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A Foundational Study to Develop an Ageism Index for ASEM Partners

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Summary

I. Background and purpose of the study

- Due to the increase in the population of older persons, their status and role have been marginalized in the process of developing industrial society and the perception of older persons has changed, resulting in ageism.
- The concept of ageism, introduced by Butler (1969), is defined as "emotional, cognitive, behavioral prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination against older persons based on age."
- Ageism, which can occur in many areas of daily living and life, negatively affects the body and mind of older persons, leads to a lack of respect and conditions like economic poverty, alienation and suicide among older persons, which can amount to violations of human rights.
- In particular, most ASEM partners are in the process of becoming ageing societies, and older persons experience serious problems caused by ageism. Therefore, it is necessary to take joint action to deal with ageism by developing an index.
- The purpose of this study is to develop a pilot questionnaire for an ageism index for ASEM partners. This study aims to examine the concept of ageism, investigate the sociocultural background of ASEM partners, and develop a pilot questionnaire for the ageism index based on a survey of expert opinion. Ultimately, it intends to contribute to setting the directions for policies to protect and promote human rights of older persons.

II. Research Results

- On the basis of survey of expert opinion, nine top topics were drawn: a need for redefining the concept of ageism, the ambiguity of the conceptual distinction of ageism, the severity of ageism in the educational field, the severity of ageism in the labor market, the need for research on self-directed ageism, the diverse causes of ageism, the importance of recognizing gender differences within ageism, variables to be noted within ageism by generation, and consideration on how to resolve ageism.
- As a result of the survey of expert opinion on the development of the index, four top topics were drawn: expansion of the targets of the ageism index survey, the need for considering various types and elements of ageism when developing the index, factors to be considered when developing questions, the limitations of this study, and directions for improvement.
- As a result of the expert survey on the characteristics and ageism of ASEM partners, six top topics were drawn: sociocultural characteristics of Europe, similarities and differences between Europe and Asia, the current state of ageism in Europe, cultural and social characteristics of Southeast Asia and the different perception of older persons in South Korea and Japan.
- Based on literature analysis and survey of expert opinion, a pilot questionnaire for ageism in ASEM partners was developed. The pilot questionnaire comprising 30 questions was developed based on the area and elements of ageism. Specifically, the pilot questionnaire was developed to cover ageism in terms of body image, family, education, labor market, medical care, welfare, and mass media, including questions on emotional, cognitive, and behavioral factors associated with positive and negative ageism.

III. Conclusion

- Suggestions from this study are as follows. First, it is necessary to expand the range of areas associated with ageism. In this study, the factors associated with ageism were classified into seven areas. Considering that ageism occurs in a wider range of everyday life and society, it is necessary to further expand the associated areas, conduct an analysis on this and apply it to the development of preliminary questions for the ageism index.
- Second, all ASEM partners had to be analyzed. In analyzing the sociocultural characteristics of ASEM partners and the current state of ageism, this study focused on 10 countries due to limitations in time, budget, and investigators. The social, political, and cultural circumstances are different in each region and country and so is ageism. It is necessary to expand the content to include all 51 ASEM partners.
- Third, research needs to be conducted in cooperation with international organizations to fulfill the purpose of the study. When investigating ASEM partners in the future, it is necessary to investigate ASEM partners in cooperation with the ASEM and related international organizations. It will be very important to use the contact points established based on the representatives of ASEM partners.
- Fourth, it is necessary to expand the scope of expert survey. There were various problems regarding expert survey; the recruitment itself was difficult, and the communication was not smooth. Therefore, for future research, it is imperative that sufficient time is taken to seek the opinions of various experts in cooperation with international organizations and academic organizations such as the ASEM and the International Association of Gerontology and Geriatrics (IAGG).

- Fifth, a full-fledged main index needs to be developed. A pilot test should be conducted to verify the reliability and validity of the questions. The continuous research will be required.
- Finally, we need to come up with solutions to overcome the limitations of index development. It is necessary to develop universally applicable questions regardless of the cultural differences between ASEM partners, analyze the differences in ageism through a survey of each ASEM partner, and to propose the appropriate measures for each culture and country to overcome ageism.

Table of Contents

Chapter 1 Introduction	01
Section 1. Background and Purpose of Study	01
Section 2. Contents and Methods of Study	05
Chapter 2 Characteristics and Ageism of ASEM Partners	08
Section 1. Ageism in ASEM Partners in Europe	09
Section 2. Ageism in ASEM Partners in Asia	18
Chapter 3 Expert Survey	28
Section 1. Expert Survey on Ageism	31
Section 2. Survey of How Cultural Differences between ASEM Partners affect Ageism	42
Section 3. Expert Survey on the Development of the Index	48
Chapter 4 Development of the Ageism Index	52
Section 1. Process of Developing a Pilot Questionnaire for the Ageism Index	52
Section 2. Pilot Questionnaire for Ageism	54
Chapter 5 Conclusion	59
Section 1. Summary of Findings	59
Section 2. Significance of Research	63
Section 3. Suggestions	65
References	67

List of Tables

<Table 3-1> Expert Survey Schedule	28
<Table 3-2> Contents of Survey	30
<Table 4-1> Pilot Questionnaire for Ageism	56

List of Figures

<Figure 4-1> Development Process of Pilot Questionnaire for Ageism	53
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Chapter 1. Introduction

Section 1. Background and Purpose of Study

1. Background

Globally, the world is undergoing rapid demographic changes. Owing to the unprecedented increase in the number of older persons, the world is entering an era of longevity. Most of the ASEM partners, as well as South Korea, are witnessing a significant increase in the number of older persons.

Unlike the agricultural society in the past, negative perceptions of older persons have been more dominant from the industrial society to the current society, which is entering the post-industrial period. Riesman (1950) argued that the difference in the social perception of older persons occurred during the transition from a traditional-directed society to an inner-directed society in the United States. In the traditional-oriented society, older persons were respected as the elders in the family or society, and held a relatively high position in society of imparting experiences and knowledge to the younger generation. However, in the transition to an inner-directed society, the wisdom of the elder generation became marginalized as the value and customs of the past were replaced by new values and norms. Moreover, the development of science replacing religion and traditional knowledge and the formation of a social atmosphere emphasizing personal achievement and efficiency also contributed the growth of negative ageism.

After the discussion on the emergence of ageism following social change raised by Riesman (1950), Butler (1969) proposed the term "ageism" for the first time, which triggered the emergence of ageism as a social issue; and studies on ageism have been conducted since then. As neoliberalism emerged as the dominant ideology around the world from 1970, conservative parties and mass media in each country described older persons as greedy. The concept of ageism, began

to spread, claiming that older persons used excessive social costs for themselves without considering future generations and triggering conflict between generations. As such, early ageism was mainly used to criticize the excessive spending on social security costs such as the pension system and medical system for older persons (Kim, 2012).

Like racism and sexism, ageism also refers to a negative and unrealistic view of a specific group, and this view can lead to discriminatory behavior against older persons in real life. In other words, ageism is a serious issue as it is not a mere prejudices of individuals about older persons, and may be expressed as concrete social and structural discrimination. To be more specific, avoidance of contact, discrimination in employment, and a fixed negative image of older persons in the mass media may lead to negative consequences for the psychological well-being of older persons such as economic poverty, alienation, and suicide of older persons, harming intergenerational solidarity. In particular, older persons, the major victims of ageism, tend to accept the reality and the structure of discrimination based on age, exacerbating the problem (Kim, 2009).

As such, the social view of older persons is mostly negative, which is also reflected in institutional systems that takes an approach to view older persons as passive, frail and weak. In general, the perspectives towards older persons rather than as right holders but as beneficiaries weakens the bond between generations and amplifies intergenerational conflicts, which in turn hinders social integration (Chung et al., 2015).

Due to the impact of urbanization, changes in family structure, and an ageing population, the area in which older persons can participate in society has decreased, and positive attitudes towards older persons has been weakened as they were recognized as dependents. Older persons are exposed to abuse, self-neglect, prejudice, and discrimination (Park, 2020). In addition, older persons suffer from various difficulties including financial difficulties, increased medical expenses due to poor health and caring problems; many of them lose their job or have difficulties finding another one regardless of their intentions. Especially,

when older persons lack the ability to make decisions or express their opinions, their human rights are at stake. Moreover, there is a concern about discrimination or hatred against older persons due to the intergenerational gap or conflicts (Won et al., 2017).

However, despite the serious violation of human rights of older persons and the spread of ageism, the international community has taken little interest in this matter. In particular, as most ASEM partners have experienced an ageing society, more attention is needed on ageism. For ASEM partners to cope jointly and more effectively with the issue of ageism, understanding the current state of ageism in individual countries based on the understanding of older persons and ageing, and a comparative analysis of the level of ageism between ASEM partners should be conducted. Therefore, it is essential to measure and compare the level of ageism in each partner through a index commonly applicable to ASEM partners. However, there are limitations in applying the existing ageism index to ASEM partners since the indexes are developed at the national level and the area of study is also limited to a specific country. Therefore, it may be necessary to develop an ageism index universally applicable to ASEM partners. Prior to developing a index, foundational research to identify the factors reflect ageism can ultimately contribute to setting the directions for the policies to protect and promote human rights of older persons by raising awareness of the inequality and dire situations that older persons face.

2. Objectives

There are four main objectives of this study.

First, this study aims to lay the foundation for the development of pilot questions for the ageism index by understanding the theoretical background in detail, such as concepts, areas of, types and factors related to ageism as well as by analyzing the existing ageist indexes.

Second, it aims to examine the similarities and differences between regions and countries by reflecting the sociocultural background of ASEM partners, and also

understand the current status of ageism in ASEM partners.

Third, it aims to raise awareness of ageism and conduct an in-depth analysis of the reality of ageism in ASEM partners.

Finally, it aims to develop the pilot questions for the ageism index based on the theoretical background of ageism.

By meeting these objectives, this study intends to provide a basis to understand the current situation of ageism in ASEM partners and to seek ways to resolve it.

Section 2. Contents and Methods of Study

1. Contents

This study consists of five chapters.

Chapter 1 describes the background and purpose of the study, and the contents and methods of the study. Although the phenomenon of ageism is intensifying, research on ageism is lacking at the level of ASEM partners. Therefore, the need for developing the index to measure the ageism of ASEM partners are discussed.

Chapter 2 describes the characteristics and ageism of ASEM partners. First, the ageism of ASEM partners in Europe is classified by region and country, and the sociocultural characteristics and current status of ageism in Europe and Asia are reviewed. The similarities and differences are examined by comparing and analyzing the two regions.

Chapter 3 summarizes the results of the expert survey. The expert survey was conducted in three parts. First, the expert survey on ageism in general covers the reality, current situation and issues of ageism from an expert perspective. This chapter intends to supplement the theoretical background and broaden the scope of understanding by describing ageism in detail from an expert perspective. Second, the expert survey on the characteristics of ASEM partners, conducted separately from the literature review, reveals the sociocultural characteristics of the ASEM partners and the current state of ageism. Third, the expert survey on the index provides the knowledge of the contents, procedures, and precautions necessary for index development.

Chapter 4 describes the development of the ageism index, presenting the process of developing a pilot questionnaire for the ageism index based on the literature review, study of the current status of ASEM partners, the expert survey and the developed pilot questionnaire.

Finally, Chapter 5 examines the analysis results and implications of each chapter and combines them to draw the limitations in the development of the pilot questionnaire for the ageism index in ASEM partners and future tasks.

2. Methods

To carry out this study, a pilot questionnaire for the ageism index has been developed based on literature review and expert survey results. The details are as follows.

1) Literature Review

The research data (index, reports, papers, statistics, etc.) were collected and analyzed. The data analysis were collected from various database platforms, and the final literature was selected after screening. Research data used in the literature search were typically extracted from Journal of the Korea Gerontological Society, Korea Labor Force Development Institute for the Aged (KORDI), Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs (KIHASA), OECD reports, European Social Survey, European Research Group on Attitudes to Age, World Report on Ageing and Health, etc.

2) Expert Survey

Prior to selecting the pilot questions for the development of the ageism index in ASEM partners, expert opinions were collected through expert surveys. The expert survey attempted to seek general information about ageism, the sociocultural background and ageism of ASEM partners, and matters that had to be noted and reflected when developing the ageism index. The subjects of the expert survey were composed of researchers in related fields such as gerontology, social welfare, welfare for older persons, index development, human rights of older persons, regional studies, and comparative cultural studies, who had extensive research experience and were conducting research at universities and research institutes. Experts were included in the survey to seek various feedbacks on ageism from a broader perspective from ASEM partners. Expert surveys were conducted as face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, video interviews, and email surveys.

The research survey questionnaire was sent to the experts prior to proceeding with the expert survey. The research survey questionnaire included the name

of the research survey project, the background and purpose of the study, the summary of the factors regarding ageism, the sociocultural characteristics of ASEM partners from the literature review, and specific key questions to collect various feedbacks of the experts in detail.

Chapter 2. Characteristics and Ageism of ASEM Partners

Ageism such as prejudice and discriminatory practices targeting older persons appear to be prevalent around the world (Butler, 1980). In modern society, while youth is equated with positive physical and psychological characteristics, there are not many positive images associated with older persons and ageing (McConatha et al., 1999). As such, negative views on older persons and ageing are prevalent in ASEM partners, but ageism takes different forms depending on the specific sociocultural factors of each country. Among the existing studies on sociocultural characteristics and ageism, there are studies that more positive attitudes are displayed toward ageing and older persons in the East than in the West (Löckenhoff et al., 2009), while some argue that elements of westernization such as individualism is challenging the traditional concepts of honoring older persons in the Eastern culture (Palmore et al., 2016). Therefore, comparative cultural research is an essential element in understanding ageism and can help explain the importance of sociocultural factors (Singelis, 2000). To be specific, as there are significant sociocultural differences between European and Asian countries, this chapter aims to summarize the unique characteristics of each region and country and the current state of ageism. To ensure that the characteristics of ASEM partners are portrayed accurately, five countries each were selected from both Europe and Asia. The countries that had already entered an ageing society or where population ageing was rapidly progressing were selected to understand the current status of ageism. The accessibility to data was also considered in selection of the countries. Finally, to keep balance between the countries in terms of their geographic location, the United Kingdom (UK), France, and Germany were selected from Western Europe, Poland was selected from Eastern Europe, and Italy was selected from Southern Europe among the ASEM partners in Europe. Among the ASEM partners in Asia, South Korea and Japan were selected from East Asia,

Australia from Oceania, and Singapore and Malaysia from Southeast Asia.

Section 1. Ageism in ASEM Partners in Europe

Population ageing is a global challenge. WHO estimates that by 2050, the world population aged 60 or older will reach 22%, and it will reach 34% in Europe (World Health Assembly, 2016). Along with population ageing, the issue of ageism is also intensifying. According to the 2009 European Social Survey, 34% of the respondents said they experienced age discrimination in 28 European countries, which was higher than that of the discrimination based on gender (24%) and race (16%). In addition, age discrimination was more likely to be experienced in subtle forms, such as lack of respect and neglect, than in explicit forms such as being treated badly, insulted, or abused by others (Abrams et al., 2011). These results mean that ageism is an important social problem affecting more than 300 million people in Europe. In particular, age discrimination in the labor market is serious in Europe. Furthermore, as many European countries have been increasing the age limit for various medical and social policies, ageism is becoming more prevalent in other areas as well (AGE Platform Europe, 2016). Accordingly, this study aims to examine the characteristics of some of the ASEM partners in Europe and the reality of ageism.

1. The United Kingdom

The UK population is ageing as life expectancy has increased by about one year every ten years due to the advances in medical technology. More than 40 years have passed since the UK entered an ageing society in 1976. Even today, the population aged 65 or older remains at about 18% of the total population. The population of older persons in the UK is expected to increase to 20% by 2026 and to 24.7% by 2046 (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Such population ageing is causing significant socioeconomic changes in the UK; the balance of political power is also changing with the rapid increase in the ageing population. According

to a 2010 general election survey, while 52% of the total population said they would participate in the vote, 69% of the population aged 55 years or older said they would participate in the vote, indicating that the ageing population tended to participate more in elections (ONS, 2017). Furthermore, to meet the service demands of older persons in various areas such as health, welfare, education, and employment, there is an increasing need to expand elderly welfare such as the pension system. When the majority of the population fell into working age population, the UK was able to bear additional social expenditures, however, that has not been the case in recent years. Currently, younger generations are burdened not only with expenses for themselves, such as college tuition and living expenses, but also social expenditures resulting from the expansion of pension and insurance systems. Likewise, older generations are increasingly burdened to reduce spending and increase savings for their retirement. To accommodate an ageing population that has increased due to demographic changes, the UK is currently undergoing a sociocultural adjustment and adaptation.

In the UK, negative stereotypes such as "older persons are incompetent" are declining with raised awareness of the contribution, ability of older persons and the positive image associated with older persons and ageing. As of 2007, spending by people aged 65 or older was estimated to be around £91 billion (ONS, 2017), and older persons were regarded as principal consumers in the consumer market with sufficient income and leisure time. However, as in other ASEM partners in Europe, the problem of ageism still occurs frequently in the fields of health care and labor markets.

As for the medical field, in the UK, older persons suffering from strokes are less likely to receive the medical services they deserve, and the age of the patient has a significant influence on the quality and type of treatment (Rudd et al., 2007). The UK National Health Service provides breast cancer screening programs only to women under the age of 65, raising the issue of age discrimination in the provision of treatment (Rudd et al., 2007). Still, in the UK, the age standard for unforeseen or undesirable death is set to under 50, implicitly implying that life after 65 is of

less value than life at a younger age (AGE Platform Europe, 2016). This stance has continued until recently, and this was evident when the UK Prime Minister suggested that older persons aged 70 or above should self-isolate for four months as a countermeasure to the “COVID-19” pandemic while all other age groups should continue living as usual (Sparrow, 2020).

The debate on age discrimination in the workplace began in the UK during the 1930s, and ageism in the labor market has been a serious problem ever since (Macnicol, 2006). In 1983, 71.5% of older men were economically active, but in 1995 the rate of economic participation fell to 62.4% (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick, 1996). On the other hand, the economic participation of older women has been increasing from 38.7% in 1990 to 42.6% in 2000 (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick, 1996). Despite the improved presence of older women in the UK labor market, early retirement was common to both older men and women. As the UK economy expands and shrinks, labor demand also increases and decreases. Economic participation of older persons in the UK has also changed accordingly (Walker, 1987). From 1960 to 1995, the average age for retirement in the UK decreased by four years for men and three years for women (Auer & Fortuny, 2000). During the economic downturn, older workers had to unfairly leave the labor market for the sole reason that they were older (Leppel & Clain, 1995). During the large-index restructuring in the early 1980s and 1990s, older workers became the main target of employers for dismissal. Dismissing older workers by recommending early retirement was considered a reasonable and effective restructuring plan (Taylor & Walker, 1998; Walker, 1987). As such, the UK currently has a mix of positive and negative ageism, and the issue of ageism in the medical sector and the labor market is a challenge that the UK should deal with.

2. France

In France, social and political debates related to population ageing began in the mid-1970s. Population issues continue to be a major issue in France. In 2007, the population aged 65 or older was 10.30 million accounting for 16.2% of the total

population, however, in 2016 it increased to 12.25 million accounting for 18.8% of the total population (Blanpain & Buisson, 2016). Since France has been discussing the issues regarding older persons and ageing for a long time, cultural and racial diversity is well reflected in all social classes, and the issue of ageism has been also relatively well-handled compared to other ASEM partners in Europe. Therefore, in France, terms related to age discrimination or ageism have only begun to be used recently (Caradec et al., 2009). While the United States had already begun to recognize that age was a major factor in discrimination in the 1960s, it was not considered as a discrimination factor related to discrimination in France until 1990 (Macnicol, 2006). Specifically, the number of articles on ageism in the five major daily newspapers gradually increased from four in 1998 to 45 in 2006 (Caradec et al., 2009).

In France, older persons are not socially discriminated against or neglected, but age discrimination is not entirely absent. Age-related discrimination in France occurs mainly in the labor market. Not only are older persons discriminated against, there are also many cases of discrimination against younger persons (Son, 2018). Ageism studies in France do not consider older persons as the main target of ageism, dealing with prejudice or stereotypes targeting all age groups is a distinctive characteristic of ageism in French.

There are not many studies on ageism in France so far, however, several studies on age discrimination in the labor market are being reported. France has an employment rate of 41.7% consisting of people in their 50s or above, which is a very low level among developed European countries, and companies tend to fire older workers to give younger workers a chance (Gauillier-Bougassas, 2003). Specifically, about 60% of the retirements from the companies that employed more than 500 employees in France in 2005 were due to early retirement. In addition, Marbot (2005) reported that the re-employment rate of the retired people in their 50s or above is about six times lower than those under 35. Guillemard (2003) explained that the French labor market was divided by age due to the widespread negative perception of older workers in the workplace.

In France, age and the social security system are closely related. It has been common to establish age standards in social systems in France; in 1981, employing children under the age of eight was banned and the working hours of youth under the age of 16 were restricted. While French law has been dealing with discrimination based on gender or race, there was almost no attention to age discrimination until the labor law was enacted in 2001. The labor law prohibits discrimination on the basis of origin, gender, conduct, gender identity, age, etc. Of these, age was a prohibited reason for discrimination newly introduced in 2001 (Ahn et al., 2007). However, the labor law also stipulates that differences in treatment based on age do not constitute discrimination when they are necessary as a means to achieve a legitimate purpose. Specifically, special working conditions are set to protect young and older workers, or age restrictions for hiring are set in consideration of vocational training and employment period. With increasing interest in the issue of age discrimination, there is a growing argument that it is necessary to reconsider the issue of existing social systems in France.

3. Germany

Germany is the country with the second highest level of ageing population in Europe after Italy with 21.5% of the population aged 65 or above as of 2017. As the population of older persons aged 65 or above is expected to reach 28% of the total population by 2030, Germany is experiencing a major demographic and social change in society (Bundestag, 2018). Germany was the first country to introduce universal health insurance and old-age pension system at the end of the 19th century (Cockerham, 1997), and the country has been providing comprehensive social service programs for older persons to date. The long-term care insurance system that enables older persons to cope with chronic diseases and the subsidy system for older retirees are the representative programs in Germany. However, these nationwide programs are sustainable only when the productive workforce increases. Given the population trend of Germany, it will become increasingly difficult for Germany to continue providing these services for older persons.

Germany is one of the developed countries in Europe with a sharp decline in the fertility rate (Cockerham, 1997), and the population is continuously ageing due to the decreased number of births.

In Germany, the increase in social spending on older persons has sparked intergenerational conflicts. In particular, the German mass media spreads negative images about older persons. German mass media portrays an increase in the number of older persons as an increasing social threat. In 1995, "Die Woche," a popular weekly magazine, published the headline, "War on Older Persons," and another weekly magazine "Focus" criticized the pension and long-term care insurance system under the title "How the Old Steals the Future of the Youth" (Thimm et al., 1998). These articles are not just opinions of some media outlets, but reflect the growing anxiety about the distribution of limited economic resources. The negative image of older persons spread by the mass media is likely to further promote negative stereotypes toward older persons. Therefore, there is an urgent need to change the perception of older persons in Germany.

Additionally, in Germany, it is becoming more difficult for people aged 45 or older to find new jobs (Frerichs & Naegele, 1998). Büsch et al. (2009) reported that age discrimination occurred frequently in the recruitment process in Germany. The high long-term unemployment rate of older job seekers in Germany can be attributed to the perception that older workers have poor health and lack specific skills (Bogai & Schroeder, 1994). Moreover, since the wages of older workers tend to be too high due to the step-based salary system, companies are reluctant to hire them. Furthermore, early retirement of older workers is the dominant trend in Germany. Only a handful of workers remain employed until the legal retirement age of 65. The employment rate of men aged 60 or above fell about 6% during 1984 and 1994, and the employment rate was only 33.4% in 1994 (Greiner et al., 1995). This trend was less pronounced among women of the same age, however, the employment rate of women aged 60 or older was only 12.0%. Therefore, the shift of negative perceptions toward older persons and resolution of age discrimination in the labor market are urgent goals of the German government.

4. Poland

Poland has a relatively younger population compared to other European countries, however, this gap is gradually narrowing as it is one of the Eastern European countries with a prominent ageing population. As of 2017, the population aged 65 or above accounted for 16.5% of the total population in Poland (OECD, 2014), and a study predicting changes in the older population in Poland predicted that the proportion of older persons aged 65 or above in Poland would be higher than the European average in 2050 (Wojtyniak et al., 2012). Although Poland is one of the fastest ageing European countries, there is still little interest on the issue of ageism with few studies on ageism or age discrimination compared to other European countries (Dalen, 2012; Stypińska, 2014; Turek & Perek-Białas, 2013).

Contrary to the less interest in ageism, age discrimination in Poland is a fairly common phenomenon, as in other Eastern European countries (Vidovi, 2005). In particular, age discrimination in the labor market appears to be a serious social problem. While the Polish labor market is the sixth largest in Europe and the largest in Central and Eastern Europe, the employment rate of older persons in the labor market is among the lowest among European countries. In 2014, the employment rate of women and men aged 50 to 65 in Poland was 44% and 60.3%, respectively, which was very low compared to the European average of 54.3% and 67.1%. In addition, the average retirement age in Poland is 59.5% for women and 62.2% for men, which is lower than the European average of 61.8% and 62.9% (Turek & Henkens, 2020). Another characteristic of the Polish labor market is that the skills and experience of older workers are undervalued (Perek-Białas et al., 2010). In addition to these characteristics, due to the absence of a labor market policy for older workers, the labor market participation rate of older workers continues to decrease with a rising long-term unemployment rate due to the challenges in re-entering the labor market after the unemployment period (Szukalski, 2006). According to a study conducted on Polish business owners, more than 40% of respondents had specific preferences regarding the age of their

employees and were somewhat reluctant to hire older job seekers (Górniak, 2010). In other words, being older means that it can be an obstacle to finding a job in Poland (Perek-Białas et al., 2010).

5. Italy

Italy is a European country with the highest ratio of the ageing population. In 2014, the average percentage of the population aged 65 or above in 28 European countries was 18.9%, whereas the population aged 65 or above accounted for 22% in Italy (OECD, 2014). In other words, in Italy, the impact of population ageing is more pronounced than in other European countries. After the baby boom of the 1960s and 70s, the fertility rate in Italy declined sharply, falling below 2.1 in the early 1980s and to 1.2 in 2000. The fertility rate is expected to increase slightly in the future, however, the new demographic structure caused by the ageing population is taking its toll on the Italian labor market and the society in general.

In the next 20 years, the baby boomers will reach their retirement age, and the labor market population is expected to be replaced by the younger generation.

Age discrimination in the Italian labor market is manifested in various ways. Explicit age discrimination includes excluding older workers from vocational education or including age restrictions in job advertisements. There is also implicit age discrimination, such as restructuring of companies by inducing early retirement of older workers. In particular, the low employment rate of older workers is a serious problem. The employment rate of the population aged 55 to 64 in Italy was 31.4% in 2005, about 10% lower than the European average. The situation was even worse for older women in Italy as the employment rate for older women was 20.8%, the lowest in Europe (ISTAT, 2006).

In Italy, more emphasis is placed on addressing other issues, such as the high unemployment rate of young people rather than the issue of age discrimination against older persons. In 2006, the unemployment rate of the population aged 15 to 24 was 21.6%, more than three times the total unemployment rate, and the unemployment rate was even worse at 34.3% in southern Italy (ISTAT,

2006). On the other hand, the low employment rate of older workers in Italy is mainly due to the direct transition from employment to retirement rather than unemployment. Thus, the main concern of the Italian labor market is on promoting the employment of younger people, even if it may harm the interest of older workers. For example, promoting early retirement systems is generally not considered discriminatory in Italy. Indeed, early retirement has been widely used for economic restructuring based on broad social consensus for decades.

However, there are contradictory interpretations of ageism in the labor market. According to a study, more than half of the Italian workers reported experiencing discriminatory behavior during the job search process, of which age discrimination occurred more frequently than discrimination based on gender or race at 28% (ISTAT, 2006). In particular, 72% of workers aged 45 to 54 and 63% of workers under the age of 20 experienced discrimination in the job search process. Meanwhile, according to a survey conducted by ISFOL in 2006, Italy, along with Bulgaria, was reported to be a European country with the least discrimination in the labor market (ISFOL, 2006). The major causes of discrimination were age 7.5%, political opinion 5.5%, and gender 4.9%. Age discrimination was found to be more common against temporary workers with unstable employment than workers with a stable employment. According to Paulli & Tagliabue(2002), discrimination based on age is widespread in Italy, especially in the process of hiring and training low-skilled workers. As preceding studies on ageism in Italy have reported different results, more follow-up studies are required to understand the current state of ageism in further detail.

Section 2. Ageism in ASEM Partners in Asia

In Asian countries, older persons have been respected and honored traditionally (Levy & Langer, 1994). It has been the dominant notion that ageism is not very widespread in Asian cultures that traditionally respected older persons (Nelson, 2009). Confucianism is deemed as the source of such beliefs (Nisbett & Masuda, 2003). As Asian cultures are more interdependent and holistic than European or Western cultures, there has been a tendency of maintaining relationships with older persons in contrast to Western cultures focusing on individualism (Nisbett & Masuda, 2003).

However, with the changing times, attitudes toward older persons and ageing are also changing. Urbanization has separated the young generation away from their families, resulting in loose ties with their grandparents. Public education has taken the role of older persons who used to pass down cultural knowledge and wisdom (Cuddy et al., 2005). Currently, older persons in Asia face many forms of discrimination, and negative stereotypes about older persons are also spreading in Asian societies (Cuddy et al., 2009). As Asian cultures have been influenced by the Western culture, and its capitalistic and individualistic values, the obligation to maintain a culture that respects older persons began to diminish (Williams et al., 1997). However, since ageism is manifested differently in each Asian country, this study aims to take a closer look at the characteristics of major ASEM partners in Asia and the reality of ageism.

1. South Korea

In 2020, South Korea entered an ageing society with 15% of the total population aged 65 or above, In 2025, Korea will enter a super-aged society as the population aged 65 or older is expected to reach 20%, and the older population is expected to exceed 41% in 2060 (Statistics Korea, 2020). Population ageing in South Korea is progressing faster than ever, and this phenomenon is expected to cause various and complex problems in all areas of the country and society (KORDI, 2019). As

part of the policies to the demographic cliff caused by the low fertility rate and the ageing population, South Korea is shedding new light on older workers aged 60 or above, who have not been considered to be a part of the productive labor force. However, age discrimination based on the negative perception associating older workers with low productivity still hinders the labor market activities of older persons (OECD, 2014). In other words, negative views on the job competency of older persons are widespread (Palmore, 1999). While South Korea pursued rapid economic growth in a short time, economic values were prioritized over social values. This social atmosphere has rationalized age discrimination by imagining older persons as incompetent beings who cannot work (Ji, 2017). Unlike the past, the status of older persons in South Korea has fallen a lot. The weakening of traditional Confucian ideas and the strengthening of individualism have also contributed to such changes. Changes in the status of older persons in South Korea have exacerbated age discrimination in the labor market, and have led to elder abuse and rage against policies on the ageing population, and negative stereotypes toward older persons. Specifically, negative attitudes toward older persons were identified as the main cause of age discrimination in the Korean labor market (Kim & Mo, 2011).

Most older persons in South Korea believe that the younger generations ignore and socially exclude older persons, and that they are discriminated based on their age (Kim & Mo, 2011; Kim, 2015; Woo et al., 2012). According to a study on age discrimination in South Korea, age discrimination occurs most frequently in the labor market than in other areas, and among the cases of discrimination complaints filed to the National Human Rights Commission of Korea, the complaints against age discrimination in employment account for 45.1% (Lim, 2017). To be more specific, about 58% of older persons have difficulties in finding new jobs due to age restrictions, and even if they are employed, they experience discrimination in various vocational training (Lim, 2017). Age discrimination has been rationalized by defining the population aged 60 or above as incompetent beings who could not do anything more than simple labor. About 76% of human

resources managers at businesses have responded that it is necessary to raise awareness of older persons for activating the employment of workers aged 60 or older, implying the seriousness of ageism in South Korea (Ji et al., 2015). The usual threat of restructuring and layoffs is a factor that threatens the job security of older persons in South Korea. As a result of a 2002 survey of 1,433 businesses by the Korea Labor Institute (KLI), 51.8% of the cases considered age as a criterion for layoffs, of which 30.4% targeted those aged 50 or above for layoffs. The businesses that limit the age of applicants when hiring new employees account for 49.9% (Chang, 2003). A lot of discrimination against older workers can be found even in small businesses suffering from chronic workforce shortages. About 19.4% of the businesses with 300 or more employees limit the age of applicants for the recruitment of experienced workers, whereas 28.7% of businesses with less than 30 employees limit the age of applicants (Park, 2002).

According to the statistics on age discrimination filed at the National Human Rights Commission of Korea, age discrimination against older persons in employment has visibly increased from only one case in 2001 when the Human Rights Commission was first established to 108 cases in 2007 (Kim & Mo, 2011). In South Korea, the Act on Prohibition of Age Discrimination in Employment and Aged Employment Promotion was enacted in 2008 to prohibit age discrimination in employment. This law prohibits age discrimination throughout the entire course of employment, from hiring to placement, wages, remuneration, education, training and dismissal. The enforcement of this law will contribute to the reduction in visible discrimination against older persons and increasing the employment security of older workers, however, it will be difficult to change discriminatory attitudes or perceptions concerning productivity. Employers with discriminatory perceptions may continue to be reluctant to hire older persons despite the laws prohibiting age discrimination, or age discrimination may be manifested in invisible and indirect forms (Lee, 2008). While South Korea legally guarantees employment until the retirement age of 60, only 8.1% of all workers are paid workers guaranteed to work until their age of retirement (Statistics Korea, 2016).

Persons over the age of 60 are likely to be excluded from legal protection and neglected. Since negative stereotypes and discrimination against older persons are widespread in society, there is a need for research to understand the reality of ageism and to seek countermeasures.

2. Japan

Japan is the country with the highest proportion of older persons in the world. Japan has already entered a super-aged society in 2005, with the proportion of the population aged 65 or above exceeding 20% of the total population, which has exceeded 26.7% in 2015. Based on the current trend, it is expected to reach 36% in 2040 and 40% in 2060 (La, 2017). As such, despite the intensifying phenomenon of population ageing in Japan, interest in older person and ageism is relatively insignificant. After World War II, Japan achieved the expansion of civil rights and gender equality in fields such as politics, economy, and education, but the rights of older persons were not considered important. After the establishment of the Law on Social Welfare for the Elderly and the “Day of Older Persons” in 1963, the age discrimination experienced by older persons began to be recognized as a social problem (Komatsu, 2002). In the past, the Japanese society had a mainstream culture of respecting older persons due to the Confucian tradition of honoring older persons and the recognition that the older persons had contributed to the economic growth. However, as the population ageing accelerated, the younger generation in Japan began to perceive older persons as a social burden (Komatsu, 2002). Furthermore, the nuclear family phenomenon caused by the low fertility rate further weakened the traditional idea of filial piety, aggravating the negative perceptions against older persons (Palley & Usui, 1995). The Japanese government has made efforts in response, by enacting welfare policies to protect vulnerable older persons who are not supported by their families. However, the interest in ageism was minimal in Japan until the 1990s, with almost no research conducted on ageism (Sugii, 2007).

The Japanese labor market has followed the “lifetime employment” norms that emerged in large corporations in the 1950s. These norms are based on the assumption that in return for job security and benefits, employees will be loyal to the company for a long time (Duell et al., 2010). However, the collapse of the bubble economy in the 1990s led to corporate restructuring. Since then, workers aged 40 or above have experienced difficulty finding new jobs as companies often place age restrictions when hiring new employees (Sakuraba, 2009). Japanese labor economists and trade unions began to argue that anti-age discrimination laws should be enacted to prohibit these age restrictions. In response, the Japanese government revised the Employment Measure Act in 2001 and 2007 to provide equal opportunities for all people regarding employment and hiring. Moreover, by amending the Act for Stabilization of Employment of Older Persons in 2006, the Japanese government obligated the companies to guarantee employment of workers until they became eligible for receiving public pension and to extend the retirement age to 65 by 2013 (Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, 2007).

Unlike European ASEM partners, Japanese workers used to retire at the age of 60 in general. However, Japan has undergone demographic and sociological changes over the past few decades, in response to the demand that older persons should be more active in the labor market, and the pension system was revised with increased age of eligibility in the mid-1980s. As a result, the population in their early 60s could not be financially dependent on the national pension anymore. Since the influx of young workers has decreased due to the decrease in the fertility rate, and because older persons have also become healthier than the previous generation, employment after retirement is preferred in Japan. The Japanese government is also working to provide more employment opportunities to older persons. In 2004, 90% or more companies set their retirement age at 60, of which 70% or more had a system that allowed them to continue hiring the workers who wanted to extend their employment (Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, 2004). Therefore, the labor market participation rate of older persons in

Japan is very high compared to other ASEM partners. As of 2002, the labor market participation rate of men aged 60 to 64 in Japan was 71.2%, while the participation rate of German men in the same age group was 32.0% (Japan Institute for Labour Policy and Training, 2004).

However, negative ageism is still widespread in Japan, and many older persons in Japan face various barriers regarding employment in the hiring process and in the workplace (Japan Trade Union Confederation, 2002; Japanese Ministry of Health, Labor, and Welfare, 2002). According to the Japan Trade Union Confederation(2002), more than 50% of unemployed persons over 50 reported that they could not find a job because of age restrictions in job advertisements. In addition, negative attitudes toward older persons exist not only during employment but also in the workplace. To overcome this phenomenon, the Japanese government is increasing employer support programs to meet the needs of older workers, such as flexible work arrangements and job redesign to reduce physical workload.

There are few civic movements led by older persons in Japan. The largest group of older persons is the Japan Federation of Senior Citizens' Club(JFSCC), which is composed of about 134,000 senior clubs established in each neighborhood, and plays a role in promoting the friendship of older persons and watching out for the health of neighbors (Takao, 2009). Another representative organization of older persons, the Japan NGO Council on Ageing (JANCA), is working hard to promote the social participation of older persons. Both organizations advocate the social security system and the Law on Social Welfare for the elderly, however, they do not focusing on devising measures to fight ageism. In Japanese culture, the issue of ageism tends to be less reported as people let older persons suffer pain in silence, and older persons do not regard this as abuse or discrimination (Tomita, 1999). Therefore, increased understanding and interest in ageism are required in Japan.

3. Australia

In Australia, the fertility and mortality rates began to decline in the early 1970s, and the population ageing started accelerating as the baby boomers recently entered old age (MacDonald, 2016). As of 2017, the population aged 65 or above in Australia accounted for 15% of the total population (Statista, 2017). Australia is expanding the number of older persons in the labor market to respond to the ageing population. The Australian government has implemented policies aimed at expanding the working life and increasing employment of older persons, including gradually increasing the eligibility for pension from 60 to 67 by 2023 (Department of Human Services, 2014). However, despite these measures, the number of unemployed and temporary workers among older persons is on the rise in Australia. In 2008, about 150,000 older persons were receiving unemployment benefits, however, as of 2015, about 250,000 older persons were receiving unemployment benefits (Department of Employment, 2015). It is difficult for older persons to find jobs in Australia simply because of their age. At the same time, it is one of the reasons for early retirement of many older workers (National Seniors Australia Productive Ageing Centre, 2013). Although the phenomenon of ageism is frequently observed in the Australian labor market, national studies to examine the reality of ageism in the labor market have not been conducted (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015).

According to a national survey of 3,000 older persons in Australia seeking jobs, more than 33% of all respondents reported that they experienced age discrimination in the job search process (National Seniors Australia Productive Ageing Centre, 2013). A study on age discrimination after employment reported that more than 25% of the subjects reported experiencing some form of age discrimination in the workplace, and the rate of experiencing such age discrimination was even higher among job-seekers (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015). Specifically, negative stereotypes about older workers include, "older workers do not like changes;" "older workers are forgetful;" "older workers do not like learning what to do from young people;" "older workers find it difficult

to learn new or complex things;” “older workers do not like to work long hours;” and “older workers do not like to be engaged in tasks involving new technologies” (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015). In Australia, such age discrimination is seen as a result of intensifying collective bias due to an increase in the number of young managers and workers (Australian Humanities Commission, 2015). A common political response to eradicating age discrimination is to change the negative perceptions of older workers (Loretto et al., 2000; Weller, 2007). To this end, Australia has developed a campaign to raise awareness of positive ageism and has been making efforts to form positive images associated with older persons and ageing (Australian Human Rights Commission, 2015).

4. Singapore

In Singapore, like in most developed countries, a declining fertility rate has had an adverse effect on the supply of labor in the country. Combined with this low fertility rate, since the average life expectancy in Singapore increased significantly from 64 years in 1957 to 76 in 1993 (Ministry of Health, 1993), the population aged 65 or above accounted for 14.4% of the total population in 2017 (Hwang & Choi, 2017). The proportion of older persons also increased significantly (Lim, 1988). The population aged 65 or above increased from 3.8% of the total population in 1957 to 9.1% in 1990 (Shantakumar, 1996). Despite the fact that, the population aged 65 or above is expected to increase by 2020 and the population of older persons is expected to decline from then on, older persons are expected to account for a significant portion of the total population. Even with an increase in the fertility rate, the ageing population is not expected to decrease significantly over the next 25 years. Therefore, the proportion of dependents is also expected to increase from 48% in 1990 to 81% in 2050.

With a decline in labor supply combined with an ageing population, Singapore is currently suffering from a severe labor shortage (Cunningham & Debrah, 1995; Debrah, 1994). The Singaporean government assumed that private sector

employers would voluntarily adopt policies to hire and retain older workers as the productive population declined, however, age discrimination was rampant in the labor market prior to 1993. Age discrimination was manifested in two major forms. The first form of discrimination was the early retirement for workers aged 55 years or above. Although there was no regulation on the age of retirement until 1993, 55 was regarded as the customary retirement age. The second form of discrimination was refusal to hire older workers based solely on their age. Employers were reluctant to hire older workers because of their negative perceptions concerning productivity and high wage burdens (Shanthakumar, 1994).

5. Malaysia

In Malaysia, the number of older persons has increased as the life expectancy of the people has increased due to the socio-economic development and advances in medical technology. The number of people aged 65 or older in Malaysia doubled from 1 million to 2 million during 1991 and 2010, and the population aged 65 or above is expected to increase to about 7 million by 2040 (United Nation, 2015). To cope with such an ageing population, the Malaysian government has made the expansion of welfare for older persons as one of the main goals of its national policy. The Malaysian welfare policy for older persons emphasizes five areas: health, social, mental, environmental, and economic areas to improve the overall quality of life for older persons. Among them, economic policies aimed at productive ageing of older persons are especially expanding, as employment opportunities for older persons are limited in Malaysia (Yusoff & Zulkifli, 2014). There are several systems implemented in Malaysia to address the problem that restricts most older persons from participating in the labor market due to age restrictions when looking for jobs. Such systems include the Employment Act 2010, the Mandatory Retirement Act 2012, and the Minimum Wage Order 2016.

Despite these efforts by the Malaysian government, the issue of age discrimination persists in the labor market. In Malaysia, there are positive images

of older persons such as conveyers of knowledge, however, negative images associated with older persons are also quite widespread (Black, 2016). Since the existence of negative stereotypes of older persons adversely affect their participation in the labor market, the influence of policies for older persons are also degraded. According to Yusoff & Zulkifli(2014), there are negative perceptions of older workers concerning their competency and productivity. In other words, employers avoid hiring older persons based on the belief that hiring older persons in the labor market lowers productivity at work. Therefore, despite implementing policies in favor of older persons, the society continues to provide more jobs to the youth than to older persons.

According to a study by Yip(2010), age discrimination in Malaysia has proven to diminish the opportunity for older persons to participate in the labor market. In other words, persons in their late 40s or late 50s faced difficulties when seeking employment due to age discrimination. In response, the Malaysian government selected the 1958 International Labor Organization (ILO) Conventions as a means to overcome age discrimination at the Kuala Lumpur Declaration on Ageing in 2015. In addition, according to the Equal Right Trust(2012), Malaysia has taken the lead in overcoming age discrimination since the implementation of the National Policy for Older Persons in 2011. However, despite laws and policies on equality and prohibition of age discrimination established in Malaysia, it is reported that the policies are not observed in practice yet (Ramely et al., 2016).

Chapter 3. Expert Survey

This study conducted an expert survey to prepare a pilot questionnaire for the development of an ageism index for ASEM partners. The expert survey was conducted to collect expert opinions on ageism in general, characteristics of ASEM partners, and index development. Participants of experts survey were those who have experience in conducting research in related fields and are currently conducting research in universities or research institutes. A total of 17 experts participated in the survey: seven experts on ageism in general five experts on the characteristics of ASEM partners, and five experts on index development. In principle, an expert survey was conducted face-to-face, and the research director and two research assistants attended each session for recording. When it is impossible to conduct face-to-face surveys, we used video interviews, phone calls, and written surveys.

<Table 3-1> Expert Survey Schedule

Survey Area	Contents of Survey
Ageism in general	- July 23, 2020 (Thursday) 10:30 (1 hour)
	- July 23, 2020 (Thursday) 16:00 (1 hour)
	- July 28, 2020 (Tuesday) 10:30 (1 hour)
	- July 29, 2020 (Thursday) 11:00 (1 hour)
	- August 12, 2020 (Wednesday) 09:00 (1 hour)
	- August 12, 2020 (Wednesday), written survey
	- September 23, 2020 (Wednesday), written survey
Characteristics of ASEM partners	- August 12, 2020 (Wednesday) 15:00 (1 hour)
	- August 12, 2020 (Wednesday) 16:00 (1 hour)
	- September 9, 2020 (Wednesday) 15:30 (1 hour)
	- September 22, 2020 (Tuesday), written survey
	- October 23, 2020 (Friday), written survey

Index development	- August 12, 2020 (Wednesday) 14:00 (1 hour)
	- August 23, 2020 (Sunday), written survey
	- September 11, 2020 (Friday) 17:00 (1 hour)
	- October 19, 2020 (Monday) 14:00 (1 hour)
	- October 19, 2020 (Tuesday) 16:30 (1 hour)

The questionnaire was delivered to experts prior to the expert survey in this study to ensure the expert survey proceeded smoothly. Questions on ageism in general included the definition of ageism, gender differences, ageism by generation, cultural differences, prospects for ageism in the future and ways to overcome ageism. Questions on the characteristics of ASEM partners included the commonalities and differences of ASEM partners that may appear in the social, economic, cultural, and political areas and the actual state of age discrimination by sector in ASEM partners. Questions on index development included the existing ageism indexes and their limitations, and points to be aware of when developing the pilot questionnaire. The questionnaire was configured as a semi-structured questionnaire that permitted related questions. When researchers found it necessary to conduct an in-depth discussion in the process of an expert survey, additional questions were asked. This study does not reveal the identity of the participants, and the results of the expert survey were anonymized for the reliability and accuracy of the study. If experts spoke different languages, both the questionnaire and the answers were translated. The results of the expert survey were drawn from the consensus of the researchers based on the overlapped or emphasized parts in the answers of the experts, and the opinions of the experts were presented on each topic.

<Table 3-2> Contents of Survey

Survey Area	Contents of Survey
Ageism in general	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Which aspects of today's ageism cannot be explained by Butler's definition of ageism? - Are there gender differences among older persons who experience ageism? - What is the difference between ageism against older persons according to age (in children, the youth, and the middle-aged)? - What roles do cultural differences play in the study of ageism? - What parts do you think require in-depth research in relation to ageism, and what is the direction of future ageism research? - What are some of the ways to break through ageism?
Characteristics of ASEM partners	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - What are the common features across ASEM partners in Europe and Asia? - What are the typical differences between Europe and Asia in terms of society, economy, culture, and politics? - What is the current state of age discrimination in ASEM partners in Europe and Asia by area (medical sector, labor market, education, etc.)?
Index development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Are there any ageism indexes or indexes associated with ageism that you often use? If so, what is the reason? - What is the most urgent need for improvement in the existing ageism indexes (insufficient elements, exclusion of cultural factors, etc.)? - What are the points that require particular attention when developing the pilot questionnaire?

As a result of the expert survey on ageism, nine top topics were drawn, including the concept of ageism, variables, and areas to be noted; six top topics were drawn to cover the socio-cultural characteristics of each ASEM partner; and four top topics were drawn for index development such as range of subjects and factors to be considered.

Section 1. Expert survey on Ageism

The contents of the questionnaire prepared in advance to conduct the expert survey on ageism in general included the following areas: “aspects of today’s ageism that cannot be explained by Butler’s definition of ageism; gender differences among older persons who experience ageism; difference between ageism against older persons according to areas that require in-depth research in relation to ageism, and the direction of future ageism research; and ways to break through ageism; In addition to the answers to the prescribed questions, the commonly mentioned points during the expert survey were summarized to draw nine top topics: need for redefining the concept of ageism, the ambiguity of the conceptual distinction of ageism, the severity of ageism in the educational field, the severity of ageism in the labor market, the need for research on self-ageism, the diverse causes of ageism, the importance of recognizing gender differences within ageism, variables to be noted within ageism by generation, and consideration on how to resolve ageism.

1. Ageism in general

1) Need to redefine the Concept of Ageism

The previous definition of ageism did not reflect the detailed elements by only providing an overview of ageism. In addition, it did not reflect various groups of older persons, and the concept of ageism tended to focus on older persons despite the fact that the age does not only appear against older persons.

“As the current definition is comprehensive, it is not useful for organizing variable dimensions for empirical research. While I agree that ageism is a multidimensional concept, the current definition encompassing the dimensions of cognition, attitude, behavior and environment requires modeling to accumulate the rationale for the mechanism by which ageism occurs and to develop academic debate.” - Expert H

“Butler discussed it(ageism) too comprehensively to cover the details of ageism. It does not cover whether ageism is about behavior, perception, or social structure.”

- Expert F

“If you visit to Senior Welfare Centers, there are many older persons who are more talented than YouTube creators. However, that is not how we usually picture older persons in general. To some extent, I think there is a tendency of distinguishing some older persons from the rest of the older persons.”

- Expert A

“Ageism is not just about older persons; strictly speaking, it tends to become more like a cohort study of older persons rather than the study on ageism. It may be necessary to expand the concept of ageism.”

- Expert J

“Butler’s definition of ageism is still a valid concept to explain many forms of ageism, but it needs to be supplemented. The definition of ageism in the future needs to be looked at along with various social aspects such as intergenerational tension, sexual identity such as LGBT and race.”

- Expert M

2) Ambiguity in the Conceptual Division of Ageism

The definition of ageism encompasses a broader meaning than age discrimination and discrimination against older persons, but the terms are used interchangeably without being conceptually separated. Age discrimination, discrimination against older persons, and stigma against older persons need to be understood as a form of ageism.

“Ageism is almost regarded as synonymous with age discrimination. Actually, it is OK to think of age discrimination as the most representative form of ageism. However, I believe ageism should be discussed as a more comprehensive concept although the term ‘ageism’ suggests that it is only about age.”

- Expert B

“The discussion of ageism is different from that of discrimination against older persons. However, we translate them as the same. So, now, when you attend a debate, people keep discussing whether it is the matter of ageism or discrimination against older persons. The mixed use of terms actually causes problems. I believe these concepts need to be differentiated from each other.”

- Expert D

“There are complex concepts involved; the discussion of discrimination leads to the discussion of exclusion then to hatred and stigmata. A lot of terms are discussed without clear distinction from one another. We need to decide to what extent the term ‘discrimination’ shall be used and how these terms shall be differentiated.”

- Expert D

“It is not quite conceptually distinguished from similar terms. Various terms and indexes such as stigmata against older persons, discrimination against older persons, and attitude toward older persons are used to refer to similar phenomena in South Korea, which acts as an obstacle to the accumulation of empirical evidence and unifying implications for ageism in general.”

- Expert H

3) Severity of Ageism in Education

It is worth paying attention to the area of education as an area that can resolve ageism and induce intergenerational integration. Ageism that can occur in education is institutional ageism, and education for older persons is not often officially implemented. Education conducted only for older persons could rather be considered ageism as it hinders intergenerational integration. Also, ageism may be manifested in different forms depending on the characteristics of education.

“There is also an expression of school age in education. That is how the education law is structured, and you can see ageism in that. Especially, when it comes to college education, older persons are not usually considered as a target of higher education, which could be an ageism in education.”

- Expert A

“However, when you work in the field of older persons, intergenerational integration and combating ageism are necessary. But education is age-segregated when it only targets older persons and provided in senior welfare centers or universities for older persons where only older persons can use. The education needs to be open for everyone.”

- Expert A

“It may depend on the profession or the type of education conducted at the educational institution. For the education of new technologies like IT, younger persons may be preferred, whereas persons with years of experience may be preferred for philosophy. It may depend on the nature of education or training conducted.”

- Expert A

4) Severity of Ageism in the Labor Market

Ageism in the labor market is a most serious problem. In particular, the seniority-based pay systems in the labor market intensifies ageism. Even government officials and managers in charge of post-retirement training are insensitive to ageism and tend to re-enforce it.

“As for ageism, the first thing that comes to mind is employment. Ageism at work is the most serious problem. In literature on gerontology, ageism is a section under a chapter on age discrimination in the labor market, rather than a chapter on its own.”

- Expert C

“Although there are role-based hierarchies at work, age still matters. For example, when you have joined the company earlier, you are promoted earlier, but that is not it. There is a sort of seniority system. When you have served the company for a long time, your salary also has been raised, which is somewhat linked with your age. The system is designed that way.”

- Expert A

“Most retirement-related policies offered by the Seoul city government are designed only for retirees. In other words, there is no way that these policies can support

people BEFORE retirement. For example, why would someone who is being paid about KRW 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 each month be motivated to prepare for a post-retirement job that pays KRW 500,000 to 600,000 during their employment? Such problem occurs all the time.” - Expert E

“Last year, a survey conducted by the Ministry of Labor revealed that less than 20% of workplaces provided a two to four day training for the people about to retire. There were a lot of workplaces that did not offer any training. Some workplaces pay their employees to attend post-retirement training session.” - Expert B

“Preparatory training for retirement is mandatory for companies with 1,000 or more employees from this year on. When you look at the contents of training, you can tell that HRD(Human Resources Development) companies are not aware of ageism. It cannot rely on the common sense anymore. Ageism in the labor market cannot be resolved through common sense. We need to establish clear guidelines on this.” - Expert B

5) Need for Research on Self-Directed Ageism

Researchers have found that older persons are in a serious state of self-directed ageism, where they think negatively about themselves or other older persons. Therefore, further in-depth research on self-ageism is required.

“I have conducted a study on how older persons have negative perception toward themselves regarding their relationship with other groups and toward other older persons, rather than they are discriminated by others...(omission) I have conducted a qualitative study on self-directed ageism as it appeared to be a serious problem found in the attitudes of older persons. I plan to conduct a quantitative analysis on this issue. I believe it is important and necessary to carry out an in-depth study on self-directed ageism based on concrete case-studies.” - Expert F

“It is necessary to develop and validate a new ageism index that takes into account both self-directed and externally-originated ageism. In particular, self-directed ageism by older persons requires special attention as it can negatively affect their own lifespan, physical and mental functions.” - Expert O

6) Diverse Causes of Ageism

Experts have pointed out various causes of ageism. They include ageism-blind institutions and policies, older persons' negative attitudes to younger generations, Confucian culture, ageist norms and intergenerational conflicts.

“Many policies tend to be implemented on the ground of age. For example, pensions are provided from a certain age.” - Expert A

“Talking about ageism, older persons often act like an ‘ubervisor.’ Although there are individual differences, I wrote a column on the definition of ubervisor. People often act and think in the way learned from their parents and older generations. When they force such way to the younger generation, they become uberversors. Such attitudes and behaviors can be observed way too frequently.” - Expert B

“We need to respect older persons considering the idea of filial piety, and it is necessary to support older persons as they are socially vulnerable. However, current situation may have been caused by older persons themselves as they did not take interest in older persons and did not provide support when they were young.” - Expert E

“In fact, there are age norms expected by the society for all age groups. No one has seen so many older persons since the dawn of history. As the number increases, the types of older persons would increase as well. While they may all be seen as the same older persons by the younger generation, they may all be different from one another. The age norms used to be much simpler. These days, with the changes in the lifestyle and values of older persons, the older persons of today may not be the

same as their fathers, but the society perceives them like their fathers. The age norm evolves rather slowly. That is ageism.” - Expert C

“It is inevitable in South Korea. There are still many poverty problems among older persons. I think it is not a problem caused by older persons themselves but by the culture of the generation. I view it as an intergenerational conflict rather than a conflict of ageism. The characteristics of the age groups from the early days of the cohort industry or post-war days collided with those of ageism that the current generation has. This has produced such negative images of older persons. These images are not based on the characteristics of older persons from ageing, but they are created based on the caricatures of the anxieties and sorrows of the time and generation.” - Expert J

7) The Importance of Recognizing Gender Differences within Ageism

Gender differences deserve attention considering their significance in ageism studies. Older women tend to face ageism more acutely than older men. However, gender differences may appear differently depending on specific social contexts in which ageism occurs, and may appear in combination with other factors.

“We often use the terms such as ‘middle-aged men’ and ‘middle-aged women’. But we do not use the term ‘older women’ often. Instead, we refer to older persons as female elderly or male elderly in South Korea. In terms of cultural anthropology, the second part of these phrase carries a more important meaning. As women get older, they are considered more as older persons than women. Postsexuality is often associated with old age. This could also be a form of ageism.” - Expert C

“Ageism can take many different form. Ageism manifests itself differently within the family, in culture, in the labor market, and in economic activities. Men may be exposed to ageism more in the labor market. Gender divide plays out differently and the degree of gender discrimination varies across diverse social spheres.” - Expert F

“Old women and old men are portrayed differently by the media. According to a recent study, older women are reported to be more temperamentally positive but more physically negative than older men so that they may be the target of ‘compassionate discrimination’. On the other hand, older men are reported as more temperamentally negative than older women, may re-enforce a more overt form of discrimination against.” - Expert H

“We believe that women are more subjected to ageism than men. However, it is difficult to explain whether ageism experienced by older women is solely based on their age or has other contributing factors such as poverty or gender.” - Expert F

“It is generally believed that older women will experience more ageism and gender discrimination than older men in the light of the double jeopardy hypothesis. However, a recent study revealed that older women tended to be freer from their age. In particular, older men were exposed to negative evaluations when they were continuously engaged in the labor market or were in a position of power.” - Expert M

8) Variables to be Noted within Ageism by Generation

Ageism against older persons appears differently in each generation. Among infants and children, ageism against older persons can be associated with the appearance of older persons; among adolescents and youths, ageism may appear as they regard older persons as competitors in the labor market. However, results tend to differ from one study to another, it is necessary to examine various factors that affect ageism, such as personal experience with older persons, media influence and so forth.

“Infants tend to make a judgement based on one’s appearance. They tend to develop their ageist perceptions and attitudes by observing how their parents act toward older persons.” - Expert A

“Adolescents seem to consider older persons as their competitors in the labor market as there are attempts by the government to provide jobs for older persons. The youth feel as if they could not get the opportunity to work for public offices and positions as older persons are occupying the spots. Such competition in the labor market seems to trigger ageism.”

- Expert A

“Also, adolescents and youths somewhat regard older persons as a social burden as they think they support them through their taxes. While the youth tend to regard older persons as a burden, for the middle-aged, older persons are the generation of their parents; so they tend to see them more positively.”

- Expert A

“I believe it is not just the matter of generation but really differs from case to case. Some of my friends who have spent a lot of time with their grandparents may feel more familiar with older persons; others who have only visited their grandparents occasionally in their childhood may feel somewhat awkward around older persons; and those who have not seen their grandparent much as their parents passed away early may feel very uncomfortable with being older person. There are studies focusing on different forms of ageism by generation, the results tend to vary.”

- Expert E

“It does not seem to be a matter of age. If they have lived with older persons in their childhood, or they were raised by older persons, the results are different.”

- Expert F

“There have been studies reporting that ageism is more prevalent in younger persons. However, the results tend to vary depending on their personal experience with older persons, influence of the media, etc.”

- Expert H

“One research outcomes that infants prefer the appearance of younger persons may suggest that people may be born with ageism. The youth may think that older persons are in their way to the world and opportunities, which can lead to ageism.”

The middle-aged do not demonstrate ageism like infants or adolescents, but there still is ageism manifested in a more implicit form.”

- Expert L

9) Exploring Ways to Resolve Ageism

Experts emphasized an approach for intergenerational integration by creating opportunities for younger generations to contact and interact with older persons to resolve ageism. In the educational sector, an environment where older and younger persons get education together is needed. The mass media should stop portraying older persons negatively, and raising awareness of human rights of older persons among the general public is needed.

“Younger generations in the modern society are less likely to interact with older persons than in the past. The images of older persons indirectly learned through the media are often biased toward a negative or positive extreme. Therefore, there is a need for programs that promote mutual exchange among different age groups thereby intergenerational integration.”

- Expert H

“We think that there should be more opportunities for different generations to interact each other in order to reduce conflicts between them. If it cannot be achieved in the family, new opportunities should be found and expanded in other social contexts.”

- Expert F

“While it takes a long time for people to find a job, they tend to retire early in their 40s or 50s. These people have to find another job or have a retirement plan. They still have a long life ahead of them. Current lifelong education system will not suffice. In my opinion, there should be additional undergraduate course for these people. College education should be made more accessible.”

- Expert D

“The media tend to show the stereotypical images of older persons repeatedly to reproduce certain images of older persons. It is necessary for the media to present

various images of older persons to help form a more balanced perception about older persons.” - Expert H

“While it would be necessary to revise the laws to raise retirement age, it would also be important to improve our behavior through education, and campaigns to raise self-awareness.” - Expert B

“First, ageism shall not be regarded as a matter of intergenerational competition. Ageism can be resolved when younger generations do not regard older generations as their competitors. Second, older persons shall not be differentiated from younger generations solely based on their biological age in the labor market. Emphasis on the experience of older persons in the labor market may resolve ageism to a certain extent.” - Expert L

“Recent studies on ageism suggest that education and intergenerational contact are reported to be useful mechanisms that mitigate ageism. In addition, the implementation of campaigns to eliminate ageism or the provision of laws and regulations could be an alternative.” - Expert N

Section 2. Survey of How Cultural Differences between ASEM Partners affect ageism

The questionnaires prepared for a survey of experts' views on characteristics of ageism between ASEM partners are as follows.

“What are the common features across ASEM partners in Europe and Asia?” ; “What are the typical differences between Europe and Asia?” ; and “What is the current state of age discrimination in ASEM partners in Europe and Asia by area?” In addition the points that are commonly addressed by the experts during the survey are summarized in 6 subheadings as below.

1. Sociocultural Characteristics of Europe

While ageism manifests itself differently in every country, there are some characteristics common to all European countries.

1) Causes of Intergenerational Inequality in Europe

“Older persons in Europe tend to participate regularly in election. So politicians tend to be more attention to their needs. On the other hand, young people do not participate in elections as much, so the governments tend to prioritize policies for older persons, which contributes to intergenerational inequality.” - Expert K

2) Social Mobility in Europe

“It is often believed that there is a disconnection between different generations in Europe due to a high level of social mobility. However, as far as my observation is concerned, social climbing rarely occurs in Europe. Japan may be similar to Europe in that sense.” - Expert K

3) Cultural Characteristics of Europe

“European culture can be described as ‘unity in diversity.’ The focus here is on diversity. There are various cultures in Europe; even within a country, there are profound local cultures.” - Expert K

4) Fertility Issues by Region in Europe

"The fertility rates in Southern and Central Eastern Europe are falling. On the other hand, the fertility rates in Western and Northern Europe are close to the replacement rate of 2.0. In other words, in the long run, the demographic sustainability is very precarious in Southern and Eastern European regions." - Expert K

5) Low Birth Rate and Youth Unemployment in Italy

"In Italy, the fertility rate is very low the economy stagnates and the youth unemployment rate is high. As young people do not have secure jobs, the phenomenon that they do not get married and do not have children is accelerating. The society loses vitality as highly-skilled and qualified people are leaving the country." - Expert K

6) A Change in the Perception of Older Persons in Western European Countries

"Since the 1980s, the social security system of Western European countries such as Germany and France improved, improving the lives of older persons and improving the image of older persons. The image of older persons was not positive to begin with. Even in the early 20th century older persons were not perceived positively, but things have improved since the improvement in the social security system." - Expert J

2. Similarities and Differences between Europe and Asia

Unlike the stereotype that Europeans may not care about age, Europeans have similar values about age to Asians. However, the characteristics are different in religion, disposition, and labor market.

1) similar values about age

"I think Europe and Asia are very similar. Europe is also very conservative and family-oriented, so the social class associated with a certain age is very similar to Asia. In other words, the social values and meanings of age are very important in both cultures." - Expert J

2) Differences in Religious Diversity

"Southern Europe and France are Catholic countries; Protestantism predominates in the half of Germany and Northern Europe; and the Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Eastern Europe. In the big frame of Christianity, there are some sectarian differences. On the other hand, there is a diversity of religions and beliefs in Asia: Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism." - Expert K

3) Collectivism and Individualism

"In Asia, family ties are still a little strong based on strong family responsibilities. Compared to Asia, in Europe, family bonds are weak due to strong individualism. It seems to be divided into collectivism and individualism." - Expert K

4) Differences in the Degree of Respect for Older Persons

"In Europe, the idea that respect for older persons is unnecessary for modernization has greatly weakened respect for older persons. Reverence for older persons is weakening a little as a result of industrialization in Asia, but in general, especially in Southeast Asia, people have strong respect for older persons." - Expert K

5) Differences in the Labor Market

"Individual abilities are more valued in Europe. In Asia, the annual salary system is often used in Asia. Europeans do not seem to believe that older workers need to be paid more. While Asians tend to accept hard work and long working hours, Europeans stick to the weekly working hours and value work and life balance." - Expert K

3. Current State of Ageism in Europe

In Europe, the problem of negative ageism against older persons is not prevalent in general. The economic conditions are well established for older persons with positive awareness of older persons.

“Older persons in Europe are leading a very stable life, with a low poverty rate. The social image associated with them is almost colorless. Ageism is not a serious problem in Europe. According to the recent studies on ageism from populism, the negative aspects do not appear as much. And The lifelong education system is very well established in Europe, so that there is little ageism. Most collage education is open for anyone. There is no discrimination based on age. People are free to attend the school anytime in their life they want to receive a college degree.” - Expert J

“There is just one reason for the negative image of older persons in France. People think that older persons receive a high pension and enjoy social benefits without participating in social activities. However, individuals admire the life of leisure that older persons lead and are fond of older persons. They have mixed feelings about older persons.” - Expert J

“The European country that has the most positive image associated with ageing is probably Germany. The retirement age has lost its significance in Germany, and people engage in economic activities for a long time. The images of older persons are very positive.” - Expert J

4. Cultural Characteristics of Southeast Asia

Southeast Asia is a region with very large cultural diversity among Asian countries due to its geographical characteristics. Southeast Asian countries also have multiple cultural layers, where indigenous cultures are mixed with foreign cultures.

1) Cultural Diversity due to Geographical Characteristics

“Various religions were spread to Southeast Asia by sea. Foreign cultures were introduced through the sea route to the old kingdoms, which resulted in the diverse cultural characteristics in Southeast Asia.” - Expert I

2) Cultural Stratification in Southeast Asia

“Since the 19th century, the influence of the Chinese culture has grown, and various cultures from Japan, the United States, and South Korea have been introduced from the 20th century. This inflow of other cultures formed multiple layers. Such cultural layers do not overshadow the indigenous cultures, but all of these cultures coexist, which is an important characteristic of the Southeast Asian countries.” - Expert I

5. Social Characteristics of Southeast Asia

In Southeast Asia, unlike Europe and other Asian countries, the modern governing system developed late. It continues to be a society based on familialism where several generations live together in a household providing a more friendly environment for older persons and women.

1) Systematic Characteristics due to the Natural Conditions

“In Southeast Asia, due to the abundant natural resources, the state system and elaborate governance system developed relatively late. A network in which the beneficiary stays loyal in return for the economic benefits provided by the sponsor has been developed, and such relationship is still valid in Southeast Asia.” - Expert I

2) Active Social Participation of Women

“You can see a lot of men sitting in cafes and chit-chatting, and many women are engaged in agricultural labor or work in the service industry. Women tend to carry out economic activities while men mainly enjoy leisure activities. Women are given more rights in inheritance, distribution of property after divorce, and custody.”

- Expert I

3) Development of Familialism

“In Vietnam, parents tend to live with their married son. In other areas of Southeast Asia, except the southern regions of Vietnam, parents prefer to live with their married daughter due to matrilineality of the culture. In Vietnam, households of two to four

persons and households of five or more persons account for 89.1% of all households; it is still a society mainly made up of multi-person households.” - Expert I

4) Social System Favorable to Older Persons

“Vietnam is a socialist state with its emphasis on equality. There is a great deal of emphasis on the rights of older persons and women in the constitution. Systematic actions have been taken for the labor market as well.” - Expert I

6. Differences in the Perception of Older Persons in South Korea and Japan.

Although South Korea and Japan belong to the same East Asian region and have a common ageing problem, there is a difference in the awareness of older persons. The difference in the degree of ageing between the two countries intensifies the difference in the awareness of older persons.

“Population ageing has progressed more and longer in Japan, so that the aged group has become a part of their daily lives. In other words, older persons are recognized as the aged group in South Korea, whereas they are just recognized as individuals in Japan. And South Koreans were more negative toward older persons in politics, whereas the Japanese were more negative about separation of older persons, for instance, working out together with older persons at fitness centers. In other words, discrimination and awareness of older persons may be manifested a little differently depending on the progress and degree of ageing in the society.” - Expert F

Section 3. Expert Survey on Development of the Index

The contents of the questionnaire prepared in advance to conduct an expert survey on the development of the index included the following questions: “Are there any ageism indexes or indexes associated with ageism that you often use?” “What is the most urgent need for improvement in the existing ageism indexes?” and “What are the points that require particular attention when developing the pilot questionnaire?” In addition to the answers to the prescribed questions, the commonly mentioned points during the expert survey were summarized to draw four top topics: expansion of the targets of the ageism index survey, the need for considering various types and elements of ageism when developing the index, factors to be considered when developing questions, and limitations of this study and directions for improvement.

1. Consideration for Survey target

The existing ageism indexes were designed to survey older persons or one of the other generations other than older persons. In developing a index, it is necessary to clearly determine which targets are being investigated, or to expand the survey targets by comprehensively examining all generations. As a result of an expert survey on the development of the index, four top topics were drawn: expansion of the targets of the ageism index survey, the need for considering various types and elements of ageism when developing the index, factors to be considered when developing the questions, and the limitations of this study and directions for improvement.

“It is about the point of view from which ageism is assessed. It would be very important to define whether ageism is assessed from the standpoint of older persons, or from the standpoint of the general public.” - Expert D

“I wonder if we would need two different versions for older persons and those who are not. In fact, there seems to be a need for a separate survey for older persons and other generations.” - Expert E

2. Consideration for various types and elements of Ageism

The existing index mainly focus on negative meaning of ageism or age discrimination, although ageism is a broader concept than age discrimination. There is a need to develop the index that incorporates more diverse elements of ageism.

“There is no index about ageism or awareness of age. Most of the indexes focus on the discrimination. In fact, the indexes need to contain some age sensitive matters. However, most indexes focus on discriminatory experiences based on age.” - Expert D

“Butler emphasized the negative aspects of ageism. However, focusing on negative ageism may make the current situation more serious. You can spot both positive and negative ageism in life. The positive aspects also deserve attention.” - Expert G

“Palmore and Fraboni only dealt with stereotypes and attitudes when measuring ageism. However, I think it would be important to examine both the negative and positive social models regarding the awareness of older persons in younger persons, the youth, or the middle-aged.” - Expert J

“It is necessary to develop a index that can measure the explicit, implicit, positive and negative factors of ageism, and the awareness of ageism toward oneself and others.” - Expert O

3. Factors to be Considered When Developing the Questions

When developing the pilot questionnaire, the number of questions, cultural characteristics, and content of the questions must be considered. In particular, the questions should be suitable for both Eastern and Western worlds, and the content of each question should be neutral.

“These days, ageism is examined based on a simple set of questions rather than using too many questions. The most difficult thing about the development of the index is finding the adequate number of questions. Existing indexes tend to have many questions.” - Expert D

“In the Eastern culture, you do not really make a joke about age to older persons. In the Western countries, people often joke about age and include caricatures of older persons in the birthday cards, which would be only acceptable in the Western culture. Such cultural differences need to be considered.” - Expert F

“There should be a lot of questions. You can get rid of them later, but still there should be a lot of pilot questions. Many of them will be discarded in the review. Many questions were omitted for the expert survey as well.” - Expert G

“Some scholars get angry with this kind of research. Because they think that it takes a lot of effort to make each sentence positive or neutral to avoid any reinforcement of discrimination or negative perceptions about older persons.” - Expert G

“Ageism seems to have various definition, since it is a social phenomenon depending on the cultural and contextual characteristics of society. That is why it is impossible to develop an ageism index that spans the times and cultures. Even if there was, it would eventually become obsolete. Therefore, it would be better to include the items reflecting the current situation and current society.” - Expert H

4. Limitations

There is a limit to grasping the social and cultural characteristics and the current state of ageism in the ASEM partners only through literature review. Therefore, it would be necessary to include experts' opinions from each country to investigate in the follow-up study.

"It is difficult to obtain specific information through literature review unless various researchers are included in the research team to study the characteristics of each country. I have tried it through literature review before, but I regret that it would have been better with an extensive FGI(Focus Group Interview) with the experts in this area. That could be a limitation." - Expert G

"I think it is difficult to describe all the elements of ageism with one index." - Expert O

Chapter 4. Development of the Ageism Index

Section 1. Process of Developing a Pilot Questionnaire for the Ageism Index

This study developed a preliminary questionnaire for the index on the area where ageism can be prevalent and the elements of ageism. Ageism was categorized into body image, family, education, labor market, medical sector, welfare, and mass media, and the elements of ageism were classified into emotional, cognitive, and behavioral elements. This study aimed to develop a pilot questionnaire with an even disposition of positive and negative elements of ageism reflecting the sociocultural characteristics and current state of ageism in each ASEM partner learned through the research. The detailed development process for the pilot questionnaire of ageism is as follows.

First, 324 items that have been developed in prior researches were reviewed, and the items in different languages were translated into Korean. In the process of translation, easy vocabulary, and clear and simple sentences considering mutual exclusivity and inclusiveness were used.

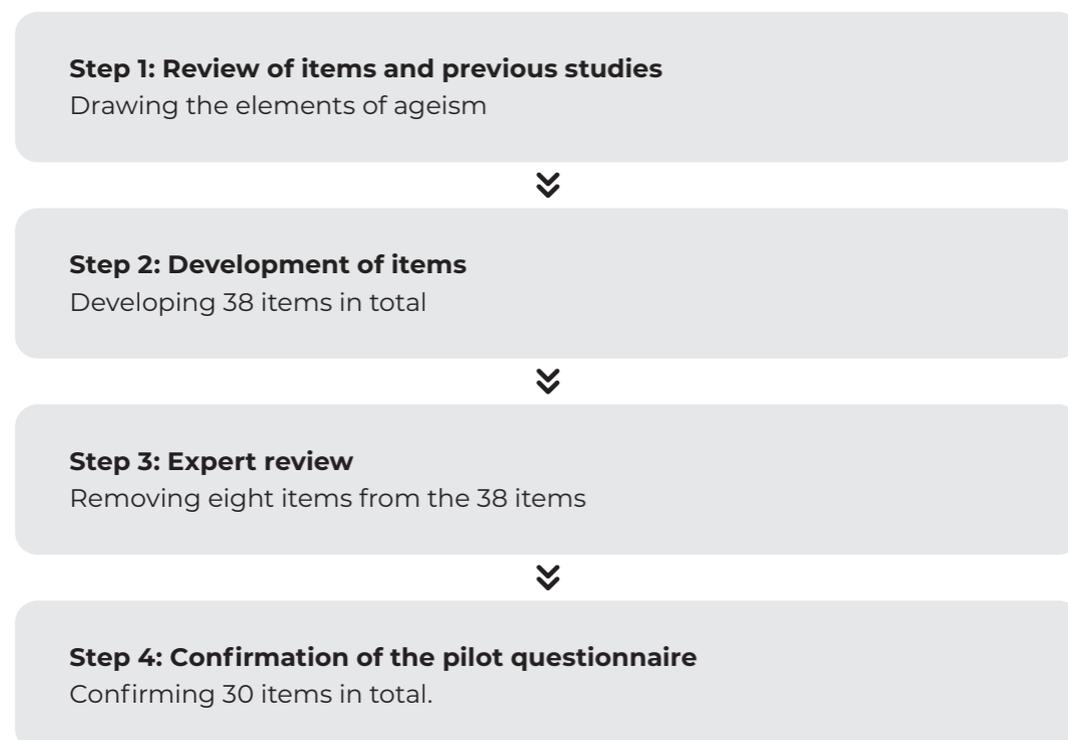
Second, 38 pilot questions were selected by categorizing the existing items based on the areas and elements of ageism. Among the ageism items, the items with unclear ageism areas and elements were excluded. The items that were not included in previous researches were added after a discussion by the research team. For example, there was no previous item containing positive elements of ageism in education, the research team added the item, "Older persons are passionate about learning new things," to convey positive and emotional elements of ageism.

Third, the selected pilot questions were reviewed and validated by two experts. The main contents of review included the unification of questions, refrained use of negative words, ambiguity in the division between questions, and the necessity of organizing subcategories for each category. In particular, subcategories for

each category were required to cover the detailed aspects of ageism dimensions. Reflecting this suggestion, body image was divided into change in appearance, appearance management, and appearance evaluation; family was divided into family relations and family life; education into educational environment and learning ability; labor market into working competency and working condition; medical sector into health and medical service; welfare into system and service; and mass media into reporting patterns.

Finally, the research team revised the 38 pilot questions based on the expert review and developed a pilot questionnaire consisting of 30 items.

<Figure 4-1> Development Process of Pilot Questionnaire for Ageism



Section 2. Pilot Questionnaire for Ageism

The questionnaire on body image consists of four items. Looking at the items in the subcategory of the change in appearance, the items, “Older persons naturally accept physical changes caused by ageing,” contains positive and emotional elements of ageism. The item on appearance management, “Older persons do not care about their appearance,” contains negative and cognitive elements of ageism. As for the two items on appearance evaluation, “Older persons are not physically attractive,” and “Older persons are disadvantaged for their aged appearance,” deal with negative elements, and the former contains emotional elements and the latter contains behavioral elements.

The questionnaire on family consists of six items. As for the items on family relations, the item, “Older persons are kind to their families and others” contains positive and emotional elements of ageism, and other two items deal with negative and cognitive elements. Next, as for the items on family life, there are two items containing positive and cognitive elements of ageism, and the item, “Older persons tend to have boring routines at home,” contains cognitive and negative elements of ageism.

The questionnaire on education consists of four items. Two items in the subcategory of educational environment contain negative and cognitive elements of ageism. As for the items on learning ability, the item, “Older persons are passionate about learning new things” contains positive and emotional elements of ageism, whereas the item, “Older persons are too old to learn” deals with negative elements of ageism.

The questionnaire on labor market consists of six items. This category is largely divided into two subcategories. As for the three items on working competency, the item, “Older persons are as skilled in work as their years of age” contains positive and cognitive elements of ageism. The other two items contain negative and cognitive elements. The items in the subcategory of working conditions include: “Older persons are disadvantaged in hiring because of their old age,” and “Older persons are excluded from work or forced to retire because of their old age,” and

“Older persons are paid less than younger workers doing the same job.” All of them deal with negative and behavioral elements of ageism.

The questionnaire on medical sector consists of five items. As for the items on health, “Older persons are interested in health and strive to improve health” contains positive and behavioral elements, “Older persons are more vulnerable to disease” contains negative and cognitive elements of ageism. Next, as for the items on medical service, all questions are associated with negative ageism. The item, “Older persons incur enormous medical expenses compared to other age groups,” contains cognitive elements, and the other two items deal with discriminatory behaviors against older persons in the process of receiving medical service.

The questionnaire on welfare consists of three items. As for the items on the welfare system, while all items deal with cognitive elements, “Older persons have the right to benefit from the social security system” contains positive elements, and “Older persons tend to rely on welfare benefits” contains negative elements. The item, “Social workers have a positive attitude toward older persons,” contains positive and behavioral elements of ageism.

The questionnaire on mass media consists of two items. Both items, “Older persons are portrayed in the mass media as beings in need of care,” and “Older persons are reported to have a prominent political bias in the mass media,” contain negative and cognitive elements of ageism.

<Table 4-1> Pilot Questionnaire for Ageism

Category	Subcategory	Positive/Negative	Emotional/Cognitive/Behavioral	Questions
Body image	Change in appearance	Positive	Emotional	1. Older persons naturally accept physical changes caused by ageing.
	Appearance management	Negative	Cognitive	2. Older persons do not care about their appearance.
	Appearance evaluation	Negative	Emotional	3. Older persons are not physically attractive.
			Behavioral	4. Older persons are disadvantaged by their aged appearance.
Family	Family relations	Positive	Emotional	5. Older persons are kind to their families and others.
		Negative	Cognitive	6. Older persons are a burden on their children. 7. Older persons have little role in the households.
	Family life	Positive	Cognitive	8. Older persons keep their homes and rooms clean. 9. Older persons take good care of children.
			Cognitive	10. Older persons tend to have boring routines at home.

Category	Subcategory	Positive/ Negative	Emotional/ Cognitive/ Behavioral	Questions
Education	Educational environment	Negative	Cognitive	11. There are limited learning opportunities for older persons.
				12. There are few educational institutions and places for older persons.
	Learning ability	Positive	Emotional	13. Older persons are passionate about learning new things.
		Negative	Cognitive	14. Older persons are too old to learn.
Labor market	Working competency	Positive	Cognitive	15. Older persons are as skilled in work as their years of age.
		Negative	Cognitive	16. Older persons are less productive at work than younger workers.
	17. Older persons have a hard time adjusting to their new job.			
	Working conditions	Negative	Behavioral	18. Older persons are disadvantaged during hiring because of their old age.
				19. Older persons are excluded from work or forced to retire because of their old age.
				20. Older persons are paid less than younger workers doing the same job.

Category	Subcategory	Positive/ Negative	Emotional/ Cognitive/ Behavioral	Questions
Medical sector	Health	Positive	Behavioral	21. Older persons are interested in health and strive to improve health.
		Negative	Cognitive	22. Older persons are more vulnerable to disease.
	Medical service	Negative	Cognitive	23. Older persons incur enormous medical expenses compared to other age groups.
			Behavioral	24. Medical staff prefer counseling with guardians over older patients.
Welfare	System	Positive	Cognitive	25. Older persons tend to receive profane care from medical staff.
		Negative	Cognitive	26. Older persons have the right to benefit from the social security system.
Mass media	Reporting patterns	Positive	Behavioral	27. Older persons tend to rely on welfare benefits.
				Negative
Mass media	Reporting patterns	Negative	Cognitive	29. Older persons are portrayed in the mass media as beings in need of care.
				30. Older persons are reported to have a prominent political bias in the mass media.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Section 1. Summary of Findings

The summary of this study is as follows. First of all, the concept of ageism, related theories, factors influencing ageism, ageism research by generation, area of ageism, type of ageism, and detailed elements of ageism were analyzed. Ageism refers to emotional, cognitive, and behavioral prejudice, stereotypes, and discrimination against older persons based on age. Ageism, unlike gender discrimination and racism, can be link to discrimination based on age, which can be eventually applicable to everyone. Since unjust attitudes and stereotypes about age are mainly associated with older persons, this study focused on ageism toward older persons.

Older persons who live their daily lives face ageism through various social relationships. This study reviewed the previous studies by categorizing the representative areas of ageism into body image, family, education, labor market, medical sector, welfare, and mass media. Unlike in other areas, ageism was found to be manifested more frequently in more explicit manners. It is difficult to explain ageism occurring in various areas by a unified theory. Therefore, this study classified the theories into micro (terror management theory, stereotype formation theory, and stereotype content model), mezzo (disengagement theory, intergenerational conflict theory, and intergroup threat theory) and macro (modernization theory) levels.

The types and elements of ageism differ depending on the definition and theory of ageism. However, the type of ageism can be largely divided into four types: emotional/cognitive/behavioral ageism, explicit/implicit ageism, positive/negative ageism, and self-directed/other-directed ageism. Each type of ageism shares the elements of emotional prejudice, cognitive stereotypes, and behavioral discrimination. There was no study among previous studies dealing with all types and elements of ageism at the same time; most studies were conducted on

explicit, negative, and other-directed ageism.

Next, to develop a pilot questionnaire of the ageism index for ASEM partners, we investigated the existing main ageism indexes. According to the previous studies, there are existing studies to measure ageism and concepts related to ageism since the 1950s. However, few studies have examined the comprehensive concept of ageism. Existing ageism indexes have used the measurement tools used in previous studies since they contain partial modification. Therefore, this study aims to overcome the limitations of existing indexes by broadly examining the indexes related to ageism.

The limitations of the existing indexes can be summarized into three key points. First, most indexes either had too many questions or the contents of the questions were too complicated. The early ageism indexes were difficult for the targets to understand as there were too many questions that were lengthy and complicated. Second, the existing indexes were not able to deal with various elements of ageism. Existing indexes either contained the items on ageism in the labor market or the items on negative ageism. Third, some items of the indexes could only be applied in the Western cultures. Since almost all ageism indexes were used in the Western countries, there were some items that were foreign to Asians or inappropriate in the Asian culture.

Next, some of the ASEM partners were selected and analyzed for their sociocultural characteristics and the current state of ageism. Ageism such as prejudice and discriminatory practices against older persons appears to be prevalent around the world, however, ageism is manifested differently according to the specific sociocultural factors of each ASEM partner. While there has been a previous study on sociocultural characteristics and ageism by country reporting that Asians show more positive attitudes toward older persons or ageing than Europeans, the traditional reverence for older persons is reported to be threatened by westernization in some regions of Asia. Comparative cultural studies to examine sociocultural differences between European and Asian ASEM partners are essential to understanding ageism.

In this paper, Europe was divided into Western/Eastern/Southern Europe to select the ASEM partners representing each region. The United Kingdom (UK), France and Germany were selected from Western Europe, Poland from Eastern Europe, and Italy from Southern Europe among the ASEM partners in Europe for reviewing the previous studies related to ageism. Although Europe has entered an ageing society earlier, it still suffers from the problem of ageism. According to the 2009 European Social Survey, more respondents said they experienced age discrimination in 28 European countries, which was higher than that of discrimination based on gender and race. Such result suggests that ageism is an important social problem affecting more than 300 million Europeans. In Europe, the age limits have been increased not only in the labor market, but also in the medical sector and in social policies, and ageism is becoming more prevalent in other areas.

Asia was divided into Northeast/Southeast Asia and Oceania, and the ASEM partners representing each region were selected. South Korea and Japan were selected from East Asia, Australia from Oceania, and Singapore and Malaysia from Southeast Asia. Currently, there are negative prejudices on older persons and many problems of ageism in the Asia partners. Asian countries traditionally have cultures that respect and revere older persons, however, as the times change, attitudes toward older persons and ageing are also changing. Urbanization has separated the young generation away from their families, resulting in loose ties with their grandparents. Public education has taken the role of older persons who used to pass down cultural knowledge and wisdom.

Moreover, this study conducted an expert survey not only to analyze the literature on ageism, but also to understand the reality of ageism. The expert survey was conducted on the concepts and practice of ageism, the characteristics and ageism of ASEM partners, and the methodological part of index development. We found each expert with experience in ageism research who has been belonged to professional institutes like universities and research institutes. A total of 17 experts participated in the survey: seven experts on, five experts on

the characteristics of ASEM partners, and five experts on index development methodology. In principle, an expert survey was conducted face-to-face with the anonymization of the data to ensure reliability and accuracy. The research director and two research assistants attended each session for tape-recording and recording. If face-to-face investigation is not possible, the investigation was conducted through video interviews, phone calls, and written surveys.

As a result of ageism expert survey, nine top topics were drawn: need for redefining the concept of ageism, the ambiguity of ageism concept, the severity of ageism in the educational field, the severity of ageism in the labor market, the need for research on self-ageism, the diverse causes of ageism, the importance of recognizing gender differences within ageism, variables to be noted within ageism by generation, and consideration on how to resolve ageism. As a result of an expert survey on the characteristics and ageism of ASEM partners, six top topics were drawn: sociocultural characteristics of Europe, similarities and differences between Europe and Asia, the current state of ageism in Europe, cultural characteristics of Southeast Asia, social characteristics of Southeast Asia, differences in perception of older persons in South Korea and Japan. Lastly, as a result of an expert survey on the development of the index, four top topics were drawn: expansion of the targets of the ageism index survey, the need for considering various types and elements of ageism when developing the index, factors to be considered when developing questions, and limitations of this study and improvements.

Finally, a preliminary questionnaire for the ageism index was developed through a literature review and expert survey. Measurement area for ageism was categorized into body image, family, education, labor market, medical sector, welfare, and mass media, and the elements of ageism were classified into emotional, cognitive, and behavioral elements. This study developed a pilot questionnaire with an even disposition of positive and negative elements of ageism.

Section 2. Significance of Research

The academic significance of this study is broadly in four ways.

First, this study carried out the systematic development of a pilot questionnaire for the ageism index. This study reviewed the overall theoretical foundations of ageism, such as concepts, theories, areas, types, and details. Most of the existing studies only included specific element among the emotional, cognitive, or behavioral elements, or developed a index only based on the labor market situation. While most studies used the developed index simply, this study developed the pilot questionnaire through a logical and systematic process step by step, based on the overall review of ageism studies.

Second, this is the first research which has attempted to analyze ageism in ASEM partners. This study is analyzed the sociocultural characteristics of ASEM partners and examined the current state of ageism. There were many analyses on regional political dynamics that existing ASEM-related data mainly considered of listings of economic and social indicators. Or there have been studies comparing Europe and Asia; however, most of them selected one country each from Europe and Asia for comparison. On the other side, this study is a rare study that analyzes ageism across the ASEM regions. In particular, it has examined the similarities and differences between European and Asian regions and explained how they are associated with ageism.

Third, this study attempted to reflect the reality through an expert survey. We tried to add the voices of academia and the field through expert survey with literature review. The scholars who had conducted ageism studies were recruited through various networks. In-depth interviews with these experts were conducted using various methods such as face-to-face interviews, video interviews, phone calls, and written surveys. It was possible to verify whether the facts and phenomenological contents described in the prior literature could be observed in real life or in the field, and to note the points to be aware of in the progress of the research. It provided an opportunity to broaden the scope of understanding from a transnational perspective.

Finally, it is a basic study to alleviate ageism in ASEM partners. A full-fledged index is likely to be developed based on this study. There are various procedures left for the development(pilot test, expert review, validity test, etc.). When developing the final index, it will has to survey on each ASEM partners about the current state and degree of ageism. The similarities and differences among ASEM partners are expected to be analyzed based on the survey results to explore ways to alleviate ageism and to ultimately promote human rights of older persons.

Section 3. Suggestions

This study aims to make the following six suggestions through the research process and results.

First, it is necessary to expand the range of areas where ageism occurs. In this study, the area where ageism was prevalent was divided into seven categories. Considering these categories, the pilot questionnaire was developed. However, ageism widely occurs in societies, it is necessary to further expand the area that can be occurred ageism. In other words, it needs to be expanded to cover entire areas of life.

Second, an analysis of all ASEM partners is required. This study aimed to analyze the sociocultural characteristics and ageism in ASEM partners. Due to limitations in time, budget, and investigators, the analysis was conducted in about 10 countries. There are a total of 51 ASEM partners, and the social, political, and cultural situations of each region and country are different. Therefore, it is necessary to expand the scope to include as many countries as possible among the 51 ASEM partners. At this point, it would be necessary to include experts of each country, users of the language, and experts with a high understanding of each culture in the research team, or to form an advisory group.

Third, cooperation with international organizations is crucial for research. The most difficult parts in conducting this study were recruiting experts and obtaining regional and national information. As the languages, cultures, and religions of ASEM partners are very diverse, access to accurate understanding of the country and information may differ from country to country. Therefore, for further studies, it would be necessary to investigate ASEM partners in cooperation with international organizations. Especially, each representative of ASEM Meeting can help research as a connector. It would be very difficult without help from international organizations to conduct a survey using the pilot questionnaire of research.

Fourth, it is necessary to expand the scope of survey with experts. As can be observed from this study, South Korean experts were recruited without

problems due to the cooperation of human capital and institutions, and related investigations were also conducted easily. There were various problems associated with the expert survey; the recruitment itself was difficult, and the communication was not smooth. Therefore, for further research, it would be necessary to take sufficient time to seek various opinions of experts in cooperation with international organizations and academic organizations such as the ASEM and the International Association of Gerontology and Geriatrics (IAGG). The research period should be extended, and it is necessary to try to contact many scholars from the beginning, considering schedule.

Fifth, a final index needs to be developed. A pilot test should be verified the reliability and validity, because this study was a basic step to develop the ageism index. It is believed that continuous research will be required.

Finally, continued discussion is required to find different ways to overcome the limitations of the index development. There is a limit to measures that reflect the sociocultural characteristics of ASEM partners. As can be observed in this study, Asian and European cultures are different, and ageism to be examined in these regions may also be different. This implies that the ageism index should be universally applied to each culture, and at the same time, it should be suitable for the unique circumstances of each culture. Moreover, important factors (implicit/explicit, and self-directed/other-directed) that were not considered in the development of the pilot questionnaire for the ageism index in this study should be reflected in further studies.

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