the age groups (e.g., van Knippenberg, Dawson, West, & Homan, 2011). Faultlines are generally described as symbolic lines that divide groups and they are thought to be the result of individuals aligning themselves with other like individuals within a group, forming subgroups (Bezrukova, Jehn, Zanutto, & Thatcher, 2009). Thus, simply having older and younger workers in the workplace at the same time does not ensure that they will have positive interactions with one another.

Therefore, the purposes of this thesis are to investigate whether following age behavioral expectations or violating them can lead to negative or positive views of the worker. In addition, while North and Fiske (2013a) only examined targets who either adhered to or violated age prescriptive stereotypes entirely; my study examines how a target in a mixed condition – wherein targets behave both stereotypically and non-stereotypically, is perceived by others. Further, some researchers have recommended that older workers not conform to stereotypical expectations and to act like themselves in the workplace (e.g., Finkelstein & Farrell, 2007); this study is a step toward determining whether that is the best course of action.

The remainder of the literature review that follows critically summarizes the literature regarding ageism, discrimination in the workplace, everyday biases, and stereotypes. Within the stereotypes chapter, both descriptive and prescriptive stereotypes are discussed. This review concludes with a summary of the contemporary literature as well as a critique and a presentation of a research question and specific hypotheses for the current study.

CHAPTER 2

AGEISM

Workplace Discrimination

When Jan, a 51-year-old marketing executive got laid off from her job, she was upset, but not angry. Confident she could find another job, Jan applied at several different marketing firms and when they all turned her down she began applying for retail positions. When she was told she would not fit in with the relatively young staff, she began to wonder how many other people have experienced ageism discrimination like her. “My daughter felt embarrassed that I couldn’t find a job, and I’ve had to explain to her why she shouldn’t be. I had to explain to her that I was not ashamed, that I was mad. I had done everything I was supposed to do. I had gone to college, then to grad school. I worked very hard and I had a lot of success. Then I got thrown away” (Alternet, 2013). Unfortunately, Jan’s story is not uncommon – one study reported that nearly 40% of workers over the age of 65 have experienced age discrimination in the workplace (Ripponn, Kneale, de Oliveira, Demakakos, & Steptoe, 2014). In 2013, an AARP study reported that nearly two-thirds of workers aged 45-74 reported either having experienced or seen age discrimination in the workplace; 92 percent of those individuals reported age discrimination in the workplace to be common (AARP, 2013).

Many researchers have examined the impact of age on workplace discrimination. A recent meta-analysis by Bal, Reiss, Rudolph, and Baltes (2011) illustrated that there are both positive and negative perceptions of older workers. While age may have a significant negative impact on advancement, selection, evaluation, and interpersonal skills, age is also positively

associated with perceived reliability. Another meta-analysis by Kite, Stockdale, Whitley, and Johnson (2005) investigated attitudes toward older and younger adults. They found that across five categories – negative stereotypes, attractiveness, competence, behavioral intention, and evaluation – attitudes were more negative toward older workers than toward younger workers. In 2005, Lahey polled employers across the United States on why they would be hesitant to hire older individuals. Their top ten answers were that older workers have a shorter career potential; lack energy; their health, life insurance, and pensions cost more; they have higher salary expectations; they have more health risks which may lead to more absences; they lack knowledge and skills; they block the career paths of younger workers; their age sparks suspicion during the interview process about why they left their previous job; and ironically, that the employer fears a discrimination suit. Clearly, it seems as though older workers have the odds stacked against them.

During the hiring process, older workers may have trouble getting their foot through the door. Multiple studies have illustrated that resumes, completely identical except for the age of the applicant, produce very different outcomes – with the older applicant receiving less desirable feedback from employers than younger applicants (Bendick, Brown, & Wall, 1999; Bendick, Jackson, & Romero, 1996). Older out-of-work individuals also search longer for jobs than others – those aged 45 and older spend an average of 22 weeks looking for a new job, while workers under 45 spend only 16 weeks (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2009). Further, a recent meta-analysis by Wanberg, Kanfer, Hamann, and Zhang (2015) found that age was significantly negatively correlated to reemployment status, re-employment speed, and number of job offers. Further, they found that an older individual has only 58% of the odds to find a job, compared to younger individuals.

Even after older workers have received a job offer, they still must combat age discrimination in the workplace. Rupp, Vodanovich, and Credé (2005) illustrated that older workers received more negative performance evaluations than did younger workers. In addition, even when information is introduced to counteract negative descriptive age stereotypes, workers can still be discriminated against. For instance, Rosen and Jerdee (1976) illustrated that even when older workers were described as being in good health, they were more likely than others to be denied a job transfer to a new position that required strenuous physical activity. Further, older workers are less likely than younger workers to receive training for new job tasks (Dedrick & Dobbins, 1991). Maurer (2001) suggested that low perceived self-efficacy of older workers may play a part in lower self-confidence to master new skills in the workplace, as they are often offered fewer opportunities from management than younger workers. Stereotypes that others hold can also impact older workers. In their meta-analysis, Gordon and Avery (2004) found that older workers are seen as more stable and reliable than younger workers but also as less flexible and more resistant to change.

Interpersonal Discrimination

While we often think of age discrimination in relation to large, sweeping acts of discrimination, such as hiring and training decisions as described previously, researchers have also begun to examine how ageist attitudes and biases can lead to other types of workplace issues, as demonstrated by simple interactions and recent research on workplace incivility.

Age biases can emerge in even the most mundane and seemingly benign interactions with older individuals. For instance, when speaking with older individuals, some people use baby talk or over accommodate their speech – by speaking unnecessarily loudly and simply (Giles, Fox, Hardwood, & Williams, 1994). This type of speech may stem from stereotypes of older

individuals, such as them having poor hearing and lower intellect (Kite & Wagner, 2002).

Thus, individuals may hold certain stereotypes about older individuals, that can drastically affect how older individuals are treated in everyday interactions.

Another area of research that has addressed everyday age discrimination is workplace incivility. Workplace incivility is defined as “low-intensity deviant behavior with ambiguous intent to harm a target, in violation of workplace norms for mutual respect. Uncivil behaviors are characteristically rude and discourteous, displaying a lack of regard for others” (Andersson & Pearson, 1999, p. 457). Workplace incivility is detrimental because those encountering incivility often report more job-related stress and dissatisfaction; targets of workplace incivility also have higher turnover rates than others (Cortina et al., 2002). In 2008, Cortina proposed a theory of selective incivility, whereby individuals still hold biases towards others but may not display overt discrimination. Specific to age, Cortina and colleagues (2013) hypothesized that age would be positively associated with experiences of workplace incivility. While they did not find support for their hypothesis, their samples did suffer from a restricted age range and was limited to two specific workplaces. Thus, the possibility remains that older individuals face bias in the workplace beyond the large, sweeping decisions.

As covered in this chapter, older workers can face discrimination due to their age in both traditional aspects like hiring and firing decisions, but also interpersonally. In the next chapter, I review literature that uncovers some of the reasons why these types of discrimination occur. Fiske (2004) argues biases may arise as required by different needs in different individuals. Specific to age, Snyder and Miene (1994) argued that age bias serves three functional motives: cognitive economy, ego protection, and social belonging. Cuddy and Fiske (2002) found that

older workers are automatically categorized as warm but not competent. We now turn to examine the role of stereotypes in relation to age bias in more detail.

CHAPTER 3

STEREOTYPES

Defining “stereotype” is a difficult task – while there are varying definitions available in the literature, there do exist some unifying themes. Most definitions center on the idea that stereotypes act as knowledge structures that elicit mental images of groups of people (Lippmann, 1922). Nelson stated, “Stereotypes represent the traits that we view as characteristic of social groups, or of individual members of those groups, and particularly those that differentiate groups from each other” (2009, p. 2).

Proposed by Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002), the stereotype content model denotes competence and warmth as the basic dimensions for understanding stereotypes. Within this model, groups are categorized based on their levels of warmth and competence – groups can be high or low on both, or a mixture of the two. Older individuals are usually stereotyped as high on warmth but low on competence. Specific to the workplace, Krings, Sczensy, and Kluge (2010) found that older workers were perceived as more warm but less competent than their younger counterparts. In addition, in relation to employee selection, they found that age discrimination against older workers emerged even when the job required warm qualities in a candidate.

Descriptive and Prescriptive Stereotypes

Descriptive stereotypes are what people typically think of when they are asked to name stereotype. Descriptive stereotypes tell us what people *are* like. An example of a descriptive stereotype would be that women are gentle (Gill, 2004). There are countless descriptive stereotypes about older individuals. For instance, many people believe that older individuals are

incompetent (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) or slow, unproductive, and frail (Roscigno, Mong, Byron, & Tester, 2007); these descriptive stereotypes are pervasive and difficult to break (Weiss & Maurer, 2004). In addition, some of the negative stereotypes we associate with older individuals can directly impact how they are viewed within the workplace setting (Rosen & Jerdee, 1976; Taylor & Walker, 1998). However, the majority of negative stereotypes of older workers are not supported by research (Ng & Feldman, 2008; Ng & Feldman, 2012). While there exist many negative stereotypes of older individuals, there are also positive stereotypes – such as high warmth and experience (Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2013; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002).

Prescriptive stereotypes are a slightly different breed. Instead of descriptively telling us what things *are*, prescriptive stereotypes instead tell us what and how things *should* be, for instance, the idea that women *should* be gentle (Gill, 2004). Prescriptive stereotypes deserve more attention in research because Gill (2004) found that bias due to prescriptive gender stereotypes persisted even when descriptive stereotype biases did not.

Prescriptive Stereotypes and Gender

Prescriptive stereotypes have been studied most commonly in relation to gender – with researchers examining how people believe men and women ought to behave and what happens when they do not act as expected. Much of the research on prescriptive stereotypes and gender has focused on the hurdles women face in the workplace. This so-called “glass ceiling” – an impassible barrier women face at some moment in their career (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1987) – may be the mechanism preventing women from obtaining higher level management positions. While some theories explain the scarcity of women at the top level of organizations

due to a deficit of some kind (e.g., Feuer, 1988), Heilman (2001) argues that prescriptive stereotypes may be at work.

Heilman (2001) argues that descriptive gender stereotypes, such as men being agentic and women being communal (Bakan, 1966), can be treated as prescriptive stereotypes as well, as these descriptive stereotypes overlap with how people think women and men ought to act (Eagly, Mladinic, & Otto, 1991). Heilman (2001) documents that women who violate their prescriptive stereotypes – by acting like a typical male – often receive a backlash in the form of personal derogation, general dislike, and lower ratings of job competence.

Gill (2004) had participants view masculine or feminine resumes, written by men or women, and rate hireability, strength of the candidate, and proposed salary. Gill (2004) predicted that descriptive stereotyping would not lead to bias in candidate evaluation because a significant amount of individuating information was provided (see Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999) but that prescriptive stereotyping would lead to harsher evaluations. Gill (2004) found support for this hypothesis – participants gave lower evaluation ratings to prescriptive gender violating candidates than they did to prescriptive gender-adhering candidates.

In 2001, Rudman and Glick investigated how women who violate prescriptive stereotypes may be discriminated against in the hiring process, especially when women applicants were vying for feminized, over masculine or androgynous, jobs. In their study, participants viewed videotapes of men and women applying for a computer lab manager position who acted either agentic or communal. In addition, Rudman and Glick also measured how strongly participants endorsed prescriptive gender stereotypes by using the Implicit Association Task (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998). Lastly participants also completed explicit measures of prescriptive gender stereotype endorsement.

Rudman and Glick (2001) found that agentic female applicants were rated as both less likeable and less socially skilled than their male counterparts. In addition, when applicants were applying to a feminized position, agentic female applicants were rated as less hireable than men. Further, participants who showed high endorsement for implicit prescriptive gender stereotypes were harsher toward agentic female applicants than those who had lower endorsement of implicit prescriptive gender stereotypes. The results of this study were supported by a 2009 study conducted by Tyler and McCullough, who found that women who violated prescriptive gender stereotypes on a resume (by communicating in an agentic fashion), received harsher ratings by men on likeability, competence, and hireability measures. Clearly, women who violate prescriptive stereotypes face a backlash from those around them.

Why would individuals hold prescriptive stereotypes against others? Some researchers believe that holding negative views about individuals in outgroups can function as a way to protect the ego (e.g., Snyder & Meine, 1994). Snyder and Meine (1994) theorized that when an individual views an outgroup member (for instance, a younger person viewing an older individual) in a negative light, he or she psychologically distances oneself from the offending individual, allowing one to deny the inevitability of old age. In accordance to this view on age stereotyping, terror management theory (TMT; Greenberg, Pyszynski, & Solomon, 1986) asserts that the prospect of death scares us, so we will try to avoid thinking about it. Nelson (2005) supported the use of TMT in relation to age biases, arguing that older individuals serve as reminders of what younger individuals will inevitably become. One way in which younger individuals can distance themselves from older individuals and deny the reality that age is an inclusive group is to blame older individuals for their old age. Other researchers have argued that holding age biases can help to preserve basic ingroup/outgroup boundaries, maintain self- and

group-level esteem, and assert autonomy (Bytheway, 1995; Greenberg et al., 2004; Hagestad & Uhlenberg, 2005; Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Prescriptive Stereotypes and Age

While prescriptive stereotypes and gender have received attention in the field, until recently there had been no investigations into prescriptive stereotypes and age. Examining prescriptive stereotypes and age while keeping literature regarding prescriptive stereotypes and gender in mind is important as parallels between the two can be drawn. For instance, while studies have largely implicated young people as the main endorsers of prescriptive age stereotypes, men have also been implicated in holding onto prescriptive gender stereotypes more so than women (e.g., Rudman & Glick, 2001). Thus, it seems as though individuals in the majority of a certain group (i.e., men and younger individuals in the workplace) place a higher emphasis of importance on minority individuals in their respective group's adherence to prescriptive stereotypes.

In the first investigation of prescriptive stereotypes applied to ageism, North and Fiske (2013a) examined how the violation of or adherence to three types of prescriptive ageist stereotypes (succession, consumption, and identity) can color how we perceive individuals. This proposed thesis is a replication and extension of North and Fiske (2013b), so their study is described in detail next.

In their study, North and Fiske (2013a) chose to examine how raters responded to both middle-aged and older targets (aged 44 and 74, respectively). It is important to consider middle-aged and older people separately, as past research has found that not all ages are held in equal regard. In fact, several studies have illustrated that middle-aged workers are often viewed more positively than both their younger and older counterparts (Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2013;

Gerbner, 1998; Szafran, 2002). They chose to investigate three prescriptive age stereotypes: succession, consumption, and identity.

Succession refers to the idea that older individuals need to make way for the next generation. Since many older workers are delaying their retirement, younger workers become frustrated, believing that it is their time to move on to the next level. Consumption refers to the idea that older individuals may be consuming more shared resources than they ought to; for instance, many young people have expressed resentment over Medicare and Social Security not protecting them for their future. Identity refers to more symbolic and cultural assets associated with age. Studies have shown that when older individuals try to act young, they suffer a backlash from the young (Schoemann & Branscombe, 2010). Succession, consumption, and identity are all types of prescriptive ageist stereotypes that concern utilization of resources.

North and Fiske (2013a) expected that older individuals who violated prescriptive age stereotypes would be punished while those who adhered to prescriptive age stereotypes would be rewarded. In addition, they also expected that rater age would significantly predict the extent of the punishment/reward, with younger raters more likely to punish older, violating targets than would older raters. To test this, they created three vignettes and examined the impacts across six experiments. For succession, the target was described as comfortable financially wise but either stingy or generous. Consumption was represented by a target who was ill and either chose to stubbornly go through with a procedure or decided against going through with it. Lastly, identity was examined by whether the target liked oldies or pop music (with older individuals who enjoy pop music being an example of violating, and older individuals enjoying oldies music being adhering). See Appendix A for these original vignettes.

In studies one through three, participants were presented with one of the three vignettes (succession, identity, or consumption) in which the age of the target (young, middle-aged, or old) and the behavior (violating or adhering to the respective prescriptive stereotype) were manipulated. Participants were asked to rate perceived warmth and competence of the target. Studies four through six used a similar setup, but participants were now under the impression that they were going to be interacting with the target online (with age and behavior still being manipulated). In addition to rating perceived warmth and competence, participants were also asked to rate their expectations and enthusiasm for the (presumed) upcoming interaction with the target.

North and Fiske (2013a) found that younger raters punished the succession-violating (stingy) target on ratings of perceived capability more so than the succession-adhering target; the older a rater was, the more forgiving they were. In addition, rater age also significantly predicted perceptions of warmth, with younger raters disliking the succession-violating target more than older raters.

For consumption, younger raters punished the consumption-violating (stubborn) target on ratings of capability compared to the consumption-adhering target (understanding). Older raters were more lenient. Young raters viewed the older, consumption-violating target as the least capable, while the consumption-adhering target was rated as the most capable. Like capability, rater age also significantly predicted warmth ratings of the targets in the consumption vignette. Younger raters viewed the consumption-violating target as less warm than the consumption-adhering target.

For identity, younger targets were (marginally) more likely to perceive the identity-violating target as less capable than the identity-adhering target. In addition, younger raters

found the identity-violating target to be less warm than the identity-adhering target; older raters were more forgiving.

In studies four through six, participants were asked to rate interaction expectations as well and ratings of capability and warmth on the same succession, consumption, and identity vignettes. Results from studies one through three were largely replicated, with younger raters finding violating targets less capable and less warm than adhering targets. In terms of expectations for future interaction with the target, younger raters had the lowest ratings for violating targets versus adhering targets. In addition, in terms of desire to interact with targets, younger raters were more likely to want to interact with adhering, over violating, targets.

Overall, North and Fiske (2013a) found that younger raters were the main punishers of older individuals violating prescriptive stereotypes, whereas older raters were often more forgiving. While descriptive stereotypes of older individuals are often endorsed by people of all ages, prescriptive ageist stereotypes seem particularly important to younger individuals. Thus, from this single examination, it is clear that individuals of different ages interpret the same behavior very differently.

In a second investigation of ageism and prescriptive stereotypes, North and Fiske (2013a) created a new ageism scale that measured beliefs on succession, consumption, and identity prescriptive stereotypes.

North and Fiske (2013b) began the scale development by asking 427 participants the open-ended question, “What are things older people should or shouldn’t do?” This resulted in 41 preliminary items. Using exploratory factor analysis, three overall factors emerged: succession, consumption, and identity. Their final scale, the Succession, Identity, Consumption (SIC)

Ageism Scale, contains 20 items and is measured on a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). See Appendix K for this scale.

To examine the validity of their scale, North and Fiske (2013b) collected participants' ratings on the SIC, measures of prejudice, social control orientation, political ideology, and another ageism scale. They expected the SIC to be highly correlated with the other ageism scale, moderately correlated with the other prejudice scale, slightly correlated with the social control measures, and uncorrelated with the political ideology measure. Their results supported these expected correlations.

In order to examine the predictive validity of the SIC, participants were randomly assigned to one of six between-subject conditions wherein the target either adhered to or violated a succession, identity, or consumption prescriptive stereotype. Participants were asked to rate their target on both warmth and capability. In addition to completing the SIC, participants also completed the Fraboni Scale of Ageism (FSA; Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990). Violators were viewed as less warm than adherers, but no differences for competence emerged. Scores on the SIC did marginally predicted perceive warmth, competence, and desire to interact with the target, but the FSA did not significantly predict these relationships.

North and Fiske (2013a, b) demonstrated that prescriptive age stereotypes are an important area that deserves further study. In essence, they found that the young are the primary perpetrators of age-based *shoulds* – with younger raters more likely to punish older, violating targets than other raters. North and Fiske suggest that future research should examine cross-cultural differences, anti-young ageism, and positive prescriptive age stereotypes.

It should be noted that additional research on prescriptive stereotypes in general is needed. In 1991, Fiske and colleagues stated, “Few attempts have been made to systematically

explore [the] larger phenomenon of prescriptive stereotyping” (p. 1056). Further research on prescriptive stereotyping was described by Gill (2004, p. 631) as “sorely needed.” Truxillo, Finkelstein, Pytlovany, and Jenkins (in press) have also recommended that prescriptive age stereotypes be studied in the workplace. Further investigation into age prescriptive stereotypes was also strongly encouraged by Finkelstein (2015).

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

Summary and Critique of the Literature

As I have presented, ageism is a serious topic that has not received as much research attention as either sexism or racism. In addition, while prescriptive stereotypes have been studied at length in relation to gender, few studies exist that have examined age prescriptive stereotypes. Further, many researchers have issued a call for researchers to examine prescriptive stereotypes in depth (e.g., Fiske et al., 1991; Gill, 2004; Truxillo et al., in press).

Currently, no researchers have investigated the impact of age prescriptive stereotypes on individuals within the context of the workplace. My proposed study highlights the importance of studying prescriptive age stereotypes within the workplace setting – research that is in need not only because people are staying in the workplace longer (Wang et al., 2012) but also because older workers are perceiving an increasing amount of age discrimination in the workplace (AARP, 2013). Further, negative descriptive age stereotypes often associated with older individuals – such as their inability to cope with change, incompetence with technology, and lacking creativity – can have direct adverse impacts on how people are viewed within the workplace (Rosen & Jerdee, 1976; Taylor & Walker, 1998).

In addition, the two studies by North and Fiske (2013a, b) that have examined age prescriptive stereotypes have only looked at the backlash individuals who violate age prescriptive stereotypes receive and not whether or not violating age prescriptive stereotypes can

thwart other negative descriptive stereotypes. Finkelstein and Farrell (2007) suggested that older workers not give in to acting their age – as doing so might perpetuate stereotypes about them. However, work by North and Fiske (2013a, b) seems to suggest that not acting your age comes with its own set of negatives. Thus, my study examined whether there are any potential positive outcomes that emerge as a result of *not* acting your age. This research is important because it will help answer the question of whether people truly have the freedom to act their age or not act their age.

Moreover, North and Fiske only manipulated targets to either violate or adhere to a single age prescriptive stereotype – music preference in the case of identity. In my study, I investigated more than a single prescriptive identity age stereotype and include a mixed condition. It is important to include more than one prescriptive age identity stereotype to not only make the manipulation stronger but also to ensure that participants are thinking about the target's general behavior, not just music preference. A mixed condition, wherein targets act both in accordance and against prescriptive age identity stereotypes is also needed, as few individuals fall completely into one side of adherence or violation. Importantly, to my knowledge, no studies on prescriptive stereotypes have investigated perceptions of targets who perform a mixture of both adhering behaviors and violation behaviors.

Further, my study serves as a replication of North and Fiske (2013a) by using the same dependent variables as they did. I also extended their work by not only including new condition and vignettes but new dependent variables as well. A liking, trust, and respect measure, adapted from both Dunn and Schweitzer (2005) and Cerrentano and Finkelstein (2009), was also included. It is important to examine how adherence to or the violation of prescriptive age identity stereotypes can affect these measures, particularly following Gill's (2004, p. 629) suggestion that

likeability is involved in prescriptive stereotypes – “Prescriptive stereotyping [is] the tendency to like/accept an individual group member who meets one’s group-based behavioral norms and to dislike/reject an individual group member who does not.” Further, trust seems tied to our emotions – Dunn and Schweitzer (2005) demonstrated that positive emotions toward another were associated with high levels of trust while negative emotions were associated with lower levels of trust. Thus, emotion and trust seem to be intertwined. In addition, as described above in the Interpersonal Discrimination subsection of the Discrimination chapter, the manner in which we interact with our colleagues throughout the day is important. We hope that our coworkers like us. Just as important as others liking us is how we feel about those we work with – especially if we feel a particular disdain for certain individuals. Along the lines of liking, respect among colleagues is also vital – hostile work environments breed discontentment among workers (Einarsen, Raknes, & Matthiesen, 1994). Finally, trust among colleagues is also vital in order for a workplace to operate smoothly.

Research Question and Hypotheses

Thus, my research question is as follows: Do individuals who adhere to or violate prescriptive age identity stereotypes face a backlash in the workplace? Stemming from this research question are the following eight hypotheses.

H₁: Violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes will be rated as less warm and competent than their adhering counterparts.

North and Fiske (2013a) demonstrated that violating targets were punished by raters more so than adhering targets. Thus, I make the same prediction here.

H₂: Violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes will be given lower ratings on likeability, respect, and trustworthiness than those in the adhere condition.

As North and Fiske (2013a) found that raters were less likely to expect positive interactions with violating targets than adhering targets, I proposed that targets who violate prescriptive age identity stereotypes will be given lower ratings of likeability, respect, and trustworthiness than adherers of prescriptive age identity stereotypes. Likability is closely tied to an affective appraisal of an individual, thus, raters are likely to give lower ratings to those who violate prescriptive age identity stereotypes than those who adhere. The same logic follows for both respect and trust – those who behave as we expect them to can expect higher ratings on these variables than those who surprise us by not acting as they should.

H₃: Violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes will be given higher ratings of capability with technology than adherers.

Because older individuals are often negatively stereotyped as being incapable with technology (Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2013; Rosen & Jerdee, 1976; Taylor & Walker, 1998), I suspect that when older individuals do not “act their age” by violating prescriptive age identity stereotypes, they are viewed as more competent with technology than adherers of prescriptive age identity stereotypes.

H₄: Violators of prescriptive identity age stereotypes will be given higher ratings of flexibility than adherers.

Similar to older individuals being stereotyped as incompetent with technology, older individuals are also often stereotyped as inflexible (Gordon & Arvey, 2004). In the same vein, I expected that violators of prescriptive identity age stereotypes would be given higher ratings of flexibility than adherers.

H₅: Violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes will be given lower ratings of costliness than those in the adhere condition.

In addition to being stereotyped as incompetent with technology and inflexible, older individuals are also often thought of as more costly than younger individuals (Lahey, 2005). Similar to our previous predictions, I believe that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given lower ratings of costliness (as they would often be rated high), compared to adherers of prescriptive age identity stereotypes.

H₆: Violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes will be given lower ratings of stability than those in the adhere condition.

One of the positive descriptive stereotypes associated with older individuals is that they are stable (Gibson, Zerbe, & Franken, 1993; Posthuma & Campion, 2009). Similar to the previous three hypotheses concerning negative descriptive stereotypes, I predicted that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given lower ratings of stability compared to adherers of prescriptive age identity stereotypes.

H₇: Those who score higher on the SIC prescriptive ageism scale will punish violators of prescriptive age stereotypes and reward adherers of prescriptive age stereotypes more so than those who score low on the SIC prescriptive ageism scale, regardless of condition.

I expected SIC score to moderate the effect of punishment/reward following adhering, violating, or a combination of both behaviors because the SIC is designed to detect level of endorsement of prescriptive age stereotypes. Therefore, a participant who scores high on this scale is more annoyed by a older individuals not acting in accordance with their age, and thus, the participant will punish the target more harshly than a participant who receives a lower score on the SIC.

H₈: SIC score will moderate the relationship between a target's behavior and subsequent ratings given to targets. Those scoring higher on the SIC will punish violators more than those

scoring lower on the SIC. Further, target ratings will be mediated by irritation experienced by the participant.

A series of questions I posed to participants, asking them to rate the extent to which they found the target's behavior to be irritating, may act as a mediator for punishing/rewarding ratings of the target. I suspect that the irritation that occurs following a prescriptive stereotype violation may be a causal factor in determining the types of ratings a target is given. As stated previously, I formally hypothesized that level of endorsement of prescriptive age stereotypes (as measured by score received on the SIC) will moderate the extremity of punishing/rewarding ratings applied to the target. Combining these two ideas, I believe that level of endorsement of prescriptive age stereotypes may moderate the mediating role of irritation felt by participants in relation to the extent to which they punish or reward targets. Thus, I also explored a possible moderated mediation model. See (Figure 1) below.

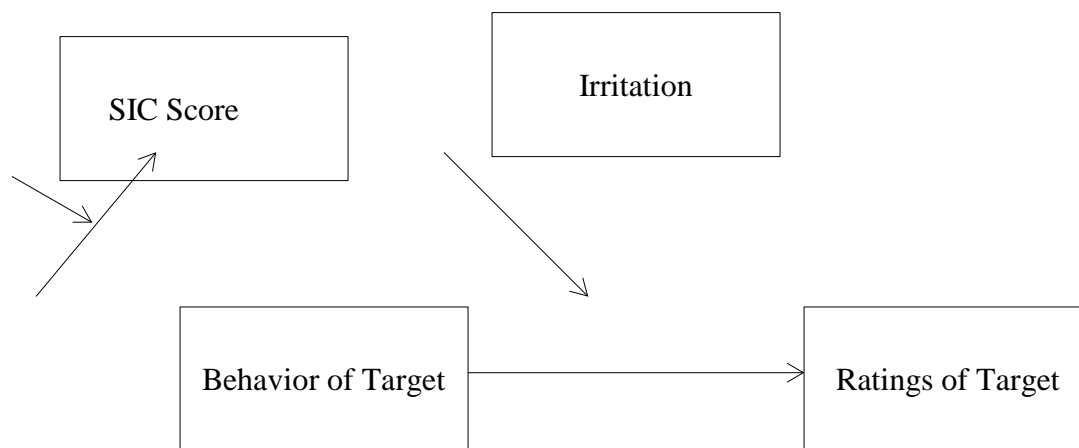


Figure 1. *Model of Moderated Mediation.*

Exploratory Analyses

In addition to the aforementioned hypotheses, a number of exploratory analyses were also conducted in this study. The exploratory analyses that follow are not formally hypothesized

largely because I proposed possible competing hypotheses or was unsure how these variables would interact with prescriptive age identity stereotypes.

Discussed previously, interpersonal discrimination - how we interact with older individuals every day in the workplace – is another instance during which age biases may occur. Thus, I also explored how behavioral interactions are affected by prescriptive age stereotypes. Specifically, I examined whether raters have positive or negative expectations of a potential interaction with the target or whether they wish to interact with the target at all.

In addition to behavioral interactions, I also explored how prescriptive age stereotypes would affect a target's perceived level of engagement in organizational citizenship behaviors. Organizational citizenship behaviors are generally regarded as extra-role behaviors that workers perform without receiving a formal reward (Organ, 1988). While expectations for the performance of organizational citizenship behaviors has been previously studied in relation to gender (Farrell & Finkelstein, 2007), with women being expected to perform them more often than men, so far no studies have examined the expectation that organizational citizenship behaviors be performed in relation to age.

The differences between the 44-year-old and a 62-year-old target was also explored. North and Fiske (2013b) found that older, violating targets were perceived by young raters as less capable and less warm than their adhering counterparts. In addition, violating middle-aged targets were also perceived by young raters as less capable and less warm than adhering middle-aged targets, but to a less extreme degree than older targets. The same pattern of results was also seen in their examination of behavioral interactions with the targets – with violators being punished over adherers, particularly for the older (over middle-aged) targets. However, findings from Finkelstein, Ryan, and King (2013) suggest that middle-aged people are seen as being at

the height of their competence. In addition, Finkelstein, Ryan, and King (2013) suggest that middle-aged workers, over older workers, may be in more direct competition with younger workers over jobs. Further, I believe that young people may have different impressions of middle-aged and older workers that may emerge through everyday conversation. For instance, older individuals are often spoken to in “baby talk,” which is characterized by a high pitch and exaggerated intonation (Caporael & Culbertson, 1986), while middle-aged individuals are not. Thus, I explored whether violating prescriptive age identity stereotypes impacts older and middle-aged targets differently.

Lastly I explored how the introduction of a mixed condition (wherein the target engages in both adhering and violating prescriptive age identity stereotype behaviors) affects perceptions of the target. To our knowledge, thus far, no study that has examined prescriptive stereotypes has included a mixed condition. I examined two competing ideas in regards to the mixed condition: (1) targets in the mixed condition may simply be given ratings that place them in between the adhering and violating targets, and (2) targets in the mixed condition may be seen as more individuated than other targets and actually rise above those in the adhere and violate conditions and be viewed more positively. For instance, if the first competing hypothesis were true, I would expect that targets in the mixed condition would have ratings of liking, respect, and trust that fell in between the adhering and the violating conditions – with mixed targets receiving slightly higher ratings than the violating target, but lower ratings than the adhering target. If the second competing hypothesis were true, however, I would expect the mixed target to receive even better ratings than targets in the adhere condition.

Consider the impact of a target in the mixed condition on the ratings of the three negative descriptive stereotypes (technology, flexibility, and cost). Following the second competing

hypothesis, targets in the mixed condition may actually be able to rise above prescriptive age stereotyping and receive better ratings than targets in both the violating and adhere conditions. Fiske, Lin, and Neuberg, (1999) demonstrated that if a significant amount of individuating information is present, descriptive stereotyping of an individual might stop. Thus, by performing a mix of adhering and violating prescriptive age identity stereotype behaviors, the mixed condition target may be completely individualized and garner better ratings from participants. Instead, if the first competing hypothesis were true, targets in the mixed condition would receive ratings on those three negative descriptive stereotypes that placed them in between the adhere and violate conditions.

To explore an alternative mechanism to prescriptive age stereotypes, I also examined whether participant age moderates the relationship between target behavior and target ratings. According to past research on prescriptive age stereotyping, younger participants should differ in their ratings of targets, compared to older participants. However, if no participant age moderation effects are found, this may indicate that alternative processes, like expectancy violation effects, are at play.

CHAPTER 5

METHOD

Participants

Three hundred and eighty-seven employed American participants were recruited through Amazon's Mechanical Turk. This online database provides researchers with more demographically diverse participant pools than other Internet samples, allows for participants to be recruited quickly and inexpensively, and allows the collection of reliable data (Buhrmester, Kwang, & Gosling, 2011). Paolacci, Chandler, and Ipeirotis (2010) compared participant responses to the same surveys across three different domains – in lab, online, and online through Amazon Mechanical Turk. The three different pools of participants did not vary in attention they paid to the survey or drastically differ in the types of responses they provided. Before collecting data, a G*Power analysis revealed that a sample size of 251 participants would be necessary to detect significant results at $p < .05$, assuming a medium effect size. Participants were paid \$.50 for their participation in this study, which lasted for approximately 15 minutes. Participant responses were excluded from final data analyses if they failed to complete more than 50 percent of the study.

Fourteen of these cases were deleted due to missing more than 50% of the survey. The age range of the participants varied from 19 years old to 74 years old ($M = 34.27$, $SD = 11.45$). The majority of the sample was Caucasian ($n = 293$), although the sample also included Hispanics/Latinos ($n = 15$), Blacks/African Americans ($n = 21$), Native American/American

Indian (n = 3), and Asian/Pacific Islanders (n = 20). The sample was split relatively evenly between males (n = 181) and females (n = 171). Lastly the majority of participants were employed at least part time (n = 316).

Materials

The overarching goal of this thesis was to assess whether acting one's age or not leads to differing perceptions of that individual within the workplace context. This was achieved by creating six new vignettes wherein targets are either middle-aged (44 years old) or older (62 years old) and targets behaved according to their age, did not act in accordance with their age, or performed both adhering and violating behaviors (the adhere, violate, and mixed conditions, respectively). Thus, this study is a two (age: middle-aged or older) by three (behavior: adhere, violate, and mix) between-subjects design. Because this thesis is an extension of work previously done by North and Fiske (2013a), the six vignettes that were used have been drawn from their original identity vignette (see Appendix A for their original vignettes). The six new vignettes introduce more than one behavior that is tied to prescriptive age identity stereotypes. Whereas North and Fiske (2013a) only used music preferences to designate prescriptive age identity stereotypes, in this study I used preferred music artists, the manner in which the target chooses to dress, the language the target uses, and the social places the target likes to frequent. In addition, while North and Fiske (2013a) only had two conditions – wherein the target either adheres to or violates prescriptive age stereotypes, this study used three conditions. These three conditions are (1) where the target either completely adheres to prescriptive age identity stereotypes, (2) where the target completely violates prescriptive age identity stereotypes, and (3) a mixed condition wherein the target performs an equal number of adhering and violating behaviors of prescriptive age identity stereotypes. Further, this study differs from North and Fiske (2013a) by placing

targets in the context of a workplace. The target of each of these vignettes stayed consistent – Max is described as a worker at a consulting firm whose boss is satisfied with his performance. The work location of a consulting firm was chosen because Goldberg, Perry, Finkelstein, and Konrad (2004) found that it was not seen as either gender- or age-typed job. See Appendix B for these six vignettes.

Pilot Testing of Vignettes

Music artists were tested for both recognizability and decade they were most popular. The six new vignettes were pilot tested on undergraduate students at a large midwestern university. This pilot test examined perceived typicality, surprisingness, and felt irritation of all six of the possible vignettes.

Further, concerns raised in my proposal surrounding possible order effects in the mixed conditions led me to construct six conditions in total wherein the order of adhering and violating behaviors was rearranged. As no previous research has examined a mixed condition in relation to prescriptive stereotype behaviors, I decided to simply have mixed Max perform an equal number of violating and adhering behaviors. I had hoped to avoid counterbalancing the violating/adhering behaviors, as the sample size needed for this design is already considerable. See Appendix N for these pilot tested vignettes.

Descriptively, both the adhering 44-year-old target ($M = 3.29$, $SD = .76$) and the adhering 62-year-old target ($M = 3.25$, $SD = .71$) were perceived as displaying more typical behavior than the violating 44-year-old target ($M = 2.18$, $SD = .87$) and the violating 62-year-old target ($M = 1.61$, $SD = .78$). Additionally, both the adhering 44-year-old target ($M = 1.14$, $SD = .38$) and the adhering 62-year-old target ($M = 1.75$, $SD = 1.16$) were perceived as displaying less surprising

behavior than the violating 44-year-old target ($M = 2.36$, $SD = .81$) and the violating 62-year-old target ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.00$).

In terms of analyzing the mixed conditions, it was unfair to select a vignette for the study based on absolute mean values as I explored competing hypotheses. In other words, it would be akin to harking if I were to select vignettes based on their absolute mean values as this decision would have to be made on a theoretical backing (for which we have conflicting ideas).

Thus, I decided to compare vignettes within each condition and made relative decisions. The third mixed vignette repeatedly came up as different from the first and second mixed conditions. For instance, when participants were asked to rate 62-year-old Max on his overall perceived stability, the average mean for those in the first mixed condition was 7.2, those in the second mixed condition 7.4, and 6.25 for the third mixed condition. Overall, when looking at the consistencies among the mixed conditions, the first and second are roughly equally consistent (with the second condition slightly more often being consistent than the first). Only the third mixed condition jumped out as showing red flags in terms of its lack of consistency with the other conditions. While there was evidence of order effects, I am unsure what is driving these differences. Overall, the second mixed condition is the most consistent. However, the first mixed condition is also reasonably consistent. In addition, choosing the first mixed condition would mirror what participants see in the adhere and violate vignettes.

Dependent Measures

Vignette Reactions (Appendix C). Immediately following the presentation of one of the six vignettes, participants were asked to rate how surprising the target's behavior was, on a scale from 1 (*not at all surprising*) to 4 (*very surprising*). In addition, participants were asked to rate how typical the target's behavior was for his age, on a scale from 1 (*not at all typical*) to 4 (*very*

typical). Lastly participants were asked to rate how irritating they found the target's behavior, using four items (irritated, aggravated, annoyed, and bothered). All items were measured on a 6-point scale (where 1 = *not at all* and 6 = *very much so*). A composite irritation score were computed by averaging across those four items. This scale was adapted from Madden, Allen, and Twible (1988). As to not bias participants, four positive items (happy, peaceful, pleasant, and cheerful) were also be mixed into the irritating items. The irritation scale achieved high internal reliability in this investigation ($\alpha = .96$).

Warmth and Competence (Appendix D). Warmth and competence were measured on an adapted scale from Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002). For both these measures, participants were asked to rate the extent to which they would consider their target to represent a number of attributes. Warmth is measured with five attributes (sincere, warm, good-natured, benevolent, and amicable), all on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) scale. Competence is also measured with five attributes (capable, efficient, competent, intelligent, and skilled) on a 1 (*not at all*) to 5 (*very much*) scale. Both warmth and competence scores are calculated by averaging their five respective attributes into a single composite score. Fiske and colleagues (2002) demonstrated across nine samples that warmth and competence accounted for variability in stereotype content for 25 targeted groups. In this study, the warmth scale had high internal validity ($\alpha = .90$) as did the competence scale ($\alpha = .95$).

Behavioral Interactions (Appendix E). To test whether participants would prefer to interact with the target, they were asked, "Imagine you are going out to lunch and can only invite a limited number of people. Would you invite Max?" Participants have two choices – either "Yes" or "No." To examine behavioral interaction expectations, participants were asked to imagine that Max is their new co-worker and that they are working together on a consulting

project. Participants were then asked to rate how much rapport they anticipated having with Max, how useful they thought Max would be on the consulting project, and how well they thought they would work with Max. These three behavioral interaction expectancy measures were all rated on a 5-point scale (where 1 = *very below average* and 5 = *very above average*). Both the behavioral interaction preference and the behavioral interaction expectancy measures were adapted from North and Fiske (2013a).

Technology Descriptive Stereotype (Appendix F). Every participant, regardless of condition they were randomly assigned to, was presented with the following short vignette: “Max has a report he needs to print and appears to be struggling to connect his laptop to the printer.” After viewing this brief vignette, participants were asked to rate how surprising Max’s struggle with technology is, rated on a scale from 1 (*not at all surprising*) to 4 (*very surprising*). Participants were then be asked to rate how likely they would be to help Max connect his laptop, on a 7-point scale from 1 (*very unlikely*) to 7 (*very likely*). Next, participants were asked to rate how likely Max is to successfully connect his laptop on his own, on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *very unlikely* and 7 = *very likely*). Lastly participants were asked how likely Max is to need help to connect his laptop, also rated on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *very unlikely* and 7 = *very likely*).

Flexibility Descriptive Stereotype (Appendix G). Every participant, regardless of condition they were randomly assigned to, were presented with the following short vignette: “Max’s boss just informed him that they have a completely new system for which he needs to file expense reports.” Following this short vignette, participants were asked to rate how likely Max will cope well with this change, how likely he is to quickly learn the new system, and how likely it is that he will have trouble learning this new system. These three questions are rated on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *very unlikely* and 7 = *very likely*).

Cost Descriptive Stereotype (Appendix H). To assess whether the targets are viewed as costly, a single item was adapted from Finkelstein and Burke (1995). The item reads, “How likely would Max be to use employee benefits (i.e., health care, dependent care, sick leave) than the average employee at his job?” This question is rated on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *very unlikely* and 7 = *very likely*).

Stability Descriptive Stereotype (Appendix I). To test whether prescriptive age stereotypes have an impact on positive descriptive stereotypes of older individuals, participants were asked about the perceived stability of the target. To assess stability, an adapted scale from Gibson, Zerbe, and Franken (1993) was used. Participants were shown seven statements and asked to rate how characteristic the statement is to the target, measured on a 9-point scale (where 1 = *not at all characteristic* and 9 = *very characteristic*). An example item from this scale is, “Can be counted on in a crisis.” In their study, the stability scale reached a Cronbach’s alpha of .90. Gibson, Zerbe, and Franken (1993) compiled these attributes from previous studies on positive and negative stereotypes of older workers (e.g., Rosen & Jerdee, 1976; Singer, 1986; Yankelovich, Shelly, & White, 1985). The stability scale achieved high internal reliability in this investigation ($\alpha = .94$).

Liking, Respect, and Trust (Appendix J). Adapted from Dunn and Schweitzer (2005), participants were also be asked to rate the targets on liking and trust scales. The liking scale contains three items and is rated on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *disagree strongly* and 7 = *agree strongly*). An example item from this scale is, “I would like Max very much as a person.” The trust scale contains ten items and is rated on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *disagree strongly* and 7 = *agree strongly*). An example item from the trust scale is, “I would expect Max to tell me the truth if I asked him for feedback on an idea related to my job.” In their study, Dunn and Schweitzer

(2005) achieved a Cronbach's alpha of .86. The respect scale is adapted from Cerrentano and Finkelstein (2009). The respect scale contains five items and is rated on a 7-point scale (where 1 = *disagree strongly* and 7 = *agree strongly*). An example item from the respect scale is, "Max's opinion would matter to me." Cerrentano and Finkelstein (2009) achieved a Cronbach's alpha of .94 in their study for the respect scale. In this study, all three of these scales achieved high internal consistency (liking: $\alpha = .93$, respect: $\alpha = .92$, trust: $\alpha = .94$).

Organizational Citizenship Behaviors (Appendix K). To assess the target's perceived engagement in organizational citizenship behaviors (OCB), an adapted version of Spector, Bauer, and Fox's (2010) 10-item OCB scale were used. These ten items are rated on a scale from 1 (*never*) to 5 (*every day*). For each of the items, participants were asked how often they think Max will perform each of the behaviors. An example item from this scale is, "Work weekends or other days off to complete a project or task." Spector, Bauer, and Fox (2010) found this shortened version of their OCB scale to have adequate reliability, with a Cronbach's alpha of .80. In this investigation, the OCB scale achieved high internal consistency ($\alpha = .93$).

Endorsement of Identity Prescriptive Age Stereotypes (Appendix L). The Identity subscale of the Succession Identity Consumption (SIC) scale, originally developed by North and Fiske (2013b) were used in order to measure the level of endorsement of prescriptive age identity stereotypes. The SIC contains three subscales: Succession, Identity, and Consumption. The Succession subscale contains eight items, an example item from this scale is, "It is unfair that older people get to vote on issues that will impact younger people much more." The Identity subscale contains five items, an example from this scale is, "Older people shouldn't even try to act cool." The Consumption subscale contains seven items, an example from this scale is, "Older people shouldn't be so miserly with their money if their younger relatives need it." All of the

items on the SIC are measured on a 6-point scale, where 1 = *strongly disagree* and 6 = *strongly agree*. Items on the scale are averaged to give an overall score of prescriptive stereotype endorsement. North and Fiske (2013b) found that the SIC prescriptive ageism scale had strong reliability (.91) as well as strong divergent and convergent validity. In addition, they found that the SIC significantly predicted ratings of warmth and competence for violating targets. In this investigation, the SIC scale also achieved high internal consistency ($\alpha = .93$).

Demographics (Appendix M). Lastly participants were asked a series of demographic questions, including gender, age, race/ethnicity, marital status, employment status, and occupation.

Procedure

A brief description of the study was posted online to Amazon Mechanical Turk. Those interested were then sent a link that redirected them to a Qualtrics survey. Participants were of all age ranges. After completing an informed consent form and granting their permission to be involved in the study, participants viewed a general instructions tab wherein they were told that they would be presented with a short description of an individual and then asked to rate them on several different characteristics. They were asked to answer questions honestly and to pay attention to the details of the individual, as they would be tested on them later on.

Participants were then randomly assigned to view one of six character vignettes: (1) Max is a 44-year-old man who adheres to prescriptive age stereotypes (middle, adhere), (2) Max is a 44-year-old man who violates prescriptive age stereotypes (middle, violate), (3) Max is a 44-year-old man who sometimes adheres and sometimes violates prescriptive age stereotypes (middle, mixed), (4) Max is a 62-year-old man who adheres to prescriptive age stereotypes (older, adhere), (5) Max is a 62-year-old man who violates prescriptive age stereotypes (older,

violate), or (6) Max is a 62-year-old man who sometimes adheres and sometimes violates prescriptive age stereotypes (older, mixed). The manipulation of whether Max adheres to, violates, or performs a mix of both adhering and violating prescriptive age stereotypes was presented to the participants in the description of Max and was not directly told to them.

Immediately following reading the brief character vignette, participants were asked to rate how typical they found Max's behavior to be, how surprised they were by his behavior, and how irritated they were by his behavior.

Next, participants were asked to rate Max on perceived warmth and competence. Participants were then asked to rate their behavioral interaction preference – indicated by whether they would invite Max to a social event or not. Participants then rated Max in regards to behavioral interaction expectancies – how they thought they would work with Max on a consulting project.

Participants viewed a brief vignette which describes Max as appearing to struggle to connect his laptop to a printer; they then rated Max on several dimensions, including how surprising they find Max's struggle to be, how likely they would be to help Max, how successful Max would be to connect his laptop, and whether they thought Max would need help to successfully connect his laptop.

Following the technology vignette, participants viewed another short vignette that addressed the inflexibility stereotype – describing how Max is being forced to learn a completely new system for filing expense reports. Participants were asked how likely they think Max can adapt to this change, how quickly he is likely to learn the new system, and how likely it is that he will have trouble adapting to the new system.

After viewing the flexibility vignette and answering the associated questions, participants were asked to rate how costly they find Max to be in comparison to his other co-workers. They then rated Max on the extent to which they like, respect, and trust him. Participants then rated Max on how frequently they believe he will engage in organizational citizenship behaviors.

Concluding the survey, participants were asked to respond to a prescriptive ageism measure, the Succession, Identity, and Consumption prescriptive age stereotypes scale by North and Fiske (2013b). Lastly participants answered five manipulation check questions and basic demographic information. They were debriefed and thanked for their time.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

All scales used had appropriate internal consistencies (i.e., $>.85$). In addition, the correlation between participant age and prescriptive ageism (measured by the SIC) was $-.27$, significant at the $p < .01$ level. Thus, younger participants were more likely to hold prescriptive ageist beliefs than older participants. Further, all dependent variables were normally distributed, with no evidence for skewness or kurtosis. See Table 1 below for means, standard deviations, alpha levels, and intercorrelations among the variables used in the study.

Hypothesis Test Results

My first hypothesis predicted that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be rated as less warm and less competent than their adhering counterparts. Hypothesis one was supported. According to a one-way ANOVA, participants in the adhere condition did significantly differ from those in the violate condition. Participants in the adhere condition ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .89$) rated Max as significantly higher in average warmth, compared to those in the violate condition ($M = 3.10$, $SD = .87$), $F(1, 238) = 33.364$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. Additionally, those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.94$, $SD = .85$) rated Max higher in average perceived competence, compared to those in the violate condition ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .97$), $F(1, 238) = 32.71$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. See Table 2 for a summary of these results.

Table 1
Correlations, Reliabilities, Means, and Standard Deviations

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	
1. Innovation	.96																						
2. Warmth	-.42†	.90																					
3. Comp	-.49†	.70†	.95																				
4. BIP	-.59†	-.45†	-.50†																				
5. BIE1	-.44†	.53†	.53†	-.54†																			
6. BIE2	-.40†	.49†	.64†	-.44†	.61†																		
7. BIE3	-.44†	.52†	.59†	-.50†	.62†	.77†																	
8. SurpI	-.06	.18†	.23†	-.14†	.20†	.21†	.19†																
9. I.ap1	-.33†	.37†	.45†	-.26†	.29†	.35†	.39†	.14†															
10. I.ap2	-.22†	.27†	.35†	-.31†	.19*	.30†	.29†	.25†	.33†														
11. I.ap3	.02	.11*	.11*	-.02	.12†	.13*	.15†	-.21†	.28†	-.10													
12. Flex1	-.26†	.31†	.39†	-.28†	.31†	.37†	.36†	.25†	.23†	.46†	-.15†												
13. Flex2	-.27†	.27†	.36†	-.28†	.29†	.35†	.30†	.26†	.17†	.48†	-.19†	.78†											
14. Flex3	.13*	-.10	-.12*	.10	-.05	-.08	-.04	-.24†	-.04	-.21†	.36†	-.41†	-.50†										
15. Cust	-.03	.04	.04	-.06	.06	.08	.04	-.08	.01	.00	.16†	-.01	-.02	.15†									
16. Stability	-.59†	.62†	.77†	-.52†	.50†	.61†	.60†	.11*	.47†	.32†	.12*	.43†	.41†	-.09	.06	.94							
17. Like	-.61†	.60†	.62†	-.66†	.66†	.59†	.66†	.14†	.40†	.34†	.11*	.43†	.41†	-.08	.11*	.71†	.93						
18. Respect	-.62†	.58†	.72†	-.57†	.60†	.67†	.65†	.10	.38†	.32†	.06	.41†	.39†	-.10	.09	.79†	.80†	.92					
19. Trust	-.54†	.59†	.71†	-.49†	.50†	.56†	.59†	.07	.51†	.30†	.19†	.36†	.32†	-.07	.04	.82†	.69†	.77†	.94				
20. OCB	-.31†	.40†	.47†	-.34†	.34†	.42†	.43†	.07	.28†	.24†	.07	.33†	.27†	-.09	.00	.56†	.47†	.53†	.56†	.93			
21. Agr	-.10	.11*	.19†	-.03	-.01	.07	.04	.17†	.16†	.16†	-.08	.21†	.22†	-.20†	-.08	.13*	.01	.01	.14†	.08			
22. SIC	.30†	-.27†	-.29†	.19†	-.13*	-.19†	-.25†	-.12*	-.42†	-.25†	.05	-.27†	-.22†	.28†	.06	-.31†	-.24†	-.29†	-.35†	-.19†	-.27†	.93	
M	2.32	3.42	3.61	1.34	3.17	3.44	3.44	2.23	5.95	4.91	5.31	4.41	4.27	4.42	4.84	6.62	4.61	4.65	5.10	3.15	34.27		
SD	1.47	.89	.92	.47	.83	.85	.88	.87	1.14	1.27	1.14	1.40	1.41	1.29	1.21	1.43	1.37	1.24	1.08	.86	11.45		

Note: The above analyses were conducted on a sample size of $n = 349 - 367$.

BIP refers to behavioral interaction preference. BIE refers to behavioral interaction expectancies. SurpI refers to ratings of surprise in progress of competence with technology. Lap1-3 refers to reactions to the technology vignette. Flex1-3 refer to ratings of perceived flexibility. SIC refers to scores on a prescriptive agents measure.

*Correlations are significant at the $p < .05$ level.

†Correlations are significant at the $p < .01$ level.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Between Condition for Warmth and Competence

Condition	n	df	F	η^2	p
Warmth	240	1, 238	33.36	0.12	< .001
Competence	240	1, 238	32.72	0.12	< .001

My second hypothesis predicted that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given lower ratings on likeability, respect, and trustworthiness than those in the adhere condition. Hypothesis two was also supported. Results from a one-way ANOVA revealed that participants in the adhere condition ($M = 5.19$, $SD = .97$) liked Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 1.57$), $F(1, 238) = 44.52$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$. Participants in the adhere condition ($M = 5.33$, $SD = .90$) respected Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.07$, $SD = 1.37$), $F(1, 237) = 72.82$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$. Participants in the adhere condition ($M = 5.58$, $SD = .88$) trusted Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.69$, $SD = 1.07$), $F(1, 238) = 49.09$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .17$. See Table 3 below for a summary of these results.

Table 3

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Between Condition for Liking, Respect, and Trust

Condition	n	df	F	η^2	p
Liking	240	1, 238	44.52	0.16	< .001
Respect	239	1, 237	72.82	0.24	< .001
Trust	240	1, 238	49.1	0.17	< .001

My third hypothesis predicted that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given higher ratings of capability with technology than adherers. Hypothesis three was not supported. A one-way ANOVA revealed that there was not a significant difference between the conditions in regard to their surprise with Max's struggle with technology, $F(1, 238) = .386, p = .535$, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 2.14, SD = .81$) not differing significantly from those in the violate condition ($M = 2.21, SD = .91$). There was a significant difference between participants' willingness to help Max, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 6.11, SD = 1.01$) being more willing to help Max than those in the violate condition ($M = 5.71, SD = 1.30$), $F(1, 238) = 6.94, p = .009, \eta^2 = .02$, however, this significant result was in the opposite direction from what was predicted. Likewise, there was also a significant difference in how likely participants thought Max would be able to successfully connect his laptop, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 4.99, SD = 1.21$) perceiving Max as more capable than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.41$), $F(1, 238) = 3.92, p = .049, \eta^2 = .01$. Finally, there was not a significant difference between participant ratings of how likely they thought it was that Max needed help to connect the printer, $F(1, 238) = .003, p = .95$.

My fourth hypothesis predicted that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given lower ratings of flexibility than adherers. Hypothesis four was not supported. There was no significant group differences for perception that Max would cope well with change, $F(1, 238) = 3.46, p = .06$. There was, however, a significant difference for ratings of difficulty Max would have learning the new system, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 4.39, SD = 1.32$) perceiving Max to be able to more quickly learn the new system than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.02, SD = 1.48$), $F(1, 238) = 4.32, p = .039, \eta^2 = .02$, this effect was

in the opposite predicted direction. There were no significant group differences for ratings of likely trouble Max would have learning the new system, $F(1, 238) = .11, p = .74$.

Hypothesis five predicted that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given lower ratings of costliness than adherers. Hypothesis five was not supported. There were no significant group differences in ratings of perceived costliness, $F(1, 238) = .11, p = .74$.

Hypothesis six postulated that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes would be given lower ratings of stability than adherers. Hypothesis six was supported. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 7.33, SD = 1.16$) perceived Max to be more stable than those in the violate condition ($M = 5.93, SD = 1.43$), $F(1, 237) = 70.469, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23$. See Table 4 for a summary of these results.

Table 4

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Between Condition for Descriptive Stereotypes

Descriptive Stereotype	n	df	F	η^2	p
Surprising Technology	240	1, 238	0.39	0.002	0.54
Technology 2	240	1, 238	6.94	0.03	< .01
Technology 3	240	1, 238	3.92	0.02	< .05
Technology 4	240	1, 238	0.01	0	0.95
Flexibility 1	240	1, 238	3.46	0.01	0.06
Flexibility 2	240	1, 238	4.32	0.02	0.04
Flexibility 3	240	1, 238	0.11	0	0.74
Cost	240	1, 238	0.11	0	0.74
Stability	239	1, 237	70.47	0.23	< .001

Hypothesis seven predicted that a participant's score on the SIC and participant age would moderate the extremity of their ratings of the target, with those scoring high on the SIC punishing violators more than those who scored low on the SIC and with older participants punishing targets less than younger participants. This hypothesis was tested by a three-way interaction (participant Age x Adhering/Violating conditions x SIC). Hypothesis seven was not supported. Regression analyses revealed no significant interaction terms for participants' SIC score moderating their ratings of targets. See Table 5 below for a summary of these results. This table reports interaction results across the row per outcome. Unstandardized betas are listed in the first column.

Table 5

Regression Results for Condition by SIC by Participant Age Interaction for All Dependent Variables.

Outcome	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Irritation	< .01	1.89	11.57	.06
Warmth	< .01	-.84	10.46	.40
Competence	< .01	-.69	12.44	.49
BIP	< .01	.53	3.51	.60
Surprising Technology	< .001	.83	3.60	.41
Technology 1	< .001	-.47	25.51	.64
Technology 2	< .01	1.49	8.61	.14
Technology 3	< .001	-.70	3.53	.49
Flexibility 1	< .001	.36	11.78	.72

Flexibility 2	< .001	-.13	9.48	.90
Flexibility 3	< .01	1.96	12.35	.05
Cost	< .001	-.14	1.15	.52
Stability	< .001	-.10	12.69	.56
Likeability	< .01	-.19	7.70	.31
Respect	< .001	-.27	11.45	.78
Trust	< .001	-.12	16.04	.50
OCBs	< .001	-.70	5.24	.48

Note: In the interest of space, only the 3-way interaction results are reported across each row, per outcome. Unstandardized betas are listed in the first column.

Hypothesis eight explored the possibility of a model of moderated mediation through PROCESS, which tests both the conditional indirect effect of target behavior on ratings of the target through the mediator “irritation,” but also the direct effect of target behavior on ratings of the target. Further, an index for moderated mediation is also provided. Analyses for hypothesis eight were conducted by creating two dummy-coded variables, comparing the adhere condition against the mixed condition and then comparing the adhere condition against the violate condition. PROCESS model seven with 50,000 bootstraps was used to conduct the analyses. As the differences between participants in the adhere condition and participants in the violate condition were what was of interest, dummy code two (which compared the adhere condition to the violate condition) was selected as the independent variable, while dummy code one (which compared the adhere condition to the mixed condition) was selected as a covariate. The mediator

was the participant's irritation score and the moderator was the participant's score on the SIC.

All outcome variables were tested. No dependent variables produced a significant confidence interval on the index of moderated mediation. Thus, hypothesis eight was not supported. See Table 6 below for a summary of these results (mediation-only model is presented later).

Table 6

Indices for Moderated Mediation Analyses

Outcome	Index	SE	LLCI	ULCI
Warmth	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Competence	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Likeability	< .01	< .01	-.01	.01
Respect	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Trust	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
OCBs	< .01	< .01	.00	.00
Surprising Technology	< .01	< .01	.00	.00
Technology 1	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Technology 2	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Technology 3	< .01	< .01	.00	.00
Flexibility 1	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Flexibility 2	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
Flexibility 3	< .01	< .01	.00	.00
Cost	< .01	< .01	.00	.00
Stability	< .01	< .01	-.01	.01

BIE1	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
BIE2	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00
BIE3	< .01	< .01	-.01	.00

Note: SE is bootstrapped SE, CI₉₅ are bootstrapped CIs.

Exploratory Results

A chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the association between behavioral interaction preference and condition. The relation between these variables was significant, $\chi^2(1, n = 369) = 37.40, p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .40$. Those in the adhere condition were more likely to invite Max out to lunch than those in the violate condition. In terms of behavioral interaction expectations, there were significant group differences across all three items. Participants in the adhere condition ($M = 3.45, SD = .68$) reported having higher levels of expected rapport with Max, compared to those in the violate condition ($M = 2.91, SD = .89$), $F(1, 238) = 28.25, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.73, SD = .72$) anticipated Max being more useful than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.15, SD = .89$), $F(1, 238) = 31.73, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Lastly those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.72, SD = .71$) anticipated working with Max better than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.19, SD = .99$), $F(1, 238) = 22.74, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.41, SD = .77$) expected Max to perform more OCBs than those in the violate condition ($M = 2.94, SD = .95$), $F(1, 238) = 18.297, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$. See Table 7 below for a summary of these results.

Table 7

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Between Condition for Exploratory Outcomes

Outcome	n	df	F	η^2	<i>p</i>
BIE1	239	1, 238	28.25	0.11	< .001
BIE2	239	1, 238	31.73	0.12	< .001
BIE3	239	1, 238	22.74	0.09	< .001
OCBs	239	1, 238	18.3	0.07	< .001

Mixed Max

What about participants in the mixed condition, where targets performed a mixture of both adhering and violating behaviors? The following ANOVA results were obtained creating an independent variable with three levels: adhere, violate, and mix. Thus, these analyses collapse across target age within each of those three conditions. Scheffe post-hoc tests were used to examine which groups were significantly different from one another.

There was a significant difference across these three groups in felt negative affect, $F(2, 364) = 45.514, p < .001, \eta^2 = .20$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 1.49, SD = .91$) felt significantly less irritation than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.10, SD = 1.61$), and those in the mixed condition ($M = 2.49, SD = 1.39$) felt significantly less irritation than those in the violate condition, but more irritation than those in the adhere condition. Scheffe post-hoc tests revealed that all three groups were significantly different from each other.

With regard to warmth, the omnibus ANOVA was significant, $F(2, 366) = 19.087, p < .001, \eta^2 = .16$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.78, SD = .89$) found Max to be significantly warmer than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.10, SD = .87$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 3.33, SD = .89$). Scheffe tests revealed that while the adhere condition was significantly different from both the violate and the mixed conditions, the mixed condition and the violate condition were not significantly different from each other. Across these three levels, there was a significant difference on perceived competence, $F(2, 366) = 17.342, p < .001, \eta^2 = .09$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.94, SD = .85$) perceived Max as more competent than those in the mixed condition ($M = 3.57, SD = .85$), and those in the violate condition ($M = 3.27, SD = .97$) perceived Max as least competent. Scheffee post-hoc tests found that all groups were significantly different from one another.

In terms of interpersonal bias, there was a significant group difference in likeability, $F(2, 366) = 23.512, p < .001, \eta^2 = .11$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 5.19, SD = .97$) liked Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.57$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 4.45, SD = 1.32$). The violate condition and the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another. There was also a significant group difference in perceived respect, $F(2, 366) = 40.468, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 5.33, SD = .90$) respected Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.07, SD = 1.37$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 4.43, SD = 1.12$). The violate condition and the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another. Further, there was also a significant group difference in perceived trustworthiness of Max, $F(2, 366) = 24.295, p < .001, \eta^2 = .12$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 5.58, SD = .88$) trusted Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.69, SD = 1.07$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 4.95, SD = 1.11$). The violate condition and

the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another. Finally, there was also a significant group difference in the amount of OCBs Max would engage in, $F(2, 366) = 11.070$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.41$, $SD = .77$) expected Max to engage in more OCBs than those in the violate condition ($M = 2.94$, $SD = .95$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 3.05$, $SD = .78$). The violate condition and the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another.

Further, a chi-square test of independence was performed to examine the association between behavioral interaction preference and these three conditions. The relation between these variables was significant, $X^2(2, n = 369) = 39.20$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .33$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 1.14$, $SD = .34$) were more likely to invite Max out to lunch than those in the violate condition ($M = 1.50$, $SD = .50$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 1.40$, $SD = .49$). The mixed condition and the violate condition were not significantly different from one another. There was also a significant difference for perceived rapport with Max, $F(2, 366) = 13.876$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .07$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.45$, $SD = .68$) predicted experiencing higher levels of rapport with Max than those in the violate condition ($M = 2.91$, $SD = .89$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 3.11$, $SD = .85$). The violate condition and the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another. When prompted to think about how useful Max would be on a project, there was also a significant group difference, $F(2, 366) = 15.811$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .08$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.73$, $SD = .72$) predicted Max to be more useful than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.15$, $SD = .89$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 3.40$, $SD = .83$). The violate condition and the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another. Further, there was a significant difference in participants' predictions of how well they would be able to work with Max, $F(2, 366) = 12.059$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .06$. Those

in the adhere condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .71$) predicted working with Max better than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = .99$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 3.36$, $SD = .87$). The violate condition and the mixed condition were not significantly different from one another.

For descriptive stereotypes, two significant effects were discovered. There was a significant difference in how likely participants would be to help Max connect the printer, $F(2, 366) = 3.723$, $p = .025$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 6.11$, $SD = 1.01$) were more likely to help Max than those in the violate condition ($M = 5.71$, $SD = 1.30$). Those in the mixed condition ($M = 5.99$, $SD = 1.09$) did not significantly differ from either group. There was also a significant group difference in perceived stability, $F(2, 364) = 35.210$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .16$. Those in the adhere condition ($M = 7.33$, $SD = 1.16$) perceived Max as more stable than those in the violate condition ($M = 5.93$, $SD = 1.43$) and those in the mixed condition ($M = 6.46$, $SD = 1.36$). All groups were significantly different from each other. See Table 8 below for a summary of these results.

Table 8

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) Including Mixed Condition for all Outcomes

Outcome	n	df	F	η^2	p
Irritation	366	2, 364	45.51	0.2	< .001
Warmth	368	2, 366	19.09	0.16	< .001
Competence	368	2, 366	17.34	0.09	< .001
Likeability	368	2, 366	23.15	0.11	< .001
Respect	368	2, 366	40.47	0.18	< .001

Trust	368	2, 366	24.3	0.12	< .001
OCBs	368	2, 366	11.07	0.06	< .001
BIE1	368	2, 366	13.88	0.07	< .001
BIE2	368	2, 366	15.81	0.08	< .001
BIE3	368	2, 366	12.06	0.06	< .001
Lap1	368	2, 366	3.72	0.02	0.03
Stability	366	2, 364	35.21	0.16	< .001

Middle-Aged Versus Older Adhering and Violating Targets

What about differences in perceptions for middle-aged and older targets? I had reason to expect that middle-aged and older targets would be viewed different from one another. A two-way ANOVA was conducted that examined the effect of target age (44 years old versus 62 years old), target behavior (adhering versus violating), and the interaction between target behavior and target age on target ratings.

For irritation, Levene's test for equality of error variances was significant, $F(3, 234) = 18.57, p < .001$. Thus, while I report the following significant findings, caution needs to be taken when interpreting significance level as the homogeneity of variances assumption was violated. For irritation, there was a main effect for target behavior, with adherers ($M = 1.49, SD = .91$) receiving lower ratings of irritation than violators ($M = 3.10, SD = 1.61$), $F(1, 234) = 98.73, p < .001, \eta^2 = .30$. There was also a main effect for target age, with 44-year-old targets ($M = 2.36, SD = 1.52$) receiving higher ratings of irritation than 62-year-old targets ($M = 2.09, SD = 1.48$), $F(1,$

234) = 6.62, $p = .02$, $\eta^2 = .02$. Further, the interaction between target behavior and target age was significant, $F(1, 234) = 4.25$, $p = .04$, $\eta^2 = .02$. See Figure 2 below for a graphical representation of this interaction.

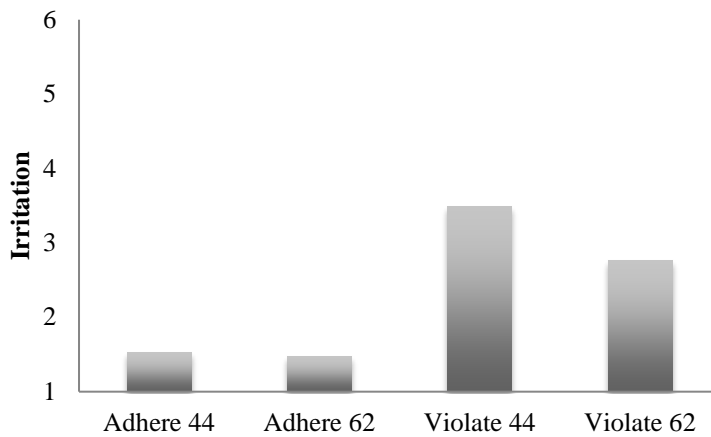


Figure 2

Interaction Between Target Behavior and Target Age for Irritation

For warmth ratings, there was a significant main effect for target behavior, with adherers ($M = 3.77$, $SD = .89$) receiving higher warmth perceptions than violators ($M = 3.10$, $SD = .87$), $F(1, 236) = 33.33$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. There was no significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = .19$, $p = .66$. There was also not a significant interaction between target age and target behavior, $F(1, 236) = .58$, $p = .45$.

For competence ratings, Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 3.12$, $p = .03$. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with violators ($M = 3.27$, $SD = .97$) scoring lower than adherers ($M = 3.94$, $SD = .85$), $F(1, 236) = 32.24$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. There was no significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = .16$, $p = .40$. There was also no significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .40$, $p = .53$.

For behavioral interaction expectancies, expected rapport with Max during the consulting project differed significantly based on group. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.45$, $SD = .68$) expecting more rapport with Max than those in the violate condition ($M = 2.91$, $SD = .89$), $F(1, 236) = 28.28$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .11$. There was no significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = .29$, $p = .59$. There was also not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .08$, $p = .77$.

For predicted usefulness of Max on the consulting project, there was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.73$, $SD = .72$) perceiving Max to be more useful than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.15$, $SD = .89$), $F(1, 236) = 31.50$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .12$. There was not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = .01$, $p = .93$. Additionally, there was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .22$, $p = .64$.

For predictions about how well participants would be able to work with Max, Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 4.64$, $p < .01$. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.72$, $SD = .71$) predicting Max to be more useful than those in the violate condition ($M = 3.19$, $SD = .99$), $F(1, 236) = 23.44$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .09$. There was not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.33$, $p = .25$. There was also not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 2.32$, $p = .13$.

Moving toward descriptive stereotypes, significant group differences were found for technology use, specifically for how surprising Max's struggle with technology was. Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 5.15$, $p < .01$. There was not a significant main effect for target

behavior, $F(1, 236) = .74, p = .40$. There was a significant main effect for target age, with participants more surprised by the 44-year-old target ($M = 2.40, SD = .90$) than the 62-year-old target ($M = 1.95, SD = .74$), $F(1, 236) = 18.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .07$. There was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .36, p = .55$.

For predicted likelihood participants would help Max connect the printer, Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 4.07, p < .01$. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 6.11, SD = 1.01$) more likely to help Max than those in the violate condition ($M = 5.71, SD = 1.30$), $F(1, 236) = 7.40, p < .01, \eta^2 = .03$. There was not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = 2.33, p = .13$. Lastly there was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.11, p = .29$.

For how likely Max was to successfully connect the printer, Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 3.07, p = .03$. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 4.99, SD = 1.21$) more likely to help Max than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.41$), $F(1, 236) = 4.16, p = .04$. There was not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.08, p = .30$. There was also not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 2.23, p = .14$.

In terms of how likely participants would be to help Max connect the printer, there was not a significant main effect for target behavior, $F(1, 236) = 4.11, p = .88$. There was also not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = 3.37, p = .07$. Lastly there was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .10, p = .76$.

Moving towards the descriptive age stereotype of flexibility (specifically, how likely participants thought Max would cope well with the change), there was not a significant main effect for target behavior, $F(1, 236) = 3.55, p = .06$. There was also not a significant main effect

for target age, $F(1, 236) = .14, p = .71$. Lastly there was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.85, p = .18$.

When rating how likely Max would quickly learn this new system, there was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 4.39, SD = 1.32$) rating Max as more likely to quickly learn the new system than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.02, SD = 1.48$), $F(1, 236) = 4.30, p = .04, \eta^2 = .02$. There was not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) < .01, p = .95$. Lastly there was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.16, p = .28$.

Lastly for flexibility, participants rated how likely Max would encounter issues when learning this new system. There was not a significant main effect for target behavior, $F(1, 236) = .05, p = .83$. There was a significant main effect for target age, with participants viewing the 62-year-old target ($M = 4.72, SD = 1.24$) as having more difficulty with the new system than the 44-year-old target ($M = 4.32, SD = 1.22$), $F(1, 236) = 6.04, p = .02, \eta^2 = .03$. There was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .03, p = .86$.

For perceived costliness of Max, there was not a significant main effect for target behavior, $F(1, 236) = .09, p = .77$. There was also not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = .41, p = .52$. Lastly there was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) < .001, p = .99$.

For perceived stability of Max, there was a significant main effect of target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 7.33, SD = 1.16$) perceiving Max as costlier than those in the violate condition ($M = 5.93, SD = 1.43$), $F(1, 236) = 71.82, p < .001, \eta^2 = .23$. There was not a significant main effect for target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.70, p = .19$. There was also not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.61, p = .21$.

Moving toward interpersonal bias, participants rated how much they liked targets.

Levene's test was significant, $F(1, 236) = 8.01, p < .001$. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 5.19, SD = .97$) liking Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.08, SD = 1.57$), $F(1, 236) = 47.62, p < .001, \eta^2 = .17$. There was also a significant main effect for target age, with participants liking the 62-year-old targets more ($M = 4.84, SD = 1.24$) than the 44-year-old targets ($M = 4.54, SD = 1.42$), $F(1, 236) = 5.57, p = .02, \eta^2 = .02$. Lastly there was a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 5.09, p = .03, \eta^2 = .02$. See Figure 3 below for a graphical representation of this interaction.

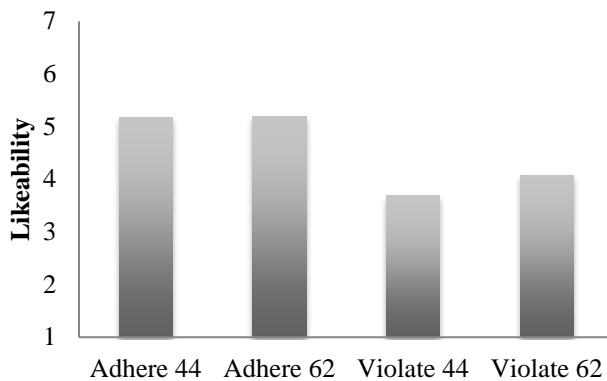


Figure 3

Interaction Between Target Behavior and Target Age for Likeability

When rating perceptions of respect, Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 6.75, p < .001$. There was a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 5.33, SD = .90$) respecting Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.07, SD = 1.37$), $F(1, 236) = 75.64, p < .001, \eta^2 = .24$. There was also a significant main effect for target age, with participants respecting the 62-year-old target ($M = 4.87, SD = 1.30$) more than the 44-

year-old target ($M = 4.66, SD = 1.29$), $F(1, 236) = 4.08, p < .05, \eta^2 = .02$. There was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 1.38, p = .24$.

For ratings of perceived trustworthiness, Levene's test was significant, $F(3, 236) = 6.00, p < .01$. There was a main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 5.58, SD = .88$) trusting Max more than those in the violate condition ($M = 4.69, SD = 1.07$), $F(1, 236) = 52.36, p < .001, \eta^2 = .18$. There was a significant main effect for target age, with participants trusting 62-year-old targets ($M = 5.31, SD = 1.15$) more than 44-year-old targets ($M = 5.05, SD = .96$), $F(1, 236) = 6.73, p = .01, \eta^2 = .03$. There was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = 2.99, p = .09$.

Expectations of OCB performance showed a significant main effect for target behavior, with those in the adhere condition ($M = 3.41, SD = .77$) expecting Max to perform more OCBs than those in the violate condition ($M = 2.94, SD = .95$), $F(1, 236) = 20.22, p < .001, \eta^2 = .08$. There was also a significant main effect for target age, with participants expecting the 62-year-old targets ($M = 3.35, SD = .88$) to perform more OCBs than 44-year-olds ($M = 3.05, SD = .87$), $F(1, 236) = 9.30, p < .01, \eta^2 = .04$. There was not a significant interaction between target behavior and target age, $F(1, 236) = .60, p = .44$.

Participant Age Moderation

To test whether participant age and condition (adhering/violating) moderated ratings of targets, I conducted interactions with regression. The majority of the results were non-significant. Further, an unexpected finding emerged. There was a significant interaction for age and condition when predicting perceived costliness of targets, $b = .03, t(3, 228) = 2.15, p = .03$. Thus, older participants perceived that violating targets would be more costly than adhering targets. There was also a significant interaction for age and condition when predicting how much

rapport participants imagined they would be able to build with the target, $b = -.02$, $t(3, 228) = -2.21$, $p = .03$. This finding indicates that younger individuals imagine less rapport with violating targets than with adhering targets. Lastly, there was also a marginally significant interaction for age and condition predictive warmth, $b = -.02$, $t(3, 228) = -1.81$, $p = .07$. This trending result indicates that younger participants perceived violating targets as less warm. See Table 9 below for a summary of these results. Only the interaction results are reported across each row, per outcome. Unstandardized betas are listed in the first column.

Table 9

Participant Age by Condition Moderation Results

Outcome	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Irritation	.01	.37	31.54	.71
Warmth	-.02	-1.81	12.89	.07
Competence	-.01	-.49	13.97	.62
BIP	.01	1.44	14.73	.15
BIE1	-.02	-2.21	10.11	.03
BIE2	-.01	-.56	9.80	.58
BIE3	.00	-.09	6.49	.93
Surprising Technology	-.02	-1.53	4.31	.13
Technology 1	-.02	-1.54	3.70	.13
Technology 2	-.01	-.31	2.21	.76
Technology 3	-.01	-.44	.83	.66
Flexibility 1	-.01	-.72	4.63	.47

Flexibility 2	.00	-.09	4.75	.93
Flexibility 3	.01	.01	5.03	.75
Cost	.03	2.15	2.00	.03
Stability	.00	.01	25.36	.99
Likeability	.00	.22	13.69	.83
Respect	.01	.69	23.55	.49
Trust	.01	.85	17.29	.40
OCBs	-.01	-.65	5.38	.52

Note: In the interest of space, only the interaction results are reported across each row, per outcome. Unstandardized betas are listed in the first column.

Mediation

Lastly although my proposed model of moderated mediation was not significant, I did discover some support for a simple mediation. As was the case with my moderated mediation model, analyses were conducted by creating two dummy-coded variables, comparing the adhere condition against the mixed condition (d1) and then comparing the adhere condition against the violate condition (d2). PROCESS model four with 50,000 bootstraps was used to conduct the analyses. As the differences between participants in the adhere condition and participants in the violate condition were what was of interest, dummy code two (which compared the adhere condition to the violate condition) was selected as the independent variable, while dummy code one (which compared the adhere condition to the mixed condition) was selected as a covariate. The mediator was the participant's irritation score and the moderator was the participant's score

on the SIC. See Figure 4 below for a graphical representation of this model. Significant findings are discussed below.

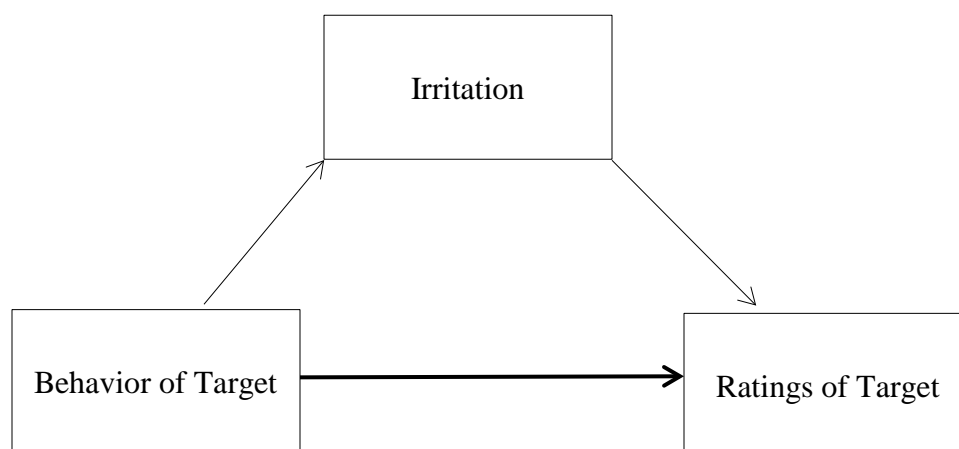


Figure 4. *Model of Mediation.*

Irritation proved to fit the role of a mediator between target behavior and target ratings. What follows is a complete explanation of one target rating (warmth). Subsequently, I focus only on the indirect effect. Target behavior did predict warmth ratings, $b = -.66$, $t(364) = -5.98$, $p < .001$. Target behavior was also a significant predictor of the mediator (irritation), $b = 1.61$, $t(364) = 9.36$, $p < .001$. Finally, target behavior and irritation both predicted warmth ratings, $b = 1.61$, $t(364) = 9.36$, $p < .001$. Irritation significantly predicted warmth, $b = 1.61$, $t(364) = 9.36$, $p < .001$. While target behavior still significantly predicted warmth, with irritation in the model, $b = -.32$, $t(363) = -2.77$, $p = .03$, the beta value did decrease from the first path. A Sobel test revealed that the C and C' paths were statistically significant from one another, $Z = -5.37$, $p < .001$. Thus, these results indicate that irritation did mediate the relationship between target behavior and warmth ratings. Likewise, irritation also partially mediated the relationship between target behavior and competence ratings.

In terms of likeability, respect, and trust, irritation was found to mediate the relationship between target behavior and these outcomes. Similar results were found for perceived engagement in OCBs. Further, irritation mediated the relationship between target behavior and imagined rapport working on a project with the target, how well participants thought they would be able to work with the target, and how useful they thought the target would be as a colleague.

Moving to descriptive stereotypes, irritation mediated the relationship between target behavior and perceptions of stability. Irritation also mediated the relationship between target behavior and how willing participants were to help Max with his laptop and whether they thought Max needed help to connect his laptop. In addition, irritation also mediated the relationship between target behavior and how well participants thought Max would cope well with change and how quickly they thought Max would be able to learn the new expense report system. See Table 10 below for a summary of these results.

Table 10

Mediation Results

Outcome	Effect	SE	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i>	LLCI	ULCI
Warmth	-.66	.11	-5.98	< .001	-.88	-.45
Direct	-.32	.12	-2.77	< .01	-.56	-.09
Indirect	-.34	.07			-.49	-.22
Competence	-.67	.12	-5.78	< .001	-.90	-.44
Direct	-.22	.12	-1.86	.06	-.45	.01
Indirect	-.45	.08			-.61	-.32

Likeability	-1.10	.17	-6.55	< .001	-1.44	-.77
Direct	-.25	.16	-1.59	.11	-.56	.06
Indirect	-.85	.14			-1.14	-.60
Respect	-1.27	.15	-8.56	< .001	-1.56	-.97
Direct	-.55	.14	-3.90	< .001	-.82	-.27
Indirect	-.72	.11			-.96	-.51
Trust	-.90	.13	-6.72	< .001	-1.16	-.63
Direct	-.32	.13	-2.44	.02	-.58	-.06
Indirect	-.57	.09			-.78	-.41
OCBs	-.48	.11	-4.39	< .001	-.69	-.26
Direct	-.24	.12	-2.03	.04	-.47	-.01
Indirect	-.24	.06			-.37	-.12
Technology 1	-.41	.15	-2.79	.01	-.70	-.12
Direct	.01	.16	.04	.96	-.30	.31
Indirect						
Technology 2	-.31	.16	-1.91	.06	-.63	.01
Direct	.01	.18	.05	.96	-.34	.36
Indirect	-.32	.10			-.53	-.15
Technology 3	.00	.15	.01	.99	-.29	.29
Direct	-.05	.17	-.28	.78	-.37	.28

Indirect	.05	.07			-.09	.19
Flexibility 1	-.31	.18	-1.69	.09	-.66	.05
Direct	.12	.20	.62	.54	-.26	.51
Indirect	-.43	.12			-.68	-.22
Flexibility 2	-.36	.18	-1.96	.05	-.72	.00
Direct	.08	.20	.40	.69	-.31	.47
Indirect	-.44	.12			-.48	-.16
Cost	-.04	.16	-.26	.79	-.35	.27
Direct	-.02	.18	-.10	.92	-.37	.33
Indirect	-.02	.08			-.18	.13
Stability	-1.42	.17	-8.26	< .001	-1.75	-1.08
Direct	-.62	.17	-3.73	< .001	-.94	-.29
Indirect	-.56	.08			-.72	-.41
BIE1	-.54	.11	-5.12	< .001	-.75	-.33
Direct	-.17	.11	-1.54	.12	-.38	.05
Indirect	-.37	.07			-.52	-.25
BIE2	-.58	.11	-5.49	< .001	-.79	-.37
Direct	-.27	.11	-2.36	.02	-.49	-.04
Indirect	-.32	.07			-.47	-.20
BIE3	-.53	.11	-4.73	< .001	-.75	-.31

Direct	-.08	.11	-.72	.47	-.30	.14
Indirect	-.45	.08			-.62	-.30

Note: Results across the outcome variable row are total effects. Indirect effects have a bootstrapped SE.

CHAPTER 7

DISCUSSION

This study marks the first investigation to my knowledge into prescriptive age stereotypes in the workplace since the seminal work of North and Fiske (2013) introduced the concept. As discussed earlier, the number of older workers in the workforce is increasing dramatically (AARP, 2009). With interactions between younger and older colleagues likely to be more frequent, it is imperative to conduct research now about issues that may arise. North and Fiske (2013b) reported that younger individuals are more likely than others to hold prescriptive ageist beliefs against older individuals. Their findings mesh well with previously proposed theoretical rationales that younger individuals actively try to distance themselves from older individuals (Nelson, 2005; Snyder & Meine, 1994). While some findings do lend support to results reported by North and Fiske, results from this current investigation do not unilaterally support their findings.

This current investigation expands on North and Fiske (2013) in several ways. In their study, middle-aged targets were grouped in with older targets in terms of preferred music group. Thus, middle-aged people did not actually get their own age group. In this investigation, I pilot tested and chose music groups that would be stereotypic of middle-aged individuals to like. Further, this investigation moved beyond presenting a single behavior that represented adherence to prescriptive age stereotypes (i.e., music preference). Further, this study investigated how information provided about whether prescriptive stereotypes translate to descriptive stereotypes,

which has not yet been examined with age. Lastly, this thesis marks the first known investigation into a mixed or hybrid condition for prescriptive stereotypes. The following discussion begins by addressing findings and implications of results regarding interpersonal discrimination, possible differences in perceptions of age, how descriptive stereotypes may emerge from prescriptive information and the mixed condition and ends with a discussion about expectancy violation theory.

Interpersonal Discrimination

Like North and Fiske (2013), I found that violators of prescriptive age stereotypes were more likely to be perceived as less warm and less competent than their adhering counterparts. Similarly, violators were also liked, respected, and trusted less than adherers. These results seem to lend support for the idea that violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes are viewed less positively than adherers are.

Further, exploratory analyses revealed that adhering Max was more likely to be invited out to lunch than violating Max. Additionally, in the context of a work project, adhering Max was also viewed as more useful and predicted having a better working relationship with the participant than violating Max. In sum, these results lend some initial support to the idea that violators of prescriptive age stereotypes are not liked as much as adherers of prescriptive age stereotypes. Clearly, these findings could have serious implications in the workplace. Targets of workplace incivility are more likely to leave organizations and feel less committed than other individuals (Cortina et al., 2002). If middle-aged and older workers feel uncomfortable around their younger colleagues, they may be prompted to leave the organization.

Differences Between Middle-Aged and Older Targets

I had reason to suspect that participants would perceive middle-aged and older targets differently. Previous research has documented that middle-aged workers are considered ideal (Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2013) and are generally perceived more positively than others (Gerbner, 1998; Szafran, 2002). However, in terms of violating prescriptive age identity stereotypes, older individuals may not be viewed as negatively as middle-aged individuals. After all, it may be cute when our grandparents listen to pop music but annoying when our parents do.

In fact, results from the two-way ANOVA between target behavior and target age on study outcomes revealed this effect. While violators were perceived as more irritating than adherers, 44 year old targets were also perceived as more irritating than 62 year old targets. This finding indicates that the prescriptive stereotyping process likely does differ for middle-aged and older individuals. Further, in general, there were more main effects for target behavior than main effects for target age, while there were several target age differences. Older targets were perceived as more likeable, respected, and trusted than their middle-aged counterparts. These results imply that older workers are generally perceived as more interpersonally positive than their younger counterparts, which meshes with previous research findings on old-age descriptive stereotypes (e.g., Fiske et al., 2002). One particular finding concerning expected performance of OCBs may imply that performing positive extra-role work behaviors is expected of older workers. However, some of the outcomes violated the homogeneity assumption, so I cannot be overly confident in relying upon the significance ($p < .05$) cutoff for helping to protect against committing Type I errors.

From Prescriptive Stereotypes to Descriptive Stereotypes

Few investigations into prescriptive stereotypes have examined their relationship to descriptive stereotypes. Gill (2004) found that providing individuating information about women deterred descriptive, but not prescriptive stereotyping. I sought to investigate whether the same would hold true for age. Specifically, I investigated whether prescriptive information provided to participants altered their endorsement of descriptive age stereotypes. Contrary to my predictions, violators of prescriptive age identity stereotypes were not rated as more capable with technology, more flexible, or less costly than their adhering counterparts. However, as predicted, adherers were perceived as more stable than violators. In sum, these results appear to lend support to the idea that violators of prescriptive age stereotypes do not gain any positive descriptive stereotypes typical of those younger than them, but they lose positive descriptive stereotypes typically associated with older individuals. These results indicate that older workers who act younger than they are are at a loss – they lose out on stereotypic older stereotypes but do not gain stereotypic younger stereotypes. Contrary to findings regarding individuating information and the reduction of descriptive stereotyping (e.g., Fiske et al., 1999) and advice often given to older workers not to adhere to old-age stereotypes (e.g., Finkelstein & Farrell, 2007), these results add to the limited existing literature suggesting that prescriptive stereotyping is much harder to turn off and that violators are not perceived as favorably as adherers.

Mixed Max

As no previous investigations into prescriptive stereotypes have examined a mixed condition, in which targets perform a mixture of both adhering and violating behaviors, I originally proposed competing hypotheses. I predicted that mixed Max would either be perceived as more individuated (and thus be rated as better than both violators and adherers) or be

perceived as better than violators but less positively than adhering (thus ending up in between adherers and violators). Neither of these predictions was supported. While some results indicate that mixed Max received ratings that put him in between adhering Max and violating Max (i.e., perceived competence and stability), more often than not, mixed Max was grouped in with violating Max. The collection of these results may indicate that performing any level of violating prescriptive age identity behaviors classifies an individual as a “violation.” While the current literature on prescriptive stereotyping is small, I believe that the majority of people both violate and adhere to prescriptive stereotypes – they behave in a mixed fashion. Clearly, this finding has real-world implications – if the majority of people do not fully adhere to prescriptive stereotypes, they are likely to be biased against by others. While more research on mixed conditions in prescriptive stereotyping is clearly needed, these results implicate that any deviation from adherence is frowned upon.

Prescriptive Stereotypes and Expectancy Violation Theory

The aforementioned findings, which focus on pitting adhering Max against violating Max, lend support to the idea that violators are punished over adherers. However, no evidence for participant age effects was found. Specifically, I failed to find support for hypothesis seven, which predicted that participant age would moderate the relationship between target behavior and target ratings. In addition, I also failed to find support for hypothesis eight, which predicted that SIC score would moderate how irritated a participant felt and thus impact the ratings they assigned to targets. An alternative explanation for these results may have more to do with the violation of expectations than prescriptive age stereotypes.

Expectancy violation theory (EVT; Burgoon & Hale, 1988) proposes that when we encounter individuals who violate our expectations, we are prompted to cognitively appraise

them. These cognitive appraisals then receive our attention and we label them as either negative or positive. I thought that prescriptive stereotypes would help to explain the process by which valence is assigned to those cognitive appraisals (i.e., violators receive negative appraisals, adherers receive positive appraisals). However, EVT on its own may not be enough to explain the groups of these results entirely. I suspect that both prescriptive age stereotypes and EVT are at work here. Specifically, it may be that when we encounter a violating individual, the EVT processes begin, but how we evaluate our cognitive appraisal may depend on previously held prescriptive age beliefs. For instance, both non-ageist and ageist individuals will both be equally likely to recognize that an older individual may not be acting her or his age. However, those individuals who endorse prescriptive ageism are likely to be harsher in their cognitive appraisal than those who do not endorse prescriptive ageism. This discussion for future research ideas in this area is extrapolated in the following section.

Further, while I did not find support for my proposed model of moderated mediation (hypothesis eight), it is imperative that we begin to investigate the process through which bias due to prescriptive stereotyping occurs. As discussed above, this process may involve both prescriptive age stereotyping and other processes like EVT. I did find some evidence for irritation as a mediator between target behavior and target ratings, but this process is likely more complex. Further, this process is also likely dependent on the age of target. This process is likely to have real-world consequences. For example, younger individuals may react very differently to a 70-year-old shopping at Forever 21 than they would to a 45-year-old target shopping there. Future research regarding this idea is discussed below.

Limitations and Future Directions

While this study improves upon previous research by North and Fiske (2013a) by including more prescriptive age behaviors, refining methods, and expanding outcome variables, it is not without its limitations. The mere conceptualization of age in the literature varies and is often debated. Thus, future studies may want to address whether 44 year old and 62 year olds are truly representative of middle-aged and older workers. In addition, this study did not address whether participants felt as though the middle-aged or older targets were a part of their ingroup. Thus, future work should examine whether participants feel as though they share an age category with targets. This study also did not include a young worker condition. While the primary investigation in this study was to explore how younger individuals (versus older individuals) felt about older targets, future research could improve upon the current design by adding a younger condition. Thus, to investigate wholly how others view those who adhere to or violate prescriptive stereotypes, studies would ideally use a range of both target and participant ages.

Along that same vein, no work currently exists on prescriptive age stereotypes targeting younger individuals. In fact, while I have referred to this thesis as an investigation of prescriptive age stereotypes, it is really an investigation of prescriptive older age stereotypes. Just as there exists different prescriptive stereotypes about men and women, young and older people are likely to have different prescriptive age stereotypes. While I suspect that younger people are freer to cross symbolic age boundaries than older people, future research should examine what are some possible prescriptive age stereotypes specific to younger individuals. Further, if no prescriptive age stereotypes exist for younger individuals, we may be able to examine EVT more directly, with younger targets simply violating expectations and not prescriptive age stereotypes.

In addition, I tested a possible process by which this age bias is occurring, proposing felt irritation as the mediator. While I did gain support for a simple mediation model, there are two major limitations with my methods. First, I could not locate a measure of felt irritation that fit the needs of this study. While the measure I created did have appropriate reliability ($\alpha = .94$), the potential psychometric issues of the scale cannot be overlooked. Second, I merely measured irritation and did not manipulate it. Thus, the mediation findings are limited in that irritation only fit the role of a mediator. To be more confident that irritation is in fact a mediator of target behavior and target ratings, future studies should manipulate irritation.

Future studies should also address concerns over whether the violating target was perceived as genuine or not. The possibility exists that encountering violating targets creates a type of cognitive dissonance in perceivers – is the violating target being truthful in his or her behavior or simply pretending? Future studies should include additional conditions wherein the genuineness of targets is made clear. For instance, participants could be told that targets have inadvertently adopted the music preferences of their children. This “genuine” condition could also discuss the target’s general propensity to be open to new experiences.

With regard to the mixed condition, this investigation marks the first known study to examine a hybrid condition where targets perform a mix of both adhering and violating prescriptive behaviors. This investigation involved simply having the target perform an equal amount of adhering behaviors and violating behaviors. While I did conduct a pilot test to examine possible order effects in the mixed condition vignette, it remains unclear whether this mixed target was actually viewed as halfway in between the adhering condition and the violating condition. Thus, future research should investigate whether varying the percentage of violating behaviors elicits similar findings.

As stated previously, this investigation did not distinguish between prescriptive age stereotypes and expectancy violations. Future studies should seek to disentangle the two. As discussed earlier on, I believe expectancy violation and prescriptive stereotypes may be at play here. While North and Fiske (2013) argue that their results are due to prescriptive ageism and make no mention of EVT, several of the findings in my investigation do not confirm their results. For instance, my age moderation analyses did not receive much support – only two significant Age by Condition interactions were found. Further, one of those significant results was in the opposite expected direction. These findings may indicate that something beyond prescriptive age stereotypes is at play. Thus, it is imperative that future studies address this issue by pitting EVT and prescriptive age stereotypes against one another. For instance, future studies could directly compare targets that violate non-age norms (EVT) to those who violate age norms (prescriptive age stereotypes) and investigate whether there are any significant differences there.

Further, while this study does make the first strides to investigate the process by which these biases may occur, future studies should consider more nuanced models. While my proposed model of moderated mediation did not gain support in this investigation, I did find support for a simple mediation model. However, the relationship between target behavior and target ratings was primarily partially mediated by felt irritation. Thus, there are likely other mediating variables that should be addressed. For instance, work by Nelson (2004) suggests that ageism may derive from a false sense of ingroup/outgroup. In other words, younger individuals may be prompted to deny the continuous nature of age and impose self-constructed age categories to symbolically distance themselves from older individuals. Thus, variables like inclusivity should be examined in this process of prescriptive ageism in the future. For instance, participants who feel as if they are middle-aged may react to a middle-aged target differently

than those who feel younger or older. Therefore, future studies should also investigate whether participants feel as if they are in the same age group as the target or not.

Additionally, this study is the first to investigate whether providing prescriptive stereotypic information regarding targets impacts how descriptive stereotypic information about targets is inferred. However, there are several limitations to the methods I employed in this study with regards to the descriptive age stereotypes. Stability and cost were the only two descriptive age stereotypes that had been empirically tested in previous literature. Further, the single-item cost question may be more apt for hiring situations, which was not the situation that was presented to participants in this investigation. Both the technology and flexibility stereotypes were assessed using original materials. Future studies should seek to refine the methods proposed in this investigation.

In addition, future researchers should examine whether the gender of the target impacts participant perception. Investigations about the intersection of age and gender at work are rare and tend to be recent. We do not know whether men and women who either adhere to or violate prescriptive age stereotypes will be viewed differently. Further, there may even be prescriptive stereotypes about younger/middle-aged/older men or younger/middle-aged/older women. Thus, additional work in this area is sorely needed.

Future studies should also consider how prescriptive age stereotypes and descriptive age stereotypes could be completely differentiated from one another. It may be the case that in this study, the two were not fully intertwined. For example, older workers are often awarded the positive descriptive stereotype that they are stable or dependable (a finding we also observed in this study). However, it could also be the case that we expect older workers to be stable and dependable. In this instance, the descriptive and prescriptive age stereotype may be confounded.

Further research is imperative to determine what are pure descriptive age stereotypes and pure prescriptive age stereotypes.

Finally, researchers should also explore possible interventions for turning off or reducing prescriptive age stereotyping. Further, as one intervention study on deterring descriptive age stereotyping (Snyder & Meine, 2011) found that different strategies were better for females versus males, future research should also consider tailoring intervention strategies in order to increase their effectiveness.

Along this vein, research should seek to examine the cognitive processes of prescriptive stereotyping. For example, what happens when we encounter individuals who violate prescriptive stereotypes? Are individuals then prompted to change their cognitive prescriptive stereotype or do they subcategorize the target? Extant literature on descriptive stereotyping and stereotype change indicates that breaking descriptive stereotypes is often difficult because counter-stereotypic individuals are often subtyped or labeled as unique exceptions to the stereotype (Weber & Crocker, 1983). Thus, encountering stereotypically inconsistent individuals does not always lead to a dismissal or modification of a stereotype. Kunda and Oleson (1995) found that when counter-stereotypic individuals were given additional neutral attributes, participants were more likely to subtype them and not alter their original stereotypes, compared to participants who encountered counter-stereotypic individuals who did not have additional traits listed. While I suspect that individuals who violate prescriptive stereotype are subject to the same process of subtyping that targets who go against descriptive stereotypes, future work should be performed to investigate this process. Overall, the research in the area of prescriptive age stereotypes is in its infancy and will require much more attention from the field.

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APPENDIX A
ORIGINAL VIGNETTES

Succession:

Herbert/John/Jason is a 71/48/24-year-old (retired) history teacher from upstate New York. Along with seeing his family on holidays, Herbert/John/Jason goes out sometimes. While at home, he often listens to his favorite radio station. He has enough insurance and savings to comfortably handle his own expenses. However, despite his younger relatives' needs, he is reluctant to lend or share his money./Thus, to help out with his younger/older relatives' needs, he is generally willing to lend or share his money.

Consumption:

Max is a/an 81/48/24-year-old from upstate New York, who used to work/works at a hardware store. He enjoys listening to his favorite radio station and going out sometimes. Recently, he was diagnosed with a grave illness. His best chance of recovery requires an extraordinary intervention, one that would consume multiple doctors' and nursing staff's time at the local hospital, raise health insurance costs for the other subscribers in his insurance pool, as well as tax his family's bank account. However, despite the inconvenience it is likely to cause, Max stubbornly wants to go through with the procedure./Because of the inconvenience it is likely to cause, Max decides it is best not to go through with the procedure.

Identity:

Max is a 74/44/24-year-old from upstate New York, who used to work/works at a hardware store. He enjoys listening to his favorite radio station and going out sometimes. When in public, he makes a point of showing an affinity for the latest pop/oldies-music—artists such as the Black Eyed Peas, Rihanna, Justin Timberlake, and Lady Gaga/Frank Sinatra, Bing Crosby, and Sammy Davis, Jr. He is often seen wearing a Black Eyed Peas/Frank Sinatra t-shirt, playing the latest pop/oldies music loudly on his headphones, and swaying his head along with the rhythm.

APPENDIX B

STUDY MATERIALS: VIGNETTES

Adhere, 44:

Max is a 44-year-old, who works at a consulting firm. Max has been employed for several years and his boss is satisfied with his performance. Like his colleagues, he enjoys listening to his favorite music at work. He particularly enjoys oldies music – artists such as Queen, Lionel Ritchie, The Police, and Paul McCartney. Max dresses his age and often uses older phrases such as “wig out” when speaking with others. When going out, he prefers quiet restaurants over loud ones.

Adhere, 62:

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Violate, 44:

Max is a 44--year-old, who works at a consulting firm. Max has been employed for several years and his boss is satisfied with his performance. Like his colleagues, he enjoys listening to his favorite music at work. He particularly enjoys pop music – artists such as Imagine Dragons,

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APPENDIX C
VIGNETTE REACTIONS

How surprising is Max's behavior for his age?

1	2	3	4
Not at all surprising	Slightly Surprising	Somewhat surprising	Very Surprising

How typical is Max's behavior for his age?

1	2	3	4
Not at all typical	Somewhat not typical	Somewhat typical	Very Typical

Thinking about Max's behavior, please rate the extent to which you found his actions to be...

1. Irritating
2. Happy
3. Aggravating
4. Peaceful
5. Annoying
6. Pleasant
7. Bothersome
8. Cheerful

1	2	3	4	5	6
Not at all	Slightly	A little	Somewhat	A lot	Very much so

APPENDIX D

WARMTH AND COMPETENCE

To what extent would you consider Max to be...	Not at all Slightly Somewhat Moderately Very Much
1. Sincere	1 2 3 4 5
2. Warm	1 2 3 4 5
3. Good-natured	1 2 3 4 5
4. Benevolent	1 2 3 4 5
5. Amicable	1 2 3 4 5

To what extent would you consider Max to be...	Not at all Slightly Somewhat Moderately Very Much
1. Capable	1 2 3 4 5
2. Efficient	1 2 3 4 5
3. Competent	1 2 3 4 5
4. Intelligent	1 2 3 4 5
5. Skilled	1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX E
BEHAVIORAL INTERACTIONS

Imagine you are going out to lunch and can only invite a limited number of people. Would you invite Max

1	2
Yes	No

Imagine Max is your new co-worker and you're working together on a consulting project.	Very Below Average Below Average Average Above Average Very Above Average
1. How much rapport do you anticipate having with Max?	1 2 3 4 5
2. How useful do you think Max were on the consulting project?	1 2 3 4 5
3. How well do you think you were able to work with Max on the consulting project?	1 2 3 4 5

APPENDIX F

TECHNOLOGY DESCRIPTIVE STEREOTYPE

Max has a report he needs to print and appears to be struggling to connect his laptop to the printer.

How surprising is Max's struggle with technology?

1	2	3	4
Not at all surprising	Somewhat not surprising	Somewhat surprising	Very Surprising

How likely would you be to help Max connect his laptop?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

How likely is Max to successfully connect his laptop on his own?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

How likely is it that Max needs help to connect his laptop?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

APPENDIX G

FLEXIBILITY DESCRIPTIVE STEREOTYPE

Max's boss just informed him that they have a completely new system for which he needs to file expense reports

How likely is it that Max will cope well with this change?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

How likely is it that Max will quickly learn the new system?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

How likely is it that max will have trouble learning this new system?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

APPENDIX H

COST DESCRIPTIVE STEREOTYPE

How likely would Max be to use employee benefits (i.e., health care, dependent care, sick leave) than the average employee at his job?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Very unlikely	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Undecided	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely

APPENDIX I

STABILITY DESCRIPTIVE STEREOTYPE

To what extent would you say the following descriptions are characteristic of Max?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Not at all characteristic	Not characteristic	Somewhat not characteristic	Slightly not characteristic	Neutral	Slightly characteristic	Somewhat characteristic	Characteristic	Very characteristic

1. Committed to quality
2. Could be counted on in a crisis
3. Emotionally stable
4. Gets along with his co-workers
5. Has good attendance
6. Loyal to his company
7. Punctual

APPENDIX J

LIKING, RESPECT, AND TRUST

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements.	Disagree Strongly Disagree Somewhat Disagree Neither Disagree nor Agree Somewhat Agree Agree Strongly
1. I would like Max very much as a person.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. Max is the kind of person I would like to have as a friend.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. Max would be a lot of fun to work with.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements.	Disagree Strongly Disagree Somewhat Disagree Neither Disagree nor Agree Somewhat Agree Agree Strongly
1. I would respect Max very much as a person.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
2. Max's opinion would matter to me.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. Other people would respect Max.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. Max would be held in high regard.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5. I would look up to Max.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Please rate how much you agree with the following statements.	Disagree Strongly Disagree Somewhat Disagree Neither Disagree nor Agree Somewhat Agree Agree Strongly
1. I would give Max an important letter to mail after he mentions he is stopping by the post office.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. If Max promised to copy a presentation for me, he would follow through.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
3. If Max and I decided to meet for coffee, I would be certain he would be there.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
4. I would expect Max to tell me the truth if I asked him for feedback on an idea related to my job.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
5. If Max were late to a meeting, I would guess there would be a good reason for the delay.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
6. Max would never intentionally misrepresent my point of view to others.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
7. I would expect Max to pay me back if I loaned him \$40.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
8. If Max laughed unexpectedly at something I did or said, I would know that he was not being unkind.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
9. If Max gave me a compliment on my haircut I would believe he meant what he said.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
10. If Max borrowed something of value and returned it broken, he would offer to pay for the repairs.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7

APPENDIX K
ORGANIZATIONAL CITIZENSHIP BEHAVIORS

How often do you think Max will perform each of the following behaviors?

	Never	Once or twice	Once or twice per month	Once or twice per week	Every day
1. Take time to advise, coach, or mentor a co-worker.	1	2	3	4	5
2. Help a co-worker learn new skills or share job knowledge.	1	2	3	4	5
3. Help new employees get oriented to the job.	1	2	3	4	5
4. Lend a compassionate ear when someone has a work problem.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Offer suggestions to improve how work is done.	1	2	3	4	5
6. Help a co-worker who has too much to do.	1	2	3	4	5
7. Volunteer for extra work assignments.	1	2	3	4	5
8. Work weekends or other days off to complete a project or task.	1	2	3	4	5
9. Volunteer to attend meetings or work on committees on own time.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Give up meal and other breaks to complete work.					

APPENDIX L

SUCCESSION IDENTITY CONSUMPTION PRESCRIPTIVE AGEISM SCALE

APPENDIX M
DEMOGRAPHICS

1. What is your gender?
 - a. Male
 - b. Female
2. What is your age?
3. What is your race/ethnicity?
 - a. White
 - b. Hispanic/Latino
 - c. Black/African-American
 - d. Native American/American Indian
 - e. Asian/Pacific Islander
 - f. Other
4. What is your marital status?
 - a. Married
 - b. Single
 - c. Separated or divorced
 - d. Cohabitated
 - e. Widowed
5. What is the number of children (under 18-years-old) that live with you?
6. Please indicate your employment
 - a. Full-time/30 hours or more a week
 - b. Part-time/less than 30 hours a week
 - c. Not employed
 - d. Retired
7. On average, how many hours do you work per week?
8. What is your occupation?
9. How long have you been at your current job?

APPENDIX N

PILOT TEST OF VINGETTES

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