

# Equality for (Almost) All: Egalitarian Advocacy Predicts Lower Endorsement of Sexism and Racism, but Not Ageism

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Past research has assumed that social egalitarians reject group-based hierarchies and advocate for equal treatment of all groups. However, contrary to popular belief, we argue that egalitarian advocacy predicts *greater* likelihood to support “Succession”-based ageism, which prescribes that older adults step aside to free up coveted opportunities (e.g., by retiring). Although facing their own forms of discrimination, older individuals are perceived as blocking younger people, and other unrepresented groups, from opportunities—that in turn, motivates egalitarian advocates to actively discriminate against older adults. In 9 separate studies ( $N = 3,277$ ), we demonstrate that egalitarian advocates endorse less prejudice toward, and show more support for, women and racial minorities, but harbor more prejudice toward (Studies 1 and 2), and show less advocacy for (Studies 3–6), older individuals. We demonstrate downstream consequences of this effect, such as support for, and resource allocation to, diversity initiatives (Studies 3–6). Further, we isolate perceived *opportunity blocking* as a critical mediator, demonstrating that egalitarian advocates believe that older individuals actively obstruct more deserving groups from receiving necessary resources and support to get ahead (Studies 4–6). Finally, we explore the intersectional nature of this effect (Study 7). Together this research suggests that when it comes to egalitarianism, equality for all may only mean equality for some.

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Despite increased public and research attention on diversity and inclusion efforts, a closer look suggests that not all forms of diversity and inclusion have been considered equal. In particular, focus on age discrimination has largely lagged behind: despite comprising 21% of Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) discrimination claims (vs. 32% for race and 30% for sex; EEOC, 2019), organizational diversity initiatives focus far more frequently on race (49%), gender (52%), and LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer; 42%) rather than age (18%; Akinola et al., 2019). Such trends parallel a lack of scholarly attention on ageism, compared with racism and sexism (Nelson, 2016; North & Fiske, 2012).

Going even further, organizations that advocate for diversity often appear to *endorse* bias against older individuals. For exam-

ple, although HubSpot, “aspires to be a more diverse company . . .” (HubSpot, 2019, p. 2), its CEO Brian Halligan has stated that HubSpot actively excludes older individuals, noting that “in the tech world, gray hair and experience are really overrated” (Bryant, 2013). Further, though Sun Microsystems Inc. won multiple awards for diversity and inclusion (Minority Corporate Counsel Association, 2004), their cofounder, Vinod Khosla, has said that “people over 45 basically die in terms of new ideas” (Bride, 2012). Meanwhile, Facebook famously has invested millions of dollars in increasing diversity (Price, 2017)—and yet, its CEO Mark Zuckerberg, has stated that “younger people are just smarter” (Coker, 2007). Thus, many of the same individuals advocating for equality seem to be those who are either ignoring—or actively discriminating against—older individuals.

Why might this be the case? In this article, we argue that unlike the explicit prejudices directed toward women and racial minorities to “stay in their place,” age prejudice constitutes a unique form of *Succession*, prescribing older individuals to dynamically “get out of the way.” Succession is characterized by expectations for generational turn-taking, dictating that older people step aside and make way for younger generations by relinquishing their power and resources (North & Fiske, 2013a). Succession uniquely targets older individuals, and differs from other forms of prejudice, in which these “natural progression” expectations are not as clear (North & Fiske, 2013b). From this standpoint, although facing their own forms of discrimination, older individuals are perceived as blocking not only younger people, but also other disadvantaged

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groups, from opportunities. Thus, egalitarian advocates—or those who are motivated to create equal opportunity for all groups—might actively (and counterintuitively) discriminate against older adults.

To understand why social egalitarianism may predict discrimination against older individuals in their pursuit of equality, we first distinguish the uniquely dynamic nature of age prejudice from other forms of prejudice, such as that based on race and gender. We then outline egalitarianism as an ideology and focus on one particular form—egalitarian advocacy—to explicate how this particular construct predicts age prejudice. We test these hypotheses in nine separate studies ( $N = 3,277$ ), using multiple measures and paradigms, to show that supporting equality correlates with advocacy for women and racial minorities, but not older individuals—and in fact often predicts explicitly advocating *against* older adults, even those with intersectional identities. Further, we show that these effects are driven by the belief that older individuals are actively hoarding resources and blocking other underrepresented groups from opportunities. Finally, we demonstrate that highlighting the economic reality that certain older adults cannot afford to “step aside” and retire reduces prejudice against older individuals.

### The (Dynamically Rooted) Uniqueness of Ageism: Turn-Taking Expectations

Although ageism is a unique form of prejudice, it shares similarities with elements of racism and sexism. On the one hand, ageism’s sometimes paternalistic nature resembles certain forms of sexism. That is, for both elder and female targets, some forms of prejudice derive from stereotypes of high warmth (e.g., generous), but low competence (e.g., forgetful), which invokes feelings of pity and paternalism (Chasteen et al., 2002; Cuddy et al., 2005). Moreover, similar to the positive, yet insidious nature of benevolent sexism, well-intentioned forms of paternalistic ageism often causes people to overlook it as a prejudice altogether (Cary et al., 2017; Glick & Fiske, 1996). Indeed, ageism is so condoned in American culture that many do not see it as an “-ism,” in the same manner as other forms of prejudice (Nelson, 2016). However, contrasting with the high-warmth descriptive stereotype of older adults, or beliefs that they are invisible or infirm (Chasteen et al., 2002; Fiske et al., 2002), more recently, work has begun to shine light on a more hostile form of ageism in reaction to older individuals’ violating expectations, and especially those around vying for resources and power (North & Fiske, 2012, 2013a, 2013b).

This suggests that ageism, sexism, and racism share certain hostile forms of prejudice, as all three groups present a potential threat to the current power structure, creating hostility, backlash, and punishment. As a consequence, older individuals, women, and racial minorities are all subordinated, ostracized, and disadvantaged groups: the amount of discrimination reported by all three is comparable (American Association of Retired Persons [AARP], 2019; Lee et al., 2019; Parker & Funk, 2017), as are the rates of discrimination claims filed for racism, sexism, and ageism as reported by the EEOC (EEOC, 2019). Similarly, all these groups face prejudice aimed at proliferating their disadvantage, leading to discrimination against, hostile attitudes toward, and limited opportunities for subordinate group members (Glick & Fiske, 2001; North & Fiske, 2016; Swim et al., 1995). Thus, for all three, there exists beliefs that a subordinate group is vying for resources from

a dominant group, which creates hostility, as each group is seen to challenge the status quo and existing power structure.

However, the main difference for ageism lies in the way in which this challenge manifests: Unlike its cousin prejudices, ageism has *dynamic* roots, deriving from the fact that age is in many ways a continuous status category, whereby every living person is at first youthful and eventually (provided sufficient life span) grows old. Thus, many believe that it is only fair that older people move out of the way; seeing as they have already reaped the benefits of their youth, they are expected to step aside to let the younger generation have their turn (North & Fiske, 2012, 2013a, 2013b). In other words, ageism prescribes dynamism, whereas other prejudices, discussed next, prescribe stasis.

### Ageism Versus Sexism/Racism: “Move out of the Way” Versus “Stay in Your Place”

Unlike the expectations associated with older individuals, who seem to have assets and now are expected to give them up (i.e., dynamically rooted, move out of the way prejudice), racial and gender minority groups face expectations that they stay in their place. That is, all three subordinate groups are similarly sanctioned against agentic, power-seeking behavior, but for racial minorities and women, these prejudices more closely resemble stay in your place prejudices, prescribing them to maintain their current (disadvantaged) positions. Specifically, these hostile prejudices enforce expectations that women and racial minorities maintain their low-status positions, proscribing them from agency, legitimizing their disadvantage, and disparaging them when they engage in power-seeking behavior (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Sears, 1988). As an example, items for scales measuring prejudice against women and racial minorities include statements, such as “women are seeking to gain power by getting control over men” and “inferior groups should stay in their place” (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Pratto et al., 1994; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014; Swim et al., 1995).

In contrast, work on age prescriptions similarly argues that older people are expected to be in low status, low threat, and subordinate positions (Kite et al., 2002; North & Fiske, 2013a); however, this form of ageism arises because older people fail to pass down or cede desirable resources (i.e., retire; Succession), consume more than their fair share of resources (Consumption), or fail to “act their age” (Identity; North & Fiske, 2013a). The penalties for violating prescriptions resembles certain forms of gender (Rudman & Phelan, 2008) and racial (Phelan & Rudman, 2010) backlash, but the key difference with age prescriptions is that this backlash stems from not actively moving out of the way, rather than passively taking up space (Martin et al., 2019; North & Fiske, 2013a, 2013b).

Related to the workplace domain, of these prescriptions, Succession is consistently the most strongly endorsed by younger generations (North & Fiske, 2013b). Succession prejudice represents a set of beliefs that older people have already had opportunities to succeed in their life, and that it is time for them to step aside and allow other (specifically younger) groups to experience those same opportunities. For example, items on the Succession prejudice scale include, “older people’s maximum benefit to society is passing along their resources,” and “most older people don’t know when to make way for young people” (North & Fiske, 2013a). This form of prejudice largely accounts for younger peo-

ple's tendency to deny organizational investment in older generations and ascribes the greatest amount of threatening agency to older adults (North & Fiske, 2016). This perception is especially problematic given the increasing number of older individuals who are remaining in the workforce: one in four older individuals is now in the workforce, and this number has risen dramatically in recent years (Brooks, 2018; U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008), largely because of the financial impracticality of retirement (AARP, 2018). This growing demographic has given rise to more intergenerational tensions than ever before, as older individuals are expected to retire and cede their positions of power, making room for younger generations to acquire these coveted resources (e.g., wealth, jobs; Nelson, 2016). However, economic hardships on both sides of the age spectrum have made this "natural" pattern increasingly less common (North & Fiske, 2016).

Thus, as with racial minorities and women, older people face discrimination and prejudice, so why would egalitarians—or those who advocate for the advancement of opportunities and reduction of prejudice toward discriminated groups—selectively reject race and gender prejudices, while actively endorsing age prejudices? In the following section we outline the beliefs and values associated with egalitarianism.

### Egalitarianism: Equality for All Groups?

Social egalitarianism is an ideology which maintains that all humans are equal in worth and which prioritizes equality for all people (Arneson, 2013). Although this construct takes different theoretical forms, in this article we focus on egalitarian advocacy and conceptualize it as an individual's active orientation and motivation toward supporting equal opportunity, justice, and treatment of social groups (Arneson, 2013; Crandall & Eshleman, 2003; Fischer et al., 2000). Specifically, egalitarian advocacy represents a form of egalitarianism that captures one's motivation and *active* commitment to social change toward group-based equality (Downing & Roush, 1985; Fischer et al., 2000). In other words, rather than merely possessing an inclination toward equality, egalitarian advocacy comprises a motivation to take action and enact equality-based change.

Broadly, social egalitarianism relates to a number of hierarchy-attenuating ideologies, positively predicting political liberalism and antiauthoritarianism, and negatively predicting racism, sexism, classism, and status quo support (Fischer et al., 2000; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius et al., 1996). Egalitarianism also predicts support for behaviors to rectify inequality: People high in egalitarian beliefs generally favor policies that help the disadvantaged and hold more positive opinions of low-status group members (Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Particularly relevant for the current article, those high in egalitarian advocacy actually engage in behaviors to create equality, such as involvement and participation in organizations (e.g., volunteering), collective action (e.g., protests), and classes on egalitarian issues (e.g., gender studies; Fischer et al., 2000; Liss et al., 2004).

Past research implies that those who endorse egalitarianism believe in equality for *all* social groups, with the exception of groups that violate egalitarian values (see Crandall et al., 2002). Egalitarianism predicts not only comparably low levels of generalized prejudice, but also low levels of specific prejudices toward a number of groups, such as poor people, Latinos, Asians, Blacks,

foreigners, gay people, women, Arabs, Muslims, immigrants, and refugees (Altemeyer, 1996; Ho et al., 2012; Pratto et al., 1994; Sidanius & Pratto, 2001; Thomsen et al., 2008). This has led many researchers to conclude that egalitarians endorse less prejudice and show more support for all disadvantaged social groups (e.g., Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Thus, one might expect that egalitarianism should also predict support for older individuals, as well. However, because of the unique nature of older individuals' position in society (having once had power), expectations (passing down resources), and the perceived resource scarcity between different groups, egalitarian advocacy might be more likely to predict discrimination against older individuals and prioritize women and racial minorities in the process.

### Egalitarianism: Deservingness of Resources, Value Conflict, and Expression of Prejudice

Past work suggests that prejudice toward groups, as well as its expression and social acceptance, is due to the group's perceived *deservingness* of such prejudice. A group's deservingness depends on the extent to which they share similar egalitarian values, as well as their position in the social hierarchy (Feather, 1996a, 1996b, 1999; Lucas & Kteily, 2018). That is, although egalitarians tend to be less prejudiced against underrepresented groups (Altemeyer, 1996; Sidanius et al., 1996), they only support these groups to the extent to which they believe a given group is disadvantaged and similarly endorse egalitarian values (Chambers et al., 2013).

When a group explicitly violates egalitarian values (e.g., conservatism), egalitarians harbor and express more prejudice against "deviant" disadvantaged groups (e.g., Black people who identify as politically conservative; Chambers et al., 2013). Older people are often assumed to hold different, and often more conservative, values (e.g., a tendency to resist change, authoritarianism, or intolerance of abnormal opinions; Campbell & Strate, 1981; Glenn, 1974), which may make egalitarianism predict endorsement of age prejudice (see Study 5b in this article). Relevant to our hypotheses around resource tension, past work has shown that the extent of egalitarian support and empathy depends on a group's position in the social hierarchy. Egalitarianism predicts reduced likelihood of expressing empathy toward advantaged groups (those at the top of the social hierarchy), who ostensibly *block* other groups from achieving success (e.g., the rich, executives; Lucas & Kteily, 2018). This is especially true when that group is seen to not deserve their status or resources (Feather, 1999). Thus, despite the fact that older individuals are discriminated against and often represent a disadvantaged group, egalitarian advocacy may correlate with seeing older individuals as advantaged, less deserving of resources, and blocking other, more deserving, groups from opportunities. Therefore, egalitarianism should more strongly predict Succession prejudice toward older adults. (Given the resource tension involved in Succession prejudice, we are more interested in an opportunity blocking hypothesis, though we test both "value conflict" and "opportunity blocking" as mechanisms in Study 5b).

In summary, we argue that older people, unlike women and racial minorities, are perceived as blocking younger people (and other groups) from opportunities, and given ageism's dynamic turn-taking expectations, are expected to actively move aside to free up said opportunities. Thus, egalitarianism should predict greater support for women and racial minorities, and less support

for (and even more prejudice toward) older individuals, legitimizing ageism, rather than sexism or racism. We argue further that if beliefs around older individuals' advantaged positions are changed (i.e., showing a need to continue working), prejudice toward older adults should be mitigated, and support for them may even be increased. In other words, changing the perception of older individuals' deservingness should mitigate the link between egalitarianism and ageism.

### Overview of Studies

We test these hypotheses in nine separate studies. Although we examine these hypotheses using multiple measures of egalitarianism and hierarchy-attenuating beliefs (e.g., anti-social dominance orientation [SDO], liberalism), we focus on *egalitarian advocacy*, a construct that captures one's general motivation and orientation toward actively increasing equality. If activities and efforts to promote social equality coincide with overlooking older individuals, then it risks older individuals being excluded from prevailing societal inclusion efforts. Although we include race and gender as comparison groups, our primary focus is on the relationship between egalitarianism and Succession-based ageism, as this relationship has not been explored (whereas researchers have explored egalitarianism's relationships with race and gender). We focus also on holistic prejudices and diversity-related policies. Although it is possible that older, White, privileged men are the prototypical exemplar of the age category (an assumption we test descriptively in a supplemental study, reported in online supplemental materials, and experimentally in Study 7), this group makes up the minority of the older demographic (United States Census, 2016); in fact, the majority of older individuals cannot afford to retire (AARP, 2018).<sup>1</sup> Thus, focusing on policies that affect the outcomes for all older individuals is more prudent than ever.

In Study 1, we show the unique elements of egalitarian advocacy, establishing it as a construct and scale, and provide an initial test of the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and forms of racism, sexism, and ageism. In Studies 2a and 2b, we measure egalitarianism advocacy and show, again, that this construct predicts disapproval of racism and sexism, but endorsement of Succession-based ageism. In Study 3, we demonstrate implications for older individuals, whereby egalitarian advocacy predicts policy support for racial minorities and women, but not older individuals. In Study 4, we extend these findings and identify a mechanism to explain them, showing that egalitarian advocacy predicts allocating more resources to women and racial minorities and fewer resources to older individuals, because of the belief that older individuals block other groups (i.e., women and racial minorities) from getting ahead. In Study 5a and 5b, we show changing people's baseline beliefs about older individuals' wealth mitigates these effects, and increases support for older individuals. In Study 6, we show that those higher in egalitarian advocacy are especially amenable to this intervention, such that egalitarian advocacy predicts a greater reduction in bias when baseline views of older individuals are changed. Finally, in Study 7, we explore these effects in an intersectional manner, investigating whether egalitarians are more biased against older White male targets who fail to step aside than they are against older minority female targets who do the same. Three of nine studies (Study 1, 2a, and 5b) were

preregistered, and materials and data are available at: <https://osf.io/jng9d/>.

### Study 1: Egalitarian Advocacy, Prejudice, and Correlates

In Study 1, we conducted a survey to examine whether and how egalitarian advocacy relates to measures of prejudice—specifically, Succession prejudice. In this study, we validate “egalitarian advocacy” as a unique construct, showing its relationship to multiple variables (e.g., anti-SDO, liberalism), and multiple forms of sexism, racism, and ageism. We did not have strong a priori predictions about the strength of the relationships between our variables. In Study 1, we estimated a modest relationship ( $r = .15$ ), and a power analysis (using G\*Power 3.1; Faul et al., 2009;  $r = .15$ ,  $1-\beta = .80$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ ), determined that approximately 350 participants would be ideal to achieve adequate power. We note that controlling for the effects of gender (1 = male, 2 = female), race (0 = non-White, 1 = White), and age do not change results in any of the studies reported below and report results both with and without controls (more details can be found in Table 1 and in online supplemental materials).

### Participants and Procedure

Participants ( $N = 354$ ) were recruited from Amazon's Mechanical Turk (MTurk) to take part in a survey on “attitudes and perceptions.” Participants who failed an attention check were excluded ( $n = 6$ ), leaving a final sample of 348 participants (62% men, 78% White,  $M_{\text{age}} = 35.14$ ,  $SD = 10.37$ ).

### Independent Variable: Egalitarian Advocacy

We captured egalitarian advocacy with six items from the *active commitment to equality* subcomponent of the feminist identity scale (Fischer et al., 2000). Unlike the feminist identity scale, these items do not reference a specific demographic group, and refer to equality overall. Prior work shows that this component predicts involvement in advocacy organizations, recognition of discrimination, and reduced prejudice (Fischer et al., 2000; Martin & Phillips, 2017). Items include, “I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people,” “my motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world,” “I find the magnitude of inequality in this country to be unacceptable” “I choose my ‘causes’ carefully to work for greater equality for all people,” “I feel angry when I think about the injustices and inequality in society,” and “I owe it to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all.” Partici-

<sup>1</sup> To ensure that our effects were not specific to a particular prototype or exemplar (specifically, an older, White, conservative man), in an unreported study, we examined the demographic characteristics that came to mind when imagining an older individual. In this study, MTurk participants ( $N = 265$ ; 51% men, 70% White,  $M_{\text{age}} = 37.98$ ) read a scenario about an older individual (taken from Martin et al., 2019), and were asked to guess their gender, race, political orientation, amongst other demographic features. We find that there is variance amongst these demographic features, and that only 33% envisioned an older, White, conservative male. More information can be found in online supplemental materials.



**Table 1***Relationship Between Egalitarian Advocacy and Succession Prejudice Including Controls*

Model	1	2	3		4	5	6	7
Dependent variable	Succ.	Succ.	Succ.		EA	EA	EA	EA
Egalitarian advocacy	0.14 (.04)***	0.14 (.04)***	0.18 (.04)***	Ageism (Succ.)	0.27 (.08)***	0.29 (.08)***	0.43 (.07)***	0.29 (.08)***
Gender		−0.26 (.11)*	−0.28 (.11)**	Gender		0.50 (.16)***	0.33 (.14)*	0.30 (.14)*
White		−0.11 (.13)	−0.08 (.12)	White		−0.20 (.18)	−0.13 (.16)	−0.12 (.16)
Age		−0.02 (.01)***	−0.02 (.01)***	Age		−0.002 (.01)	0.004 (.01)	0.01 (.01)
Political beliefs			0.05 (.04)	Racism (Host.)			−0.68 (.10)***	−0.80 (.11)***
Anti-SDO			−0.17 (.05)***	Sexism (Host.)			−0.06 (.10)	−0.24 (.11)*
Anti-system justification			0.06 (.05)	Ageism (Host.)				0.15 (.07)*
				Racism (Succ.)				0.09 (.12)
				Sexism (Succ.)				0.20 (.12)
Constant	−0.64 (.18)***	0.59 (.29)*	0.80 (.31)	Constant	4.73 (.08)***	4.28 (.34)***	4.25 (.29)***	2.97 (.46)***
N	347	347	347	N	347	347	347	347
R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	0.12	0.16	R <sup>2</sup>	0.04	0.07	0.32	0.34

*Note.* Succ = Succession (z-score); EA = Egalitarian Advocacy; Host = Hostile. Standard errors are reported in parentheses. Gender is coded such that 1 = male, 2 = female. White is coded such that 1 = White, 0 = Non-White. Political Affiliation measured such that 1 = *very right* to 7 = *very left*. Models 1 to 3 represent the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and Succession (Model 1), controlling for demographic variables (Model 2), and other measures of egalitarianism (Model 3). Models 4 to 7 represent the relationship between Succession and Egalitarian Advocacy (Model 4), controlling for demographic variables (Model 5), hostile forms of racism and sexism (Model 6) and matched measures of racism, sexism, and ageism (Model 7).

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

pants rated their agreement with these statements on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

### Measures of Prejudice

To capture gender, race, and age prejudice, we used traditional measures of (hostile) sexism, racism, and (Succession) ageism that capture backlash toward demographic groups for asserting agency, challenging the status quo and/or achieving success. These different measures were used to capture a “*stay in your place*” prejudice for women and racial minorities, versus a “*move out of the way*” prejudice for older individuals. These measures were not only chosen for theoretical reasons—that is, measuring the specific forms of prejudice most applicable to each group (Fiske & North, 2015)—but operationally, multiple items for hostile prejudice were not relevant to older individuals who are seen to already have power (e.g., “[subordinate group] is seeking to *gain* power by getting control over [dominant group]”), and multiple Succession items were not as

relevant to racial minorities and women, who are not in positions conducive to ceding power (e.g., “[subordinate groups] don’t know when it’s time to make way for the [dominant group]”). However, in Study 1, we matched several relevant items applicable to both groups to further support our hypotheses (see below).

Additionally, to show our effects were specific to Succession, for exploratory purposes, we also captured other prejudices (Consumption and Identity-based ageism; North & Fiske, 2013b) as well as modern prejudice (denial of inequality and/or discrimination) which are supplemental to our question of interest and can be found in the online supplemental materials and Table 2.

### Sexism

We measured gender prejudice through the six-item hostile sexism portion of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Rollero et al., 2014). Example items include, “feminists are making unreasonable demands of men” and

**Table 2***Measures of Egalitarian Advocacy on Multiple Forms of Gender, Race, and Age Prejudice*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1. Egalitarian advocacy											
2. Sexism (Host)	−.33**										
3. Sexism (Succ)	−.18**	.72**									
4. Sexism (Mod)	−.53**	.69**	.58**								
5. Racism (Host)	−.48**	.76**	.68**	.74**							
6. Racism (Succ)	−.23**	.67**	.82**	.61**	.72**						
7. Racism (Mod)	−.59**	.65**	.54**	.90**	.80**	.60**					
8. Ageism (Host)	.02	.56**	.52**	.28**	.41**	.47**	.24**				
9. Ageism (Succ)	.19**	.31**	.35**	.07	.16**	.29**	−.03	.61**			
10. Ageism (Mod)	−.30**	.39**	.39**	.63**	.43**	.39**	.57**	.36**	.19**		
11. Ageism (Cons)	.01	.52**	.57**	.31**	.40**	.53**	.25**	.73**	.61**	.36**	
12. Ageism (ID)	−.04	.53**	.57**	.36**	.44**	.58**	.30**	.60**	.46**	.34**	.70**

*Note.* Succ = succession; EA = egalitarian advocacy; Host = hostile; ID = identity; Mod = modern; Cons = consumption.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

“women are seeking to gain power by getting control over men.” Participants rated their agreement with all items on a scale from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 7 = *agree strongly* ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

### **Racism**

We measured race prejudice via matched items of the six-item hostile sexism scale, applied to racism (Rollero et al., 2014). Though this scale was adapted from the hostile sexism scale, we believed these items best captured the active, antagonistic form of prejudice that proscribes lower power groups from achieving power (that is relevant to race relations in America). Example items read, “Black people are too easily offended” and “Black people are seeking to gain power by getting control over Whites.” Participants rated their agreement with all items on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .96$ ).

### **Age**

To measure ageism, we used the seven-item Succession subscale of the SIC ageism scale (North & Fiske, 2013b). Example items include, “the older generation has an unfair amount of political power compared with younger people” and “most older workers don’t know when it’s time to make way for the younger generation.” Participants rated their agreement with all items on a scale from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 6 = *agree strongly* ( $\alpha = .82$ ).

### **Related Measures: Egalitarianism**

To show the unique and robust relationship between egalitarian advocacy and race, gender, and age prejudices, we included other measures of egalitarianism. Because measures capturing egalitarianism are often measured in their antithetical form: “anti-egalitarianism,” we compare egalitarian advocacy to other antiegalitarian measures (i.e., SDO, system justification), reversed scored to represent *egalitarian* (rather than antiegalitarian) measures.

#### **Egalitarianism (Anti-SDO)**

Multiple measures of SDO were captured on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*. We present the general four-item measure of SDO (Pratto et al., 2013;  $\alpha = .86$ ), but additional measures that include the dominance (SDO-D) and equality (SDO-E) subcomponents can be found in the online supplemental materials for interested readers (see Ho et al., 2012). Example items include, “some groups of people are inferior to other groups” and “group equality should be our ideal (reversed).” This measure was reversed to capture egalitarianism, rather than antiegalitarianism.

#### **Liberalism**

Liberalism was measured with a scale asking participants to identify their political beliefs on a scale from 1 = *very conservative* to 7 = *very liberal*.

#### **Anti-System Justification (Anti-SJ)**

System justification, a measure capturing support for the status quo and resistance to changing (inegalitarian) societal systems (Kay & Jost, 2003), comprised a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .90$ ). An example item reads, “in

general, the American political system operates as it should.” This measure was reversed to capture one’s beliefs that society should be restructured toward equality.

### **Additional Measures of Prejudice**

In addition, we captured multiple other forms of prejudice to show that these relationships were specific to Succession (“move out of the way”) prejudices for age, and hostile (“stay in your place”) prejudices for race and gender.

#### **Hostile Ageism**

We adapted six items from the hostile sexism scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rollero et al., 2014) to apply to age. An example item includes, “older people are seeking to gain power by getting control over the younger generation,” and “older people are making unreasonable demands of the young” ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

#### **Succession (Race and Gender)**

We matched five of the items from the Succession scale (as two of the items did not make sense when applied to race and gender), to capture a get-out-of-the-way prejudice for women and racial minorities (though, as argued, these items do not apply to race and gender in the same way). Example items include “[Women] [Black people] have an unfair amount of political power compared with White people” and “[Men] [White people] are usually more productive than [women] [Black people] at their jobs” (North & Fiske, 2013b;  $\alpha_{\text{gender}} = .72$ ,  $\alpha_{\text{race}} = .73$ ). Participants rated their endorsement of these items on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 6 = *strongly agree*.

#### **Modern Prejudice**

Further, we used modern sexism ( $\alpha = .94$ ), racism ( $\alpha = .94$ ), and ageism ( $\alpha = .86$ ) scales to capture beliefs that each group does not face discrimination, and that claims to suggest otherwise are wrong and/or overexaggerated (Swim et al., 1995). Example items include, “discrimination against [women] [Black people] [older people] is no longer a problem in the United States” and “society has reached the point where [women and men] [Black and White people] [older and younger people] have equal opportunities for achievement.” Participants rated their endorsement of these items on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*.

#### **Other Prescriptive Age Prejudices**

Finally, we used additional components of the SIC measure (North & Fiske, 2013b) to capture beliefs that older people should avoid passively depleting shared resources (*Consumption*;  $\alpha = .90$ ; e.g., “Doctors spend too much time treating sickly older people”) and beliefs that older people should avoid symbolic youth resources (*Identity*;  $\alpha = .89$ ; e.g., “Older people shouldn’t use Facebook”) on a scale from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 6 = *agree strongly*.

As indicated, these measures were used to demonstrate that egalitarian advocacy specifically captures support for racial minorities and women, but not necessarily older individuals; and further, that any prejudice and/or discrimination toward older individuals is unique to beliefs that they should “step aside” to make room for younger individuals (i.e., Succession).

## Results

To examine egalitarian advocacy as a scale, we used a principal components factor analysis with direct oblimin rotation (Conway & Huffcutt, 2003) on the individual items. We found that the egalitarian advocacy scale has internal validity, where all items fell onto one factor, with an eigenvalue of 4.26, capturing 71% of the variance, with all factor loadings greater than .80. This measure related to (but was distinct from) other measures of egalitarianism, such as anti-SDO,  $r = .52, p < .001$ , liberalism,  $r = .40, p < .001$ , anti-SJ,  $r = .35, p < .001$ .

Next, we examined the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and our measures of prejudice. As expected, a significant negative relationship emerged between egalitarian advocacy and hostile gender,  $r = -.33, p < .001$  and race,  $r = -.48, p < .001$  prejudices, suggesting that the more participants advocate for, and actively participate in, equality initiatives, the less they endorse sexism and racism. However, as expected, there was a positive relationship between egalitarian advocacy and Succession prejudice,  $r = .19, p < .001$ , such that the more participants advocate for equality, the more they believe older individuals should actively step aside. All correlations appear in Table 3 (see Figure 1 for scatterplot).<sup>2</sup>

Further, anti-SDO predicted less sexism,  $r = -.55, p < .001$  and racism,  $r = -.65, p < .001$ , but did not predict ageism,  $r = -.03, p = .59$ . Similarly, whereas political liberalism negatively related to sexism,  $r = -.42, p < .001$  and racism,  $r = -.50, p < .001$ , it was related to *more* ageism,  $r = .12, p = .025$ . Finally, those who were more opposed to system justification (and less resistant toward societal change to create equality) also endorsed less sexism,  $r = -.41, p < .001$  and racism,  $r = -.51, p < .001$ , but marginally more ageism,  $r = .09, p = .085$ . Thus, though our focus was on egalitarian activism, patterns are consistent across multiple measures of egalitarianism, where participants who were more supportive of equality were more likely to reject sexism and racism, and either did not reject or actively supported, ageism. See Table 3 for intervariable relationships. When including a number of controls, and other forms of race and gender prejudice, the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and Succession remains significant (see Table 1).

In addition, though egalitarian advocacy negatively predicted every other measure of gender and race prejudices, ( $r$ s  $< -.18, p$ s  $< .001$ ), for age, it was not predictive of other forms of prejudice ( $p$ s  $> .10$ ), with the exception of modern ageism,

$r = -.30, p < .001$ . Thus, egalitarian advocates seem to be aware that discrimination against older individuals exists (through less modern prejudice)—but despite knowing this, are still more likely to believe that they should step aside (see Table 2 for relationships).

## Study 1 Discussion

Study 1 provided an initial test of our hypothesis: endorsement of egalitarian advocacy predicted *greater* likelihood to endorse Succession (i.e., get out of the way) prejudice toward older individuals, and *lesser* likelihood to endorse this form of prejudice for women and racial minorities. In line with our prediction, the prejudice harbored by those higher in egalitarian advocacy was unique to Succession (or the belief that older individuals should step aside and move out of the way). This effect was robust across multiple measures (i.e., liberalism, anti-SJ, and anti-SDO), though this effect was strongest for egalitarian advocacy. We argue this is because of the advocacy component of this measure: while liberalism and anti-SDO represent beliefs around equality, egalitarian advocacy represents active motivation toward it. Further, egalitarian advocacy related to less hostile (i.e., stay in your place) prejudice toward women and racial minorities, but not to less hostile ageism,  $r = .02, p = .66$ . Thus, it should be noted that egalitarian advocacy was specific to a particular form of ageism: Succession. Notably, egalitarian advocacy predicted a greater likelihood to recognize that age inequality exists (through less modern prejudice). This means that egalitarian advocacy correlates with recognizing discrimination, but still a greater likelihood to support it.

## Study 2: Egalitarian Advocacy in Relation to Gender, Race, and Age Prejudice

In Study 2, we replicated the effects of Study 1, using a pre-registered survey to support our hypothesis that the *more* individ-

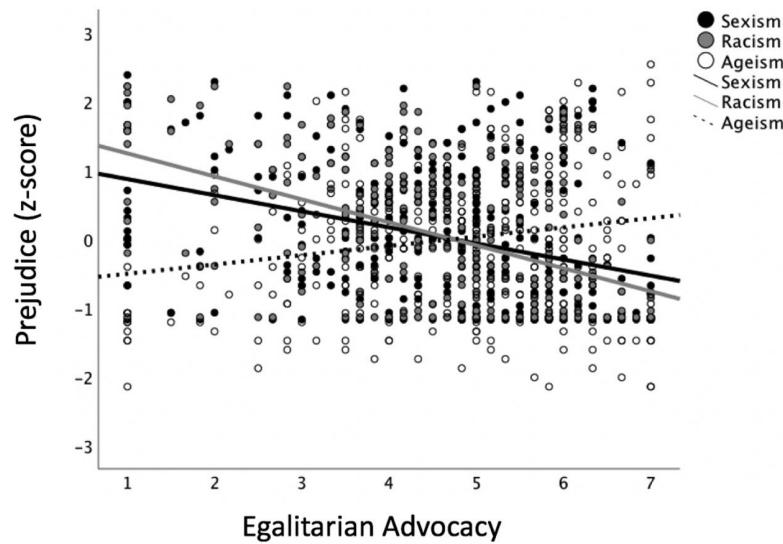
**Table 3**  
Multiple Measures of Egalitarianism and Gender, Race, and Age Prejudice

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6
1. Egalitarian advocacy						
2. Anti-SDO	.52**					
3. Liberalism	.40**	.52**				
4. Anti-SJ	.35**	.50**	.50**			
5. Ageism	.19**	-.03	.12*	.09†		
6. Racism	-.48**	-.65**	-.50**	-.51**	.16**	
7. Sexism	-.33**	-.55**	-.42**	-.41**	.31**	.76**

Note. SDO = social dominance orientation; SJ = system justification.  
†  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ . \*\*\*  $p < .001$ .

<sup>2</sup> To get a better sense of how egalitarian advocacy operates relative to other constructs, we ran an exploratory factor analysis on the six egalitarian advocacy items, combining datasets from Studies 1, 2a, and 2b, which at first yielded a one-factor solution (suggesting that, as we argue in the article, these six items are best characterized as one overall factor). After forcing a rotation to yield two separate factors, the analysis yielded Egalitarian Factor A (“My motivation for almost every activity I engage in is my desire for an egalitarian world”; “I am very committed to a cause that I believe contributes to a more fair and just world for all people”; “I choose my ‘causes’ carefully to work for greater equality for all people”; “I owe it to all people to work for greater opportunity and equality for all”;  $a = .89$ ), contrasting slightly with Egalitarian Advocacy Factor B (“I feel angry when I think about the injustices and inequality in society”; “I find the magnitude of inequality in this country to be unacceptable”;  $a = .82$ ). Qualitatively speaking, whereas Factor B more closely resembles emotion or passion-based egalitarian advocacy, Factor A resembles cognitive-based egalitarian advocacy. Although we are quick to note that the two factors predict the other included constructs in the same direction every time, it is worth noting that Factor B is a bit stronger in negatively predicting racism, sexism, and SDO, and positively predicting ageism (see online supplemental materials). This suggests that the tendency to disagree with prejudice is concentrated more strongly among those who are guided by emotion rather than cognition. Nevertheless, the fact that a one-factor egalitarian advocacy measure is the best fit for the data, not to mention the one offering the greatest reliability, suggests that this sub-division might be a bit artificial, and the overarching conclusion remains that egalitarian advocacy predicts all constructs except ageism in the expected direction (i.e., anti-bias).

**Figure 1**  
*Egalitarian Advocacy on Gender, Race, and Age Prejudice*



*Note.* Race, gender, and age prejudice as a function of egalitarian advocacy, as measured by hostile sexism, hostile racism (Rollero et al., 2014), and Succession-based ageism (North & Fiske, 2013b). All scores are presented as z-scores, relative to the mean (i.e., 0 = the mean across participants).

uals endorse egalitarian advocacy, the *less* they will endorse forms of race and gender bias, but the *more* that they will endorse age bias. In Study 2a, we recruited 160 participants, to take part in a study on “attitudes perceptions.” Based on effect sizes obtained thereof, we collected a larger sample size ( $N = 600$ ), which was over  $2.5\times$  the number used in Study 2a (as recommended by Simonsohn, 2013). Participants in both studies to take part in a study on “attitudes and perceptions.” Participants ( $n_{2a} = 5$ ;  $n_{2b} = 29$ ) who did not pass attention checks were removed, leaving a final sample of 155 in Study 2a (56% men; 74% White;  $M_{\text{age}} = 32.99$ ,  $SD = 9.63$ ) and 571 respondents in Study 2b (61% male; 80% White;  $M_{\text{age}} = 35.25$ ,  $SD = 10.24$ ). Participants again completed a study on attitudes and perceptions and filled out the same measures of egalitarianism and our measures of (hostile) sexism, racism, and (Succession) ageism (see Table 4 for correlations).

## Results

Replicating Study 1’s results, significant relationships emerged between gender- and race-based prejudice and egalitarian advocacy, whereby those who advocated more strongly for equality endorsed less sexism ( $r_{\text{Study 2a}} = -.30$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $r_{\text{Study 2b}} = -.19$ ,  $p < .001$ ), racism ( $r_{\text{Study 2a}} = -.51$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $r_{\text{Study 2b}} = -.29$ ,  $p < .001$ ), but more ageism ( $r_{\text{Study 2a}} = .18$ ,  $p = .025$ ;  $r_{\text{Study 2b}} = .30$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Further, as with previous studies, this pattern existed for other forms of egalitarianism, as reported below.<sup>3</sup> As with Study 1, the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and ageism holds, when controlling for gender (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*), race (1 = *White*, 0 = *non-White*), and age of the participant ( $ps < .01$ ), as well as when simultaneously including the measures of racism, and sexism ( $ps < .025$ ).

## Study 2 Discussion

In two studies, with a larger combined sample, we replicated the effects found in Study 1, showing the unique relationships between measures of egalitarianism and Succession, compared with other measures of prejudice: racism and sexism. We find that while many measures of egalitarianism negatively predicted sexism and racism, they positively predicted ageism. In the next study, we explored this relationship in a more involved, real-world context: diversity initiatives.

## Study 3: Diversity Initiatives

In Study 3, we examined an important outcome of egalitarianism, namely how much this construct would predict allocation to certain diversity initiatives. Specifically, we conducted a survey on “attitudes and perceptions,” where participants completed our focal measure of egalitarian advocacy, as well measures that capture

<sup>3</sup> To explore the proposed relationships between our key variables in one model rather than multiple ones, we combined datasets from Study 1, Study 2a, and Study 2b, then constructed a path model. Path models are appropriate in this case because, rather than SEM, which requires the presence of latent factors, we are exploring the relationship between three predictors (hostile sexism, hostile racism, and Succession-based ageism) and one outcome variable (egalitarian advocacy)—all of which are observed variables—while accounting for relationships between all variables. With this model, our proposed relationships largely hold; the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and hostile racism is significant ( $r = -.37$ ,  $p < .001$ ), and nonsignificant, but in the same direction for hostile sexism ( $r = -.02$ ,  $p = .70$ ). However, the relationship is in the opposite direction for Succession-based ageism ( $r = .29$ ,  $p < .001$ ). Thus, unlike racism and sexism, egalitarian advocates endorse ageism, as is our premise.



**Table 4**  
*Relationships Between Egalitarianism and Sexism, Racism, and Ageism*

Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. Egalitarian advocacy	—	.60**	.36**	.34**	-.30**	-.51**	.18*
2. Anti-SDO	.55**	—	.47**	.43**	-.56**	-.61**	.14†
3. Liberalism	.35**	.48**	—	.43**	-.41**	-.39**	.24**
4. Anti-SJ	.30**	.38**	.48**	—	-.34**	-.40**	.19*
5. Sexism	-.19**	-.50**	-.44**	-.20**	—	.65**	.22**
6. Racism	-.29**	-.58**	-.51**	-.28**	.70**	—	.03
7. Ageism	.30**	.14**	.25**	.30**	.15**	-.02**	—

*Note.* SDO = social dominance orientation; SJ = system justification. Correlations above the diagonal are from Study 2a, whereas correlations below the diagonal are from Study 2b.

†  $p < .10$ . \*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

their support for diversity initiatives (e.g., investment). We estimated power, using the smallest effect found across Studies 1 and 2 for Succession-based ageism ( $r = .19$ ,  $1-\beta = .80$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ ), accounting for potential participant attrition. Participants ( $N = 299$ ) from MTurk took part in our survey. Participants who failed an attention check ( $n = 2$ ) were removed, leaving a final sample of 297 (57% men, 79% White,  $M_{\text{age}} = 37.86$ ,  $SD = 10.99$ ).

### Independent Variable: Egalitarian Advocacy

We measured egalitarianism once again through egalitarian advocacy, using the same measure as in Studies 1 and 2. Participants rated their agreement with items on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .89$ ).

### Dependent Variable: Allocation to Diversity Initiatives

To measure which social groups participants believed should receive resources, participants read, “An organization has decided to invest \$1,000,000 into increasing diversity within their organization,” and told that the following groups were underrepresented: (a) LGBT, (b) women, (c) racial minorities, (d) older individuals, (e) people with disabilities, (f) veterans, (g) immigrants, and (h) low socioeconomic status (SES) employees. They were then asked, “how do you think the organization should allocate their funds?” Participants saw multiple social categories, presented in randomized order. Embedded within them were our groups of interest (a) women, (b) racial minorities, and (c) older individuals. Participants then distributed their allocations for each category on

a scale of 0 to 100, where the total allocation, across all eight categories, totaled 100.

### Results

We find that the more that participants endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the more money they thought should be invested in increasing the representation of women,  $r = .12$ ,  $p = .047$  and racial minorities,  $r = .32$ ,  $p < .001$ , but the *less* they allocated to increasing representation of older individuals,  $r = -.16$ ,  $p = .006$ . Though supplemental to our question of interest, correlations and descriptive statistics for all groups are reported in Table 5. Results held controlling for gender (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*), race (1 = *White*, 0 = *Non-White*), and age.

### Discussion Study 3

Study 3 shows implications of egalitarian advocacy for funding allocation to diversity initiatives. We found that, indeed, participants who endorse egalitarian advocacy are less likely to invest in diversity initiatives for older individuals, compared with women and racial minorities. Over the past few decades, there has been a rise in investment in diversity initiatives and support for groups who are discriminated against (see Culbertson, 2018). These initiatives are mostly being supported by those motivated toward “equality and inclusion for all” (Bess, 2018). However, Study 3 shows that those who advocate for equality, do not do so equally—and indeed, they are comparatively less likely to support older individuals.

**Table 5**  
*Correlation Between Egalitarian Advocacy and Allocation to Groups*

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Egalitarian advocacy	4.80	1.37	—							
2. Women	13.44	10.72	.12*	—						
3. Racial minority	14.17	11.03	.32**	.19**	—					
4. Older	11.28	8.57	-.16**	-.17**	-.40**	—				
5. Disabilities	15.40	10.67	-.18**	-.29**	-.32**	.12*	—			
6. International	5.85	6.21	.13**	.01	.03	-.07	-.22**	—		
7. Low SES	15.60	13.49	.06	-.33**	-.10	-.13*	-.18**	-.14*	—	
8. LGBTQ	8.61	9.07	.27**	.12*	.17**	-.29**	-.26**	.12*	-.21**	—
9. Veterans	15.66	14.48	-.38**	-.35**	-.46**	.08	.08	-.20**	-.22**	-.33**

*Note.* SES = socioeconomic status; LGBTQ = lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer.

\*  $p < .05$ . \*\*  $p < .01$ .

But why is this the case? In our next study, we explored a potential mediator—perceived opportunity blocking—as noted in our introduction, which we speculate is driving prejudice, or relative apathy, toward older individuals. Because older individuals are subject to a uniquely dynamically based expectation to step aside and make way for others, when they violate such expectations, they are perceived as blocking opportunities for others to get their turn, leading to relatively less support.

#### Study 4: (Perceived) Opportunity Blocking

Because Succession prejudice (the expectation to step aside/minimize resource use) uniquely targeted older individuals, we hypothesized that egalitarian advocacy would predict the belief that allocating resources to older individuals obstructs women and Black people from opportunities needed to succeed. We tested this hypothesis by conducting another survey on “attitudes and perceptions” and “diversity initiatives,” first measuring our focal variable—egalitarian advocacy—and examining whether it predicted investment in diversity initiatives, support for underrepresented groups, and critically, “opportunity blocking” beliefs (i.e., beliefs that older individuals are hoarding resources and blocking other groups from opportunities). We believed that egalitarian advocacy would predict investment in, and prioritization of, initiatives to improve conditions for racial minorities and women, but not older individuals. Further, we believed this would be driven by the belief that, relative to other groups, older individuals are blocking other groups from getting ahead.

#### Participants and Procedure

In Study 4, we used the same paradigm as in Study 3, conducting a study that was ostensibly on “attitudes, perspectives, and experiences.” We estimated statistical power for this study using the age-based effect size found for Study 3’s allocation measure ( $r = .16$ ,  $1-\beta = .80$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ ), which suggested that 300 participants were ideal to test for our relationship of interest. Thus, we recruited 300 participants, two of whom failed an attention check, leaving a final sample of 298 (62% men, 76% White,  $M_{\text{age}} = 36.27$ ;  $SD = 11.14$ ). Participants began filling out the survey answering a number of questions (e.g., personality, cognitive style), embedded in which was our measure of egalitarian advocacy. Participants then moved on to the next part of the study, where they were asked about their perceptions of “workplace diversity.” Participants read that, “organizations are trying to increase representation of underrepresented groups . . . in the following questions, you will be asked about a few demographic groups that are underrepresented in positions of power from the following list.” This list comprised the eight groups from Study 3, embedded in which were our target groups of interest (women, racial minorities, and older individuals). Participants responded to questions concerning three “randomly” selected groups, which were, in fact, always (a) “women,” (b) “race/ethnic minorities,” and (c) “older individuals (60+).” These groups were presented to participants in randomized order. Thus, unlike Study 3, only three (rather than eight) demographic groups were asked about, given our focus on comparing these three groups and the number of additional questions being asked in Study 4. Participants then answered a number of questions about women, racial/ethnic mi-

norities, and older individuals, were thanked, debriefed, and paid. Of note, all results hold when controlling for demographic variables.

#### Independent Variable: Egalitarian Advocacy

Participants answered their agreement with the *Egalitarian Advocacy* scale, from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .90$ ).

#### Dependent Measures

##### *Funding Allocation to Diversity Initiatives*

Participants read the same prompt as in Study 3, and were asked how they thought the organization should allocate their funds. Participants saw three social categories: (a) women, (b) racial minorities, and (c) older individuals, then distributed their allocations for each category on a scale of 0 to 100, where the total allocation, across all three categories, had to total 100.

##### *Prioritization*

Participants then answered two questions about *each* group (answering six questions overall) to measure the extent they believed (1) women, (2) racial/ethnic minorities, and (3) older individuals deserved priority in diversity initiatives. These questions included, “To what extent do [women] [racial minorities] [older individuals] deserve priority in addressing diversity, equality & inclusion in organizations/positions of power?” and, “To what extent should organizations prioritize [women] [racial minorities] [older individuals] when considering policies that aim to increase diversity, equality, and inclusion?” Participants answered these questions on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* ( $r_{\text{gender}} = .89$ ,  $r_{\text{race}} = .86$ ,  $r_{\text{age}} = .87$ ).

##### *Opportunity Blocking*

To measure the extent to which participants believed that women, (2) racial minorities, and (3) older individuals blocked opportunities and prevent other underrepresented groups from getting ahead, we asked the participants eight questions about each group. Example items include: “[Women] [racial minorities] [older individuals] block other underrepresented groups from getting ahead” and “[Women] [racial minorities] [older individuals] need more resources than other groups to get ahead (reversed).” Participants answered these questions on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $a_{\text{gender}} = .90$ ;  $a_{\text{race}} = .87$ ;  $a_{\text{age}} = .87$ ). All items appear in the online supplemental materials.

#### Results

##### *Analysis Plan*

We were interested in the relative prioritization of each group and, thus, as with allocation, we accounted for this tradeoff by operationalizing our *priority* and *opportunity blocking* variables as proportion scores. That is, for both priority and opportunity blocking, and in line with prior work (Hess & Pickett, 2010; Zwebner et al., 2017), we took the average score for older individuals and

divided it by the average score for all three groups. Similarly, we took the average score for women, and divided it by the average score for all three groups, as well as the average score for racial minorities and divided the average score for all three groups. This rendered proportion scores for both priority and opportunity blocking variables for (a) gender, (b) race, and (c) age.

### Allocation

We found significant positive relationships between egalitarian advocacy and support for both gender and race initiatives. That is, for gender, the more that individuals endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the more they allocated to gender initiatives,  $r = .17$ ,  $p = .004$ . Similarly, for race, the more that individuals endorsed egalitarian advocacy,  $r = .32$ ,  $p < .001$ , the more they allocated to race initiatives. However, we found the opposite pattern for age, such that the more that individuals endorsed egalitarian advocacy,  $r = -.36$ ,  $p < .001$ , the less they allocated to age-based diversity initiatives.

### Prioritization

We again found significant positive relationships between egalitarian advocacy and prioritization of both gender and racial groups. That is, for gender, the more that individuals endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the relatively more they prioritized gender initiatives,  $r = .13$ ,  $p = .024$ . Similarly, for race, the more that individuals endorsed egalitarian advocacy the relatively more they prioritized race initiatives,  $r = .26$ ,  $p < .001$ . However, for age, the more that individuals endorsed egalitarianism advocacy the relatively less they prioritized older individuals,  $r = -.27$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### Opportunity Blocking

Finally, for perceived opportunity blocking, we found that the more that people endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the relatively less they believed women and racial minorities blocked opportunities and resources from going to other groups ( $r_{\text{gender}} = -.23$ ,  $p < .001$ ;  $r_{\text{race}} = -.29$ ,  $p < .001$ ). However, again, we saw the opposite pattern for older adults: the more that individuals endorsed egalitarian advocacy the relatively more they believed that older individuals blocked opportunities and resources from going to other groups,  $r = .36$ ,  $p < .001$ .

### Mediation Analysis

Next, we examined the extent to which endorsement of opportunity blocking accounted for a portion of the variance in the relationship between egalitarian advocacy, and the divergent relationships in allocation and prioritization for women, racial minorities, and older individuals. We did so by using PROCESS Model 4 (Preacher & Hayes, 2004, 2008). Consistent with mediation, for women, opportunity blocking mediated the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and allocation, *indirect effect* = 1.11,  $SE = .30$ , 95% confidence interval (CI) [.57, 1.70], and prioritization, *indirect effect* = .01,  $SE = .001$ , 95% CI [.003, .01], with both direct effects becoming nonsignificant when including opportunity blocking in the model ( $ps > .27$ ). Similarly, for racial minorities, opportunity blocking mediated the effects of egalitarian advocacy on allocation, *indirect effect* = 1.41,  $SE = .29$ , 95% CI [.90, 2.05], and prioritization, *indirect effect* = .008,  $SE = .002$ , 95% CI [.005,

.011]; although the direct effects remained significant for allocation ( $p = .002$ ) and marginal for prioritization ( $p = .06$ ), they were considerably reduced.

Meanwhile, for age, the effect of egalitarian advocacy on our dependent variables of interest were also mediated by perceived opportunity blocking; unlike the effects for gender and race, the effects for age were in the opposite direction for both allocation, *indirect effect* = -2.67,  $SE = .49$ , 95% CI [-3.75, -1.84], and prioritization, *indirect effect* = -.017,  $SE = .003$ , 95% CI [-.02, -.01]. That is, the more that individuals advocated for equality, the less they supported older individuals (with direct effects becoming considerably reduced for allocation [ $p = .54$ ] and prioritization [ $p = .001$ ]).

### Study 4 Discussion

Study 4 established that the comparatively lower allocation and support older individuals received was at least partially because of the notion that older individuals block other under-represented groups (such as women and racial minorities) from opportunities. That is, older individuals are perceived more so as hoarding opportunities that could go to women and racial minorities, and are perceived as less deserving of societal resources. One limitation of this study was that our theoretical mechanism was correlational (as were all of our measures) and, thus, caution should be used when interpreting opportunity blocking as a causal mechanism. To provide more causal evidence, in the next study, we rectified this, manipulating beliefs that older individuals are blocking other groups from success by hoarding coveted resources and failing to pass them along.

### Study 5: Opportunity Blocking Beliefs and the Legitimization of Succession-Based Ageism

Study 5 comprised three primary goals. First, we manipulated Succession beliefs to see if they were malleable and subject to intervention. Second, we explored whether such beliefs would persist in the face of perceiving hardship—that is, whether these beliefs applied to older adults who are unable, rather than unwilling, to retire. Third, in Study 5b specifically, we examined whether opportunity blocking beliefs would mediate the relationship between our Succession condition and support for older individuals, and compared it to an alternative mediator (value conflict). Given that our effects seem to be driven by beliefs that older people have already had resources and actively refuse to cede them, we sought to test whether changing these beliefs could minimize prejudice. Thus, in Study 5, participants were given one of three articles about the current state of American employment, being told that older individual's (a) refuse to retire (i.e., hoarding), (b) cannot afford to retire, or (c) a control condition. We believed reading the article suggesting older individuals cannot retire would mitigate the prejudice found in studies thus far. Given the uncertain effect size of an experimental manipulation around Succession, we estimated using G\*Power ( $f = .20$ ,  $1-\beta = .80$ ,  $\alpha = .05$ ) that, conservatively, 150 participants per cell would be sufficient to uncover differences between our three conditions, accounting for participant attrition. Thus, we collected at least this sample size in both studies, including additional participants to account for attrition, in Studies 5a and 5b.

## Study 5a: Do Succession Beliefs Persist in the Face of Retirement Necessity?

### Participants and Procedure

Participants ( $N = 506$ ) were recruited from Prolific Academic, to take part in a study about “Current Issues in Society” and “Attitudes and Perceptions.” Participants who failed a manipulation and attention check ( $n = 48$ ) were removed from the sample, leaving a final sample of 458 participants, comprising 44% men and 71% White participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 34.78$ ;  $SD = 12.43$ ). This study used a three-condition design, where participants read about either (a) older people “hoarding” employment, refusing to cede coveted resources (*will-not-retire*), (b) older people not being able to retire, as they do not have the resources to do so (*cannot-retire*), or (c) an article unrelated to older individuals, about “Big Data” and the future of technology (control). Participants were first instructed to read an article about a current societal issue. They were further told that the article was based on current statistics, and we were interested to hear whether they were aware of and/or familiar with recent developments. Participants were then given one of three articles. See Appendix for exact articles.

In both the *cannot-retire* and *will-not-retire* articles, they read actual facts (see AARP, 2018; Brooks, 2018; NPR, 2019) about the “Current State of American Employment.” In both manipulations, they read that the “nature of retirement is changing” and that “almost one in four older adults are still in the workforce.”

In the *will-not-retire* condition, participants read statements such as:

Those 65 and older enjoy working and do not want to retire. They benefited from a great economy, which offered safe and well-paying jobs, so many older workers are reluctant to give them up. The changing nature of the economy has allowed older workers to stay engaged longer than ever before. Although those over 65 hold more than one third of the U.S. wealth, have the highest savings, and are least likely to be in poverty, for many, retirement is nowhere near the horizon. It is not uncommon for people to work into their 60s, 70s, or 80s these days, and many are actively engaged in their careers and certain to avoid retirement.

In the *cannot-retire* condition, participants read statements such as:

Those 65 and up do not have the economic means to retire. In today’s economy, the lack of social security, recent economic recessions, and their continued support to their grown children—who also face difficulty in today’s economy—has made it difficult for them to retire. Recent data suggests that older individuals have less savings than ever before, and as life-expectancy increases, this amount needs to get through what could be a 30-year retirement . . . and 50% of older adults have and/or continue to sacrifice their own retirement savings to help their adult children financially.

In the control condition, participants read an article suggesting that “Big Data is the Future,” reading excerpts about how “the nature of decision-making is changing.”

Over the past decade, Big Data has become one of the largest drivers of decision-making and policy reform. Almost one in four decisions are made using big data in some way, and this number is only expected to increase. Recent research suggests that missing the utility of big data for policy-making could be counterproductive, as many other economies

have already adopted this approach. Understanding the potential of this information is important, as it would capture more data and contribute to better decision making for areas that affect everyone, such as political and health care policies.

After reading these articles, participants answered several questions about the articles, and then completed dependent measures of interest.

### Dependent Variables

#### Allocation

Participants read the same prompt as in Studies 3 and 4, concerning an organization that had \$1,000,000 to invest in diversity initiatives, and were asked how they thought the organization should allocate their funds. Participants saw the same eight social categories used in Study 3 and distributed their funds to each category on a scale of 0 to 100, where the total had to add up to 100. Our manipulations did not affect the allocation toward any other social groups; thus, we only report age below.

#### Prioritization

Participants then answered the same prioritization questions used in Study 4 about the extent to which each of the eight groups should get priority in diversity initiatives (16 questions overall). Embedded in these questions were our two questions of interest that captured the extent they believed older individuals deserved priority in diversity initiatives (1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*;  $r = .73$ ).

### Results

#### Allocation

We found a significant effect of condition,  $F(2, 455) = 3.36$ ,  $p = .036$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .015$ . In the *cannot-retire* condition, participants were significantly more likely to allocate funds to older individuals ( $M = 12.83$ ,  $SD = 10.73$ ) compared to the *will-not-retire* condition ( $M = 10.33$ ,  $SD = 6.40$ ),  $F(1, 455) = 6.30$ ,  $p = .012$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .014$ , 95% CI [.54, 4.46], and marginally more than the control condition ( $M = 11.00$ ,  $SD = 8.90$ ),  $F(1, 455) = 3.18$ ,  $p = .075$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .01$ , 95% CI [−.19, 3.84]. There were no significant differences between the *will-not-retire* and control conditions ( $p = .51$ ), see Figure 2a.

#### Prioritization

We found a significant effect of condition,  $F(2, 455) = 5.07$ ,  $p = .007$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .022$ . In the *cannot-retire* condition, participants were more likely to prioritize older individuals ( $M = 3.28$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ) compared with the *will-not-retire* ( $M = 3.04$ ,  $SD = 1.08$ ),  $F(1, 455) = 4.03$ ,  $p = .045$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .011$ , 95% CI [.01, .47] and control conditions ( $M = 2.89$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ),  $F(1, 455) = 9.82$ ,  $p = .002$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .021$ , 95% CI [.14, .62]. There were no differences between the *will-not-retire* and control condition ( $p = .24$ ). See Figure 2b.

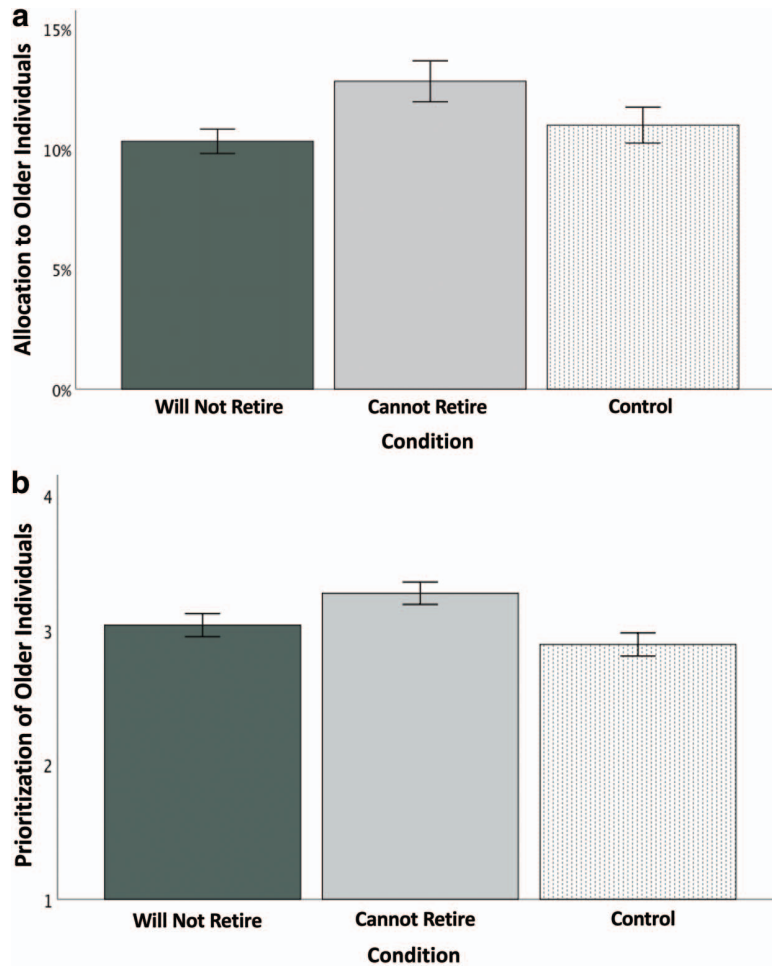
## Study 5b: Isolating Opportunity Blocking as a Mediator

In Study 5b, we conducted a preregistered replication of Study 5a, with several extensions. Specifically, we tested a critical mediator (opportunity blocking) to examine whether sharing information about older individual’s inability to retire would again increase support for



**Figure 2**

(a) Allocation of Resources to Older Individuals by Condition. (b) Prioritization of Older Individuals in Diversity Initiatives by Condition



Note. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

and allocation to older individuals, and whether this was because of reduced perceptions that older individuals were blocking opportunities, hoarding wealth and, thus, were more deserving of resources. We further tested an alternative mediation, value conflict—the extent to which participants believed that older individuals’ values did not align with their own. Prior work has shown this construct to promote bias among egalitarians (Chambers et al., 2013; Lucas & Kteily, 2018), and may be considered an alternative, or even simultaneous, mediator.

### Participants and Procedure

Study 5b followed the same procedure as Study 5a, where participants ( $N = 601$ ) were recruited from MTurk, to take part in a study about “Current Issues in Society” and “Attitudes and Perceptions.” Participants who failed a manipulation check or inputted nonsensical responses ( $n = 75$ ) were removed from the sample, leaving a final sample of 526 participants, comprising 55% men and 73% White participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 38.54$ ;  $SD = 12.18$ ). As in Study 5a, participants

either read about (a) older people not wanting to retire, ostensibly hoarding jobs (will-not-retire), (b) older people not being able to retire (cannot-retire), or (c) “Big Data” (control; see Appendix). Participants were first instructed to read an article about a current societal issue and told that we were interested in whether they were aware of and/or familiar with recent developments. Participants then read one of the three articles and completed the dependent variables of interest, including allocation and support for older individuals, and our hypothesized mediator: opportunity blocking. We compared this to the aforementioned alternative mediator of value conflict.

### Dependent Variables

#### Allocation

Participants read the same allocation prompt as in prior studies, and were asked how they thought the organization should allocate

their funds. Participants saw the same eight social categories and distributed their funds to each category on a scale of 0 to 100.

### Prioritization

Participants then answered the same two questions about each group (as used in Studies 4 and 5a), which captured the extent to which *each* of the eight groups deserved priority in diversity efforts. Embedded in these were our age-relevant questions of interest on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* ( $r = .77$ ).

### Opportunity Blocking

To measure the extent to which participants believed that older individuals blocked other underrepresented groups from getting ahead, we asked the same questions used in Study 5a on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .83$ ).

### Value Conflict

Participants also answered three questions measuring the extent to which they believed their values align with older individuals: (a) older individuals share similar values to me, (b) older individuals care about the same issues as I do, and (c) older individuals and I are aligned in our beliefs from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .92$ ). Items were reverse-scored to represent the extent to which older people did *not* align in their values.

## Results

### Allocation

There was a significant effect of condition,  $F(2, 523) = 27.63$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .096$ . In the cannot-retire condition, participants were significantly more likely to allocate resources to older individuals ( $M = 16.82$ ,  $SD = 11.14$ ) compared with the will-not-retire condition ( $M = 9.55$ ,  $SD = 7.63$ ),  $F(1, 523) = 53.93$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .093$ , 95% CI [5.32, 9.21]. The control condition ( $M = 12.05$ ,  $SD = 8.96$ ) fell between the conditions of interest, being significantly different than both the hoarding, will-not-retire ( $p = .012$ ) and cannot-retire ( $p < .001$ ) conditions (see Figure 3a).

### Prioritization

There was a significant effect of condition,  $F(2, 523) = 18.07$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .065$ . In the cannot-retire condition, participants were significantly more likely to prioritize older individuals in diversity initiatives ( $M = 3.65$ ,  $SD = .99$ ) compared with the will-not-retire condition ( $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ),  $F(1, 523) = 35.57$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .064$ , 95% CI [.45, .89]. The control condition ( $M = 3.23$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ) fell between the conditions of interest, being significantly different than both the will-not-retire ( $p = .028$ ) and cannot-retire ( $p < .001$ ) conditions (see Figure 3b).

### Opportunity Blocking

There was a significant effect of condition,  $F(2, 523) = 18.08$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .065$ . In the cannot-retire condition, participants were significantly less likely to believe older individuals were blocking resources ( $M = 3.40$ ,  $SD = 1.04$ ) compared with the

will-not-retire ( $M = 4.06$ ,  $SD = 1.06$ ),  $F(1, 523) = 34.41$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .062$ , 95% CI [.44, .88]. The control condition ( $M = 3.61$ ,  $SD = 1.07$ ) fell between the conditions of interest, being significantly different than both the will-not-retire and cannot-retire conditions (both  $ps < .001$ ; see Figure 3c).

### Value Conflict

There was a marginal effect of condition on value conflict,  $F(2, 523) = 2.90$ ,  $p = .056$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .011$ . There was a significant difference between the cannot-retire ( $M = 3.46$ ,  $SD = 1.34$ ) and will-not-retire conditions ( $M = 3.79$ ,  $SD = 1.59$ ;  $F(1, 523) = 4.70$ ,  $p = .031$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .009$ , 95% CI [.03, .63]). The control condition ( $M = 3.77$ ,  $SD = 1.37$ ) did not differ from the will-not-retire ( $p = .90$ ) condition, but was significantly different than the cannot-retire ( $p = .045$ ) condition (see Figure 3d).

### Mediation

We examined whether opportunity blocking would mediate the effect between condition and allocation and prioritization. To examine the effects of mediation with a three-level categorical variable, we computed two dummy variables that when both entered represent all three levels. Specifically, using PROCESS Model 4 (with 5,000 bootstraps), with the two dummy variables (1 = cannot-retire, 0 = will-not-retire, 0 = control), and a control dummy variable (1 = control, 0 = cannot-retire, 0 = will-not-retire), which tested for the presence of the indirect effect between the *will not-retire* and *cannot-retire* conditions through opportunity blocking.

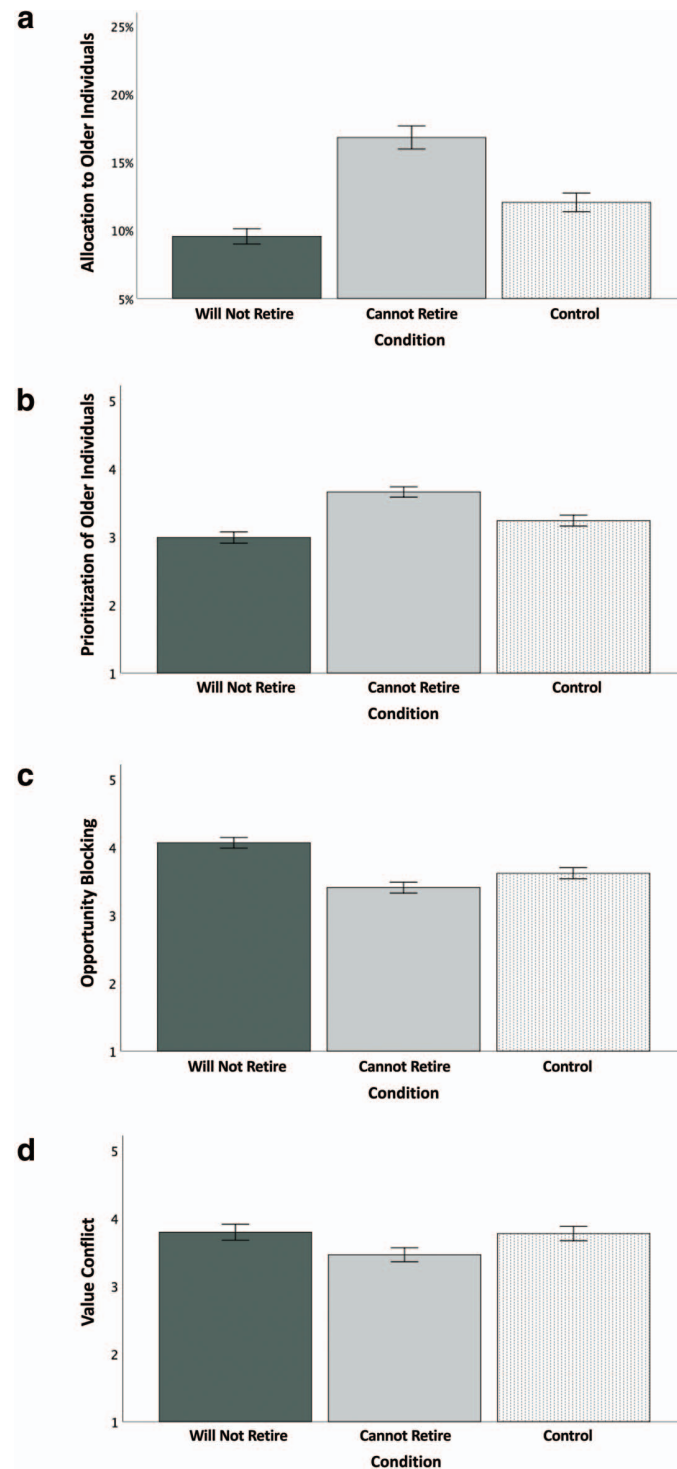
For allocation, we find that increased funding to older individuals between the cannot-retire and will-not-retire condition was mediated by the lessened perceived opportunity blocking (*indirect effect* =  $-2.09$ ,  $SE = .41$ , 95% CI [ $-2.99$ ,  $-1.37$ ]). The same was true for the difference in allocation between our experimental manipulations and the control condition. That is, opportunity blocking accounted for the increased allocation in the cannot-retire condition (*indirect effect* =  $.67$ ,  $SE = .36$ , 95% CI [.01, 1.42]) and the decreased allocation in the will-not-retire condition (*indirect effect* =  $-1.42$ ,  $SE = .40$ , 95% CI [ $-2.29$ ,  $-.71$ ]), compared with the control condition.

For prioritization of diversity initiatives for older individuals, opportunity blocking accounted for the increased prioritization found in the cannot-retire condition compared to both the will-not-retire (*indirect effect* =  $.35$ ,  $SE = .07$ , 95% CI [.24, .51]) and the control condition (*indirect effect* =  $.11$ ,  $SE = .06$ , 95% CI [.01, .24]). Further, consistent with mediation, opportunity blocking accounted for a significant portion of the variance in the relationship between the will-not-retire and the control condition on participants' prioritization for age-related diversity initiatives (*indirect effect* =  $-.24$ ,  $SE = .06$ , 95% CI [ $-.37$ ,  $-.11$ ]).

We also examined value conflict as an alternative mediator. To do so, we used a parallel mediation (PROCESS Model 4), which compares the effects of multiple mediators, accounts shared variance, and essentially pits two potential mediators against one another (Kane & Ashbaugh, 2017). We find that when including both mediators in the model, value-conflict was also a significant mediator for both allocation (*indirect effect* =  $-.17$ ,  $SE = .12$ , 95% CI [ $-.51$ ,  $-.009$ ]) and prioritization (*indirect effect* =  $-.05$ ,  $SE = .03$ , 95% CI [ $-.12$ ,  $-.007$ ]),

**Figure 3**

(a) Allocation of Resources to Older Individuals by Condition. (b) Prioritization of Older Individuals in Diversity Initiatives by Condition. (c) Opportunity Blocking Beliefs about Older Individuals by Condition. (d) Perceived Value Conflict with Older Individuals by Condition



Note. See the online article for the color version of this figure.

when comparing the cannot-retire and will-not-retire conditions. Thus, although value conflict can help explain these results, the effect size of opportunity blocking is 10-times larger for allocation (*indirect effect* =  $-1.90$ ,  $SE = .40$ , 95% CI [ $-2.88, -1.18$ ]) and six times larger for prioritization (*indirect effect* =  $-.30$ ,  $SE = .06$ , 95% CI [ $-.42, -.19$ ]). This suggests that while multiple factors may be at play for lack of support for older individuals, the notion that they are blocking opportunities seems to most strongly drive these effects.

### Study 5 Discussion

Studies 5a and 5b offer three central contributions: both showed that people's baseline beliefs are more in line with Succession beliefs, whereby people's allocation for, and prioritization of, diversity initiatives either did not significantly differ between (Study 5a) or were closer to (Study 5b), the will-not-retire condition, compared with the control (baseline) condition. Second, they showed that when giving individuals information about the nature of retirement—that is, that certain older individuals cannot afford to retire—their beliefs changed to be more supportive of older individuals. Finally, Study 5b demonstrated a critical mediator: opportunity blocking beliefs. That is, when people were told that older people were struggling, as well, it minimized their beliefs that older people were hoarding resources, which had downstream consequences for allocation of resources and prioritization.

Although this study demonstrated that prejudice against older individuals is affected by reframing hoarding beliefs, several limitations should be noted. First, although this study compared value conflict as an exploratory mediator, the framing more strongly involved Succession material (accumulating resources, not passing them down) than they did value-based content. It is also unclear whether, on average, older individuals do hold similar values to egalitarian advocates, making value-conflict between older individuals and those who advocate for equality ripe for exploration. Future research should explore whether shifting perceptions that older individuals hold similar values to egalitarian advocates can similarly mitigate bias. Moreover, the nature of the manipulation conflates status, power, wealth, or other possible factors that might affect whether or not a person can choose to keep working. (With that said, we believed this manipulation was appropriate as they involved information on the mixed, complicated, and actual nature of retirement in modern day society.) Further, although these studies show that framing can affect individual's support and allocation for older individuals, as well as reduce beliefs they are "blocking" resources, overall, it is unclear how those higher in egalitarian advocacy would respond to such framing. Thus, in the next study, we examined how those higher in egalitarian advocacy react to the "cannot-retire" versus "will-not-retire" framing.

### Study 6: Does Older Adults' Inability to Retire Undermine the Tendency of Egalitarian Advocates to Endorse Ageism?

Study 6 explored whether the reduced ageism produced by the "cannot-retire" condition would be especially pronounced for egalitarian advocates. That is, those higher on egalitarian advocacy should express Succession prejudice only to the ex-

tent that they believe older individuals are blocking opportunities (i.e., will not retire). By contrast, when participants higher in egalitarian advocacy believe that older people are not privileged and cannot afford to retire, their Succession prejudice should be attenuated. To test this hypothesis, we used the same paradigm as in Study 5, but this time, we included a measure of egalitarian advocacy. We analyze this data using an Egalitarian Advocacy  $\times$  Condition (will-not-retire vs. cannot-retire) interaction. Moreover, we captured opportunity blocking in two ways, both using our age-specific measure of Succession age prejudice, as we did in this article's earlier studies, and our more general opportunity blocking measure used in Studies 4 through 5. Because the effect size for our predicted interaction was unknown, we estimated the effect size based on the main effects found in Study 5b, and conducted a sensitivity analysis using G\*Power based on our actual sample size. In this study, our sample was sufficiently large enough to detect main effect relationships (minimal detectable effect size:  $f = .17$ , between egalitarian advocacy and our dependent variables of interest), though slightly underpowered to test our interaction. We discuss power limitations in the discussion.

### Participants and Procedure

Participants ( $N = 275$ ) were recruited MTurk, to take part in a study about "Current Issues in Society" and "Attitudes and Perceptions." Participants who failed the same exclusion criteria as Study 5b ( $n = 26$ ) were removed from the sample, leaving a final sample of 249 participants, comprising 56% men and 69% White participants ( $M_{\text{age}} = 37.73$ ,  $SD = 10.89$ ). As in Study 5, participants either read about (a) older people not wanting to retire (will-not-retire), or (b) older people not being able to retire (cannot-retire). Participants were told further that the article was based on current statistics, and that we were interested to hear whether they were aware of and/or familiar with recent developments. Participants then filled out our dependent variables of interest, including Succession prejudice, opportunity blocking, allocation, and prioritization.

### Moderator: Egalitarian Advocacy

We once again measured egalitarian advocacy, using the same scales used in Studies 1–4. Participants rated their agreement with items on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .91$ ).

### Dependent Measures

#### Succession

To capture Succession prejudice, we used the Succession subscale of the SIC ageism scale. Participants rated their agreement with all items on a scale from 1 = *disagree strongly* to 6 = *agree strongly* ( $\alpha = .87$ ).

#### Opportunity Blocking

To measure the extent to which participants believed that older individuals blocked other underrepresented groups from getting



ahead, we asked the same questions used in Study 5, on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .78$ ).

### Allocation

Participants read the same prompt as in Studies 3–5, and were asked how they thought the “organization should allocate their funds.” Participants saw the same eight social categories and distributed their allocations for each category on a scale of 0 to 100.

### Prioritization

Participants then answered the same questions used in Studies 3–5 to measure the extent they older individuals deserved priority in diversity initiatives on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree* ( $r = .76$ ).

### Analysis Plan

We tested our hypothesis using Egalitarian Advocacy  $\times$  Condition (0 = will-not-retire, 1 = cannot-retire) interaction. We expected to find a main effect of condition, such that participants in the *will-not-retire* condition would endorse Succession and opportunity blocking more, and allocate and prioritize older individuals less, than those in the *cannot-retire* condition. Further, we expected those higher in egalitarian advocacy to endorse Succession prejudice and opportunity blocking more, and allocate to, and prioritize, older individuals less; however, we expected that this would be more pronounced in the *will-not-retire* condition, but not in the *cannot-retire* condition.

## Results

### Succession

Counter to hypotheses, we found no main effect of condition,  $b = -.11$ ,  $SE = .14$ ,  $t(247) = -.75$ ,  $p = .45$ , 95% CI  $[-.38, .17]$ . However, we did find a significant main effect of egalitarian advocacy,  $b = .14$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t(247) = 2.78$ ,  $p = .006$ , 95% CI  $[.04, .24]$ . As with past studies, those who endorsed egalitarian advocacy also endorsed Succession prejudice more strongly. There was also a significant interaction,  $b = -.20$ ,  $SE = .099$ ,  $t(246) = -1.98$ ,  $p = .049$ , 95% CI  $[-.39, -.001]$ . In the *will-not-retire* condition, there was a significant relationship between egalitarian advocacy and Succession,  $b = .23$ ,  $SE = .069$ ,  $t(246) = 3.39$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI  $[.10, .37]$ . That is, when told older people would not retire (i.e., ostensibly hoarding resources), egalitarian advocacy predicted *more* Succession bias. However, this effect was attenuated, when told older people could not afford to retire,  $b = .04$ ,  $SE = .072$ ,  $t(246) = .52$ ,  $p = .61$ , 95% CI  $[-.10, .18]$ ; see Figure 4a.

### Opportunity Blocking

As with Study 5b, we found a significant main effect of condition,  $b = -.33$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t(247) = -2.57$ ,  $p = .01$ , 95% CI  $[-.59, -.08]$ , where those in the *will-not-retire* condition were more likely to see older individuals as blocking opportunities from other groups ( $M = 3.84$ ,  $SD = .99$ ), compared with those in the *cannot-retire* condition ( $M = 3.50$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ). We found no significant main effect of egalitarian advocacy ( $p = .43$ ). How-

ever, there was a significant interaction,  $b = -.21$ ,  $SE = .092$ ,  $t(246) = -2.23$ ,  $p = .027$ , 95% CI  $[-.39, -.02]$ . In the *cannot-retire* condition, there was a significant negative relationship between egalitarian advocacy and opportunity blocking,  $b = -.14$ ,  $SE = .067$ ,  $t(246) = -2.16$ ,  $p = .032$ , 95% CI  $[-.28, -.01]$ . That is, when told older people cannot afford to retire, those who endorsed egalitarian advocacy were less likely to see older people as blocking opportunities. This effect was attenuated in the *will-not-retire* condition, where there was no significant relationship between egalitarian advocacy and opportunity blocking,  $b = .06$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t(246) = .96$ ,  $p = .34$ , 95% CI  $[-.06, .19]$ ; see Figure 4b.

### Allocation

We found a significant main effect of condition,  $b = 2.12$ ,  $SE = .94$ ,  $t(247) = 2.25$ ,  $p = .025$ , 95% CI  $[.27, 3.97]$ . As with Study 5b, those in the *cannot-retire* condition were more likely to allocate resources to older people ( $M = 12.43$ ,  $SD = 7.44$ ) than those in the *will-not-retire* condition ( $M = 10.49$ ,  $SD = 7.45$ ). There was also a significant effect of egalitarian advocacy,  $b = -.70$ ,  $SE = .34$ ,  $t(247) = -2.08$ ,  $p = .038$ , 95% CI  $[-1.36, -.04]$ , where those who were higher on egalitarian advocacy were less likely to allocate resources to older individuals. Although we found no significant interaction,  $b = .88$ ,  $SE = .67$ ,  $t(246) = 1.31$ ,  $p = .19$ , 95% CI  $[-.44, .220]$ , in the *will-not-retire* condition, there was a negative relationship between egalitarian advocacy and allocation,  $b = -1.12$ ,  $SE = .46$ ,  $t(246) = -2.41$ ,  $p = .017$ , 95% CI  $[-2.03, -.21]$ ; however, this relationship did not exist in the *cannot-retire* condition,  $b = -.24$ ,  $SE = .48$ ,  $t(246) = -.50$ ,  $p = .62$ , 95% CI  $[-2.20, .44]$ . In other words, the negative relationship between egalitarian advocacy and allocation only existed when participants read that older people refused to retire; see Figure 4c.

### Prioritization

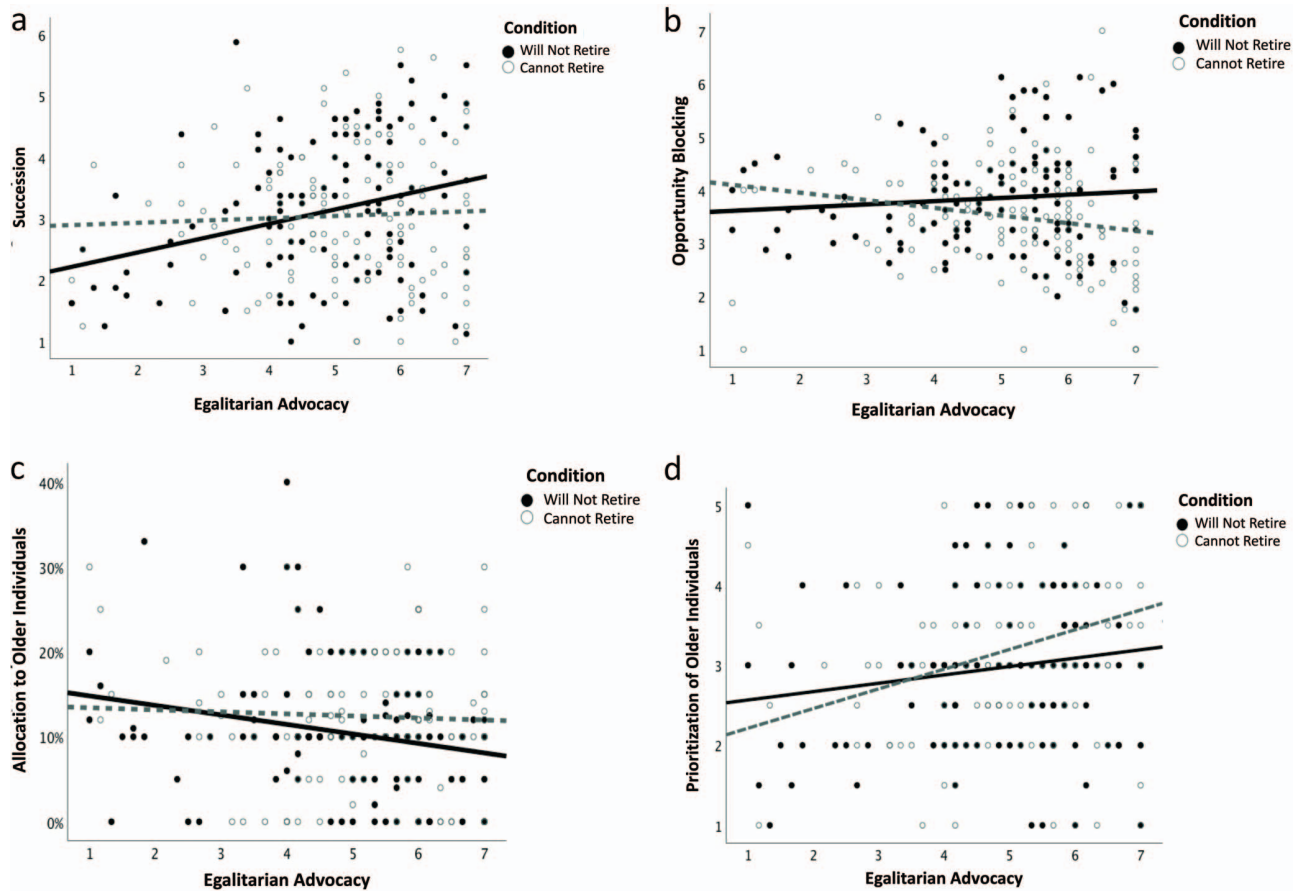
We did not find a significant main effect of condition,  $b = .21$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t(247) = 1.64$ ,  $p = .10$ , 95% CI  $[-.044, .47]$ , but there was a significant effect of egalitarian advocacy,  $b = .17$ ,  $SE = .047$ ,  $t(247) = 3.71$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI  $[.08, .26]$ . That is, overall, there was a significant relationship between egalitarian advocacy and prioritization of older individuals. Though there was no significant interaction,  $b = .14$ ,  $SE = .093$ ,  $t(246) = 1.53$ ,  $p = .13$ , 95% CI  $[-.04, .33]$ , the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and prioritization of, and support for, older individuals only existed when participants were told that older people were not able to retire,  $b = .25$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $t(246) = 3.68$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI  $[.11, .38]$ , but not when they were told older people were not willing to retire,  $b = .11$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t(246) = 1.62$ ,  $p = .11$ , 95% CI  $[-.022, .23]$ ; see Figure 4d.

### Mediation

We next explored whether the attenuated effects among those higher in egalitarian advocacy were mediated by Succession prejudice. That is, we tested whether the decreased support and allocation from those higher in egalitarian advocacy existed only to the extent they believe older individuals should pass down their resources (and subsequently move out of the way).

**Figure 4**

(a) Egalitarian Advocacy  $\times$  Condition on Succession Prejudice. (b) Egalitarian Advocacy  $\times$  Condition on Opportunity Blocking Beliefs. (c) Egalitarian Advocacy  $\times$  Condition on Allocation to Older Individuals. (d) Egalitarian Advocacy  $\times$  Condition on Prioritization of Older Individuals



To examine this hypothesis, we tested for a moderated mediation with PROCESS Model 8 (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), using an indirect effect of the highest-order product term to infer whether the moderation is mediated (Hayes, 2013). This statistic tests whether the indirect effect of the independent variable (condition: will-not-retire vs. cannot-retire) on the dependent variables (allocation, prioritization) through the mediator (Succession) is moderated egalitarian advocacy.

We found a highest order interaction on allocation, *indirect effect* = .39, *SE* = .21, 95% CI [.04, .85]. That is, in the will not-retire condition, the lesser allocation of resources given to older adults among those who endorsed egalitarian advocacy was accounted for by Succession prejudice, *indirect effect* = -.46, *SE* = .17, 95% CI [-.85, -.18]. By contrast, in the cannot-retire condition, no indirect effect emerged, *indirect effect* = -.07, *SE* = .14, 95% CI [-.37, .19]. We saw the same pattern for prioritization, with a significant highest order interaction, *indirect effect* = .08, *SE* = .04, 95% CI [.004, .16]. Again, in the will-not-retire condition we saw a significant indirect effect, where egalitarian advocacy was related to less prioritization through Succession prejudice, *indirect effect* = -.09, *SE* = .03, 95% CI [-.15, -.04];

however, we did not see this in the cannot-retire condition, *indirect effect* = -.01, *SE* = .03, 95% CI [-.07, .04].

Given our last two studies, we similarly used opportunity blocking as a potential mediator; however, unlike our last two studies, when using this variable as a mediator, there was no significant highest order interaction for either allocation (95% CI [-.007, 1.39]) or prioritization (95% CI [-.004, .24]), although these effects were marginal for both (*allocation*: 90% CI [.10, 1.28]; *prioritization*: 90% CI [.01, .21]). Though suggestive, this effect was somewhat counter to hypotheses, given our last two studies. In this study it seems as though the (active) expectation of Succession played a stronger role than a more general measure of (passive) opportunity blocking, which is an effect we elaborate upon in the discussion. Despite the marginal, though nonsignificant, moderated mediation through opportunity blocking, we do find results consistent with Studies 5a and 5b, where overall, opportunity blocking mediated the relationship between the cannot-retire and the will-not-retire conditions on both allocation, *indirect effect* = 1.08, *SE* = .42, 95% CI [.31, 1.96], and prioritization, *indirect effect* = .20, *SE* = .07, 95% CI [.06, .36].

## Study 6 Discussion

In this study, we showed that the relationships between egalitarian advocacy and support for older individuals, both in resource allocation and prioritization, depends on beliefs around their blocking of opportunities, specifically revolving around age-specific Succession. Thus, one of the central contributions of the current study is going beyond correlational evidence from Studies 1 and 2, implicating Succession bias's key role in the process of egalitarian advocacy predicting ageism, and establishing this relationship through a mediational analysis via an experimental paradigm. That is, beliefs around *why* older individuals remain in the workforce matter.

One notable finding that emerges from this study is that sometimes the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and prejudice is present in the will-not-retire condition and *attenuated* in the cannot-retire condition (Succession and allocation). Meanwhile, in other circumstances, the relationship is absent in the will-not-retire condition and *reversed* in the cannot-retire condition (opportunity blocking and prioritization). These findings may be because of the particular nature of the variables represented. For example, for both variables (Succession and allocation) there seemed to be stronger baseline biases toward older individuals among egalitarian advocates (perhaps because of active nature of these measures and the tradeoffs between competing groups involved). Thus, for active measures (Succession and allocation), relaying information that older adults are unable to retire mitigates these more strongly held biases; by contrast, for more passive measures (prioritization and opportunity blocking), which more so rely on beliefs and do not as actively involve tradeoffs, sharing information that older individuals cannot retire may increase empathy and support. Future research should explore the cases in which egalitarian advocates are more likely to show support for versus less likely to be prejudiced against older individuals. In either case, it seems clear that the way in which egalitarian advocacy relates to prejudice and support is contingent on the way in which older people's needs are viewed.

We also find that although opportunity blocking beliefs are affected by both the framing of retirement, and egalitarian advocacy, in this study, Succession prejudice seemed to be a stronger driver of allocation and prioritization decisions. This may be because of the fact that Succession is a belief that older people are blocking resources, *as well as* an active prescription for older individuals to cede and pass along those resources. Given the active nature of egalitarian advocacy, it seems like the active, prescriptive, nature of Succession, is a particularly important element for those who support egalitarian advocacy. Together, these findings support the that beliefs that older individuals are hoarding resources, and refuse (rather than are unable) to pass them down, is a meaningful predictor of the ways in which older individuals are viewed, the resources they are given, and the support they receive. Thus, shaping the beliefs around the state of affairs for older individuals has the potential to mitigate this prejudice, with downstream consequences for their treatment and opportunities.

Though this study suggests that retirement ability framing may be able to alter prejudice against older individuals, several factors may be conflated in our manipulations, around status, power, and

wealth, even if these manipulations were based upon current economic realities for many older individuals. Future research should disentangle these factors, examining whether wealth (e.g., economic means to retire), a growing workforce of older individuals (e.g., an increasing number of older individuals in the workforce), or a specific choice to hoard resources (e.g., choosing not supporting younger generations) should be examined. Further, the "Big Data" control condition may have evoked age-related beliefs, as these domains are seen as more relevant to younger individuals; thus, we encourage future research to use multiple control conditions to ensure these effects are not constrained to a particular context. Further, given several of the weak and/or nonsignificant interaction effects found in this study, a sensitivity analysis was conducted, which revealed that although our sample size was large enough to detect the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and our dependent variables of interest, in the conditions in which they were most affected, we may have been slightly underpowered to observe an attenuated (rather than cross-over) interaction. Thus, although our sample size was sufficient to detect main effects, the interaction results in this study should be interpreted with caution. Despite these limitations, this study does suggest that the way in which information about the economic state of affairs in American society is presented affects people's support for older individuals.

## Study 7: Is Succession Prejudice Directed Specifically at Older White Males?

In Study 7, we examined whether the greater Succession bias toward older adults exhibited by those higher on egalitarian advocacy was specific to targets who make up the most salient category of the age category (i.e., older, White, males; see Martin et al., 2019; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008), or whether it extended to those with intersectional identities. To examine this question, we used an *Egalitarian Advocacy* x condition (White male vs. Black female) experimental design, comparing the relationship between egalitarian advocacy and Succession bias toward an older White male or an older Black female. We expected those higher in egalitarian advocacy to endorse Succession prejudice more toward an older White male, and for this relationship to be suppressed when the target was an older Black female. We did not have strong a priori predictions about the strength of our effect; however, a sensitivity analysis revealed that our sample size was sufficiently large enough to capture a minimal detectable effect based on our sample size, where our observed effects were larger than was the minimal estimated effect size ( $f = .14$ ).

Participants ( $N = 407$ ) from MTurk took part in a two-part study on "personality and attitudes" and "evaluations" and those who failed to remember either the name or the age of the target were excluded ( $n = 32$ ), leaving a final sample of 375 participants (57% men, 72% White,  $M_{\text{age}} = 38.18$ ,  $SD = 12.61$ ). Participants were first asked to fill out a number of personality measures, embedded in which was our egalitarian advocacy measure. After filling out these scales, they moved onto the next part of the study. Participants were told to imagine that they work at a marketing firm, where they had a 71-year old colleague, who was either (a) a White male, named John, or (b) a Black female, named Latisha. To make Succession salient, they were told that despite an in-

creased presence of younger coworkers [John] [Latisha] dominates the conversation, insists on doing things the way they have traditionally been done, and refuses to step aside. After reading the scenario they were asked questions evaluating the target, were thanked, and paid.

### Independent Variable: Egalitarian Advocacy

Participants filled out the same measure as used in previous studies, on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .86$ ).

### Dependent Variables

#### Succession

Participants completed an adapted version of the Succession scales used in studies thus far, but adjusted to be applicable to the target. Example items include, "People like [John] [Latisha] don't know when to make way for younger people" "At a certain point, it is time for people like [John] [Latisha] to pass along their resources" "[John] [Latisha] has an unfair amount of power compared with younger people." Participants answered their agreement with these items on a scale from 1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree* ( $\alpha = .92$ ).

#### Liking/Respect

To measure the extent to which the participant liked and respected the target, we used the four-item scale used in Martin et al. (2019), asking the extent to which the participant agreed with the following statements: (a) I would respect [John] [Latisha]; (b) I would admire [John] [Latisha]; (c) I would like working with [John] [Latisha]; (d) I would like [John] [Latisha] (1 = *strongly disagree* – 7 = *strongly agree*;  $\alpha = .88$ ).

#### Desire for Interaction

To measure desire for interaction, participants were asked how much they would: (a) Want to be around [John] [Latisha]; (b) Socialize with [John] [Latisha] outside work; (c) Want to be mentored by [John] [Latisha]; (d) Want [John] [Latisha] to show you the ropes (1 = *not at all* – 7 = *very much*;  $\alpha = .91$ ).

## Results

### Succession

We found a main effect of condition,  $b = .29$ ,  $SE = .13$ ,  $t(372) = 2.16$ ,  $p = .032$ , 95% CI [.03, .56], such that John ( $M = 4.67$ ,  $SD = 1.25$ ) was held to Succession norms to a greater degree than was Latisha ( $M = 4.37$ ,  $SD = 1.47$ ). Further, there was an effect of egalitarian advocacy, such that the more participants endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the more they believed the older targets should step aside and cede resources,  $b = .29$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t(372) = 5.13$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.18, .40]; however, this effect was qualified by a significant interaction,  $b = .30$ ,  $SE = .11$ ,  $t(371) = 2.72$ ,  $p = .007$ , 95% CI [.08, .52]; the more that participants endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the more they believed both John,  $b = .45$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t(371) = 5.49$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.29, .61], and Latisha,  $b = .15$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $t(371) = 2.01$ ,  $p = .045$ , 95% CI [.003, .30], should step aside and cede

resources; however, they more strongly held these expectations for John; see Figure 5a.

### Liking/Respect

We found no main effect of condition ( $p = .16$ ), where people liked and respected John ( $M = 4.62$ ,  $SD = 1.19$ ) and Latisha ( $M = 4.80$ ,  $SD = 1.30$ ) to a similar degree. There was a significant effect of condition,  $b = .15$ ,  $SE = .05$ ,  $t(372) = 2.80$ ,  $p = .005$ , 95% CI [.044, .25], such that those who endorsed egalitarian advocacy liked the older targets more, overall. However, this was qualified by a significant interaction,  $b = .37$ ,  $SE = .10$ ,  $t(371) = 3.63$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.17, .58]. In the White male condition, egalitarian advocacy, did not predict level of liking or respect for the White male target,  $b = -.06$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t(371) = .78$ ,  $p = .43$ , 95% CI [-.21, .09]. However, in the Black female condition, the more that participants endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the more they liked and respected the Black female target,  $b = .31$ ,  $SE = .07$ ,  $t(371) = 4.55$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.18, .45]; see Figure 5b.

### Desire to Interact

We found a main effect of condition,  $b = .31$ ,  $SE = .15$ ,  $t(372) = 2.05$ ,  $p = .041$ , 95% CI [.01, .62]. Overall, people desired to socialize with a Black female ( $M = 4.11$ ,  $SD = 1.46$ ) more than a White male ( $M = 3.80$ ,  $SD = 1.53$ ). Further, we find a significant effect of egalitarian advocacy,  $b = .16$ ,  $SE = .06$ ,  $t(372) = 2.61$ ,  $p = .009$ , 95% CI [.04, .29]; however, these main effects were qualified by a significant interaction,  $b = .39$ ,  $SE = .12$ ,  $t(372) = 3.11$ ,  $p = .002$ , 95% CI [.14, .63]. The more participants endorsed egalitarian advocacy, the more they wanted to interact with Latisha,  $b = .34$ ,  $SE = .08$ ,  $t(372) = 4.05$ ,  $p < .001$ , 95% CI [.17, .50], but egalitarian advocacy did not predict desire to interact with John,  $b = -.05$ ,  $SE = .09$ ,  $t(372) = -.54$ ,  $p = .59$ , 95% CI [-.23, .13]; see Figure 5c.

## Study 7 Discussion

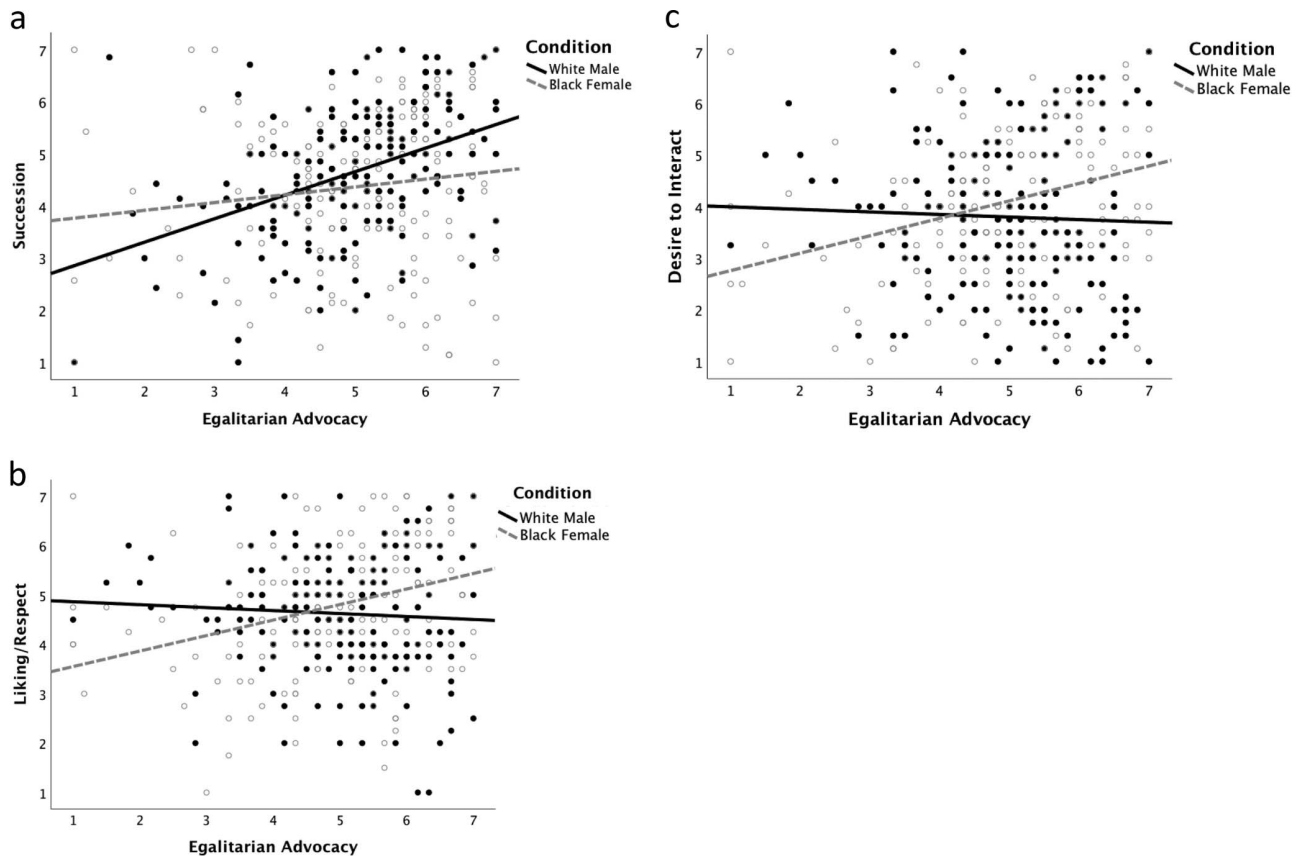
Study 7 tested whether the relationship found between egalitarian advocacy and Succession prejudice was specific to the most salient exemplar of the age group (an older, White, male), or whether it extended to older individuals with intersectional identities. We find that those who endorse egalitarian advocacy do indeed hold stronger Succession expectations for an older, White male, compared with an older Black female; however, despite this attenuated effect, there was still a positive, and significant, relationship between egalitarian advocacy and Succession prejudice toward an older, Black, female. Unlike previous studies where egalitarian advocacy was related to more career support for Black and female individuals, when applied to older Black females, they were not more likely to support her than those who did not support egalitarian advocacy.

Egalitarian advocacy did not relate to less Succession prejudice against a Black female; however, those higher in egalitarian advocacy were more likely to like, respect, and want to interact, with the older Black female. Thus, although older targets with intersectional identities are more supported on certain dimensions (e.g., respect, socializing) by those who endorse egalitarian advocacy, they do not seem to escape retirement expectations in the workplace. Although this study sheds light on the complicated relationship between egalitarian advocacy and retirement expectations for targets with intersectional identities, it is unclear whether the race or gender was driving this greater



**Figure 5**

(a) *Egalitarian Advocacy × Condition on Succession*. (b) *Egalitarian Advocacy × Condition on Liking/Respect*. (c) *Egalitarian Advocacy × Condition on Desire to Interact*



support, which future research should explore. In any case, this study provides evidence that, despite occupying disadvantaged racial and gender categories, older members of traditionally disadvantaged categories are still not immune from Succession-based expectations to retire among egalitarian advocates.

### General Discussion

Across nine studies, we showed that those who endorse egalitarian beliefs and egalitarian advocacy also endorse less prejudice toward, and show more advocacy for, women and racial minorities. By contrast, those who hold those same beliefs harbor more prejudice toward older individuals (Studies 1 and 2), and show relatively less support and allocate fewer resources to them, compared to other discriminated groups (Study 3, 4, and 6). Moreover, we identified opportunity blocking as a critical mediator, demonstrating that those who believe in (and advocate for) equality believe that older individuals actively block other underrepresented groups from getting ahead, and that this variable explains more variance compared with an alternative mechanism (value conflict; Study 5b). Both by measuring (Study 4) and manipulating (Study 5–6) these perceptions, we show that beliefs that older people are hoarding resources drives bias and lack of support for

older individuals. Finally, we show that age-based retirement expectations extend (albeit less strongly) to targets with multiple, disadvantaged identities (Study 7), demonstrating the strength and breadth of Succession expectations for older individuals. Together, these studies make several theoretical contributions.

### Age, Ageism, and Generational Tension in Social Psychology

First, these findings contribute to a growing area of research concern in social psychology: age-based social perception and prejudice (Cary et al., 2017; North & Fiske, 2013a; Swift et al., 2017). Although ageism has long taken a backseat to racism and sexism in research attention, a rapidly aging population has rendered the topic a scholarly imperative (Nelson, 2016, 2017; North & Fiske, 2012). Understanding why ageism occurs (North & Fiske, 2012), why it is so resistant to intervention (Braithwaite, 2002), and its relation to other prejudices (Martin et al., 2019) have all become particularly timely questions within a rapidly aging society.

We add to this budding area by implicating ageism as a uniquely challenging prejudice: Not only is ageism the most resistant among all prejudices to intergroup contact (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006), but,

per the current findings, antiprejudice advocates might actually try to *legitimize* ageism, unlike most other biases. Scholars in this domain have often suggested, anecdotally, that ageism is more socially condoned compared with other prejudices (e.g., Nelson, 2005; North & Fiske, 2012), while others have found that age prejudice is less socially condoned than others (see Crandall et al., 2002). We suggest that when older people are construed as passive, weak “elderly” in need of aid, age prejudice may be less socially condoned—however, changing conceptions of older individuals as active, powerful, and unwilling to retire may provide a new lens toward understanding ageism. This further casts ageism as a unique and timely challenge in an increasingly multigenerational world. As society works to create more inclusion for all, it will be necessary to take into account the different factors affecting all groups (e.g., women, racial minorities, or older individuals) to better organize systems and structures. Nevertheless, with older adults comprising a greater portion of society than ever, new threats to existing orders will emerge, similar to perceived threats with other growing, historically disadvantaged groups (Craig & Richeson, 2014).

### Social Justice Movements: Who Gets Included and Who Does Not?

At a broader, real-world level, the current findings provide a cautionary message for a society increasingly featuring social justice movements. Although the likes of “Black Lives Matter” and “#MeToo” suggest that social justice advocates are finding new, creative ways to coalesce, the current article illustrates that these movements will not necessarily include all social groups equally (a point further underscored by the recent “#OkBoomer” trend). As such movements develop, when it comes to sticky generational equity issues—such as how to balance Social Security solvency with student debt relief (Munnell, 2018)—the question of what constitutes true “equality” becomes difficult to answer. This finding raises a broader question: As diversity and inclusion movements become increasingly common in the modern world, who gets included, and who does not? This, in and of itself, is a largely untapped question, both in social psychology and other fields (Hurtado, 2005), but one of increasing importance, given the recent rise in diversity/inclusion and social justice movements. The current article represents a step forward in that conversation, which should grow only larger as society grows increasingly diverse, and the complexity of diversity and inclusion questions grow similarly complex.

We also show that the bias against older individuals is likely due to a belief that older individuals have had their opportunities and, thus, are no longer in need of them, and should actively make way for others to enjoy them (i.e., Succession beliefs; North & Fiske, 2013a). Although older individuals have benefited in many ways from unprecedented economic prosperity across their lifetime, this belief is not necessarily justified. For instance, it is true that compared with the past, older individuals continue to work until an older age, but this is largely out of necessity; many older adults stave off retirement because they cannot afford to do so (AARP, 2018; NPR, 2019). Various reasons explain this trend, including a lack of sufficient social security, recent economic recessions, and the increased need to support to their own, grown children, who also face difficulty in today’s economy. Recent data suggests that

older individuals have less savings than ever before, and as life expectancy increases, this amount needs to sustain a longer period than has been needed in the past (AARP, 2018). Thus, the belief that older people are hoarding opportunities may be a misleading one, that nevertheless has profoundly negative implications for the older generation, such as a lack of prioritization in diversity and inclusion efforts.

### Egalitarian Advocacy and Prejudice

Further, these findings contribute to a large body of literature on egalitarianism, which has assumed that social egalitarians are less likely to endorse prejudice toward, and more likely to advocate for, discriminated groups (Sidanius & Pratto, 2001). Although we find and replicate the same pattern of results with respect to gender and race prejudice, whereby egalitarians are less sexist and racist, we show a previously unconsidered relationship with age, in which egalitarians are more likely to endorse a Succession-specific form of “get out of the way” ageism. Although this result is consistent across multiple forms of egalitarianism (such as liberalism, anti-SDO, and anti-SJ), we find strongest effects for egalitarian advocacy.

We also introduce into the literature a distinction between *active* and *passive* egalitarianism. Although we find evidence that those who endorse traditional measures of egalitarianism (e.g., anti-SDO, liberalism), we specifically show the effects of an “active” form of egalitarianism, examining those who actually “fight” for equality. These items have been shown to predict actual behaviors aimed at increasing equality and inclusion, such as social activism, participation in gender and race initiatives, interest in education around race and gender issues, and political support (Fischer et al., 2000; Liss et al., 2004). This distinction between active and passive egalitarianism, along with the aforementioned differentiation between emotional and cognitive egalitarian advocacy (see Footnote 2), underscore the need for greater nuance in understanding egalitarianism. Notably, this distinction also parallels results from Study 6, showing that (active) Succession bias, which stipulates that older adults are to actively make way for others to have opportunities, outpaces the more general, (passive) opportunity blocking measure in explaining why egalitarian advocates endorse Succession-based ageism.

Notably—despite an older generation that is the largest in modern history, making it imperative to understand how they will be incorporated and included in the workplace and society (North & Fiske, 2012)—older people seem largely overlooked in egalitarian advocacy. As one example, a recent survey found that 85% of Americans participated in some form of activism, broadly defined (Rittenhouse, 2018), and that activist events had risen by 30% from the previous year, but that this increased activism focused primarily on women and racial minorities, not older individuals. If those who are motivated and involved in increasing equality and inclusion (ostensibly for all) are actually discriminating against, or at the very least overlooking, older individuals, this has substantial implications for intergenerational tensions and equality in the workplace and society at large.

### Intersectionality and Ageism

A growing social psychological subliterature has elucidated the nature of intersectionality, or the interaction of multiple social

categories driving social perception and disadvantage (Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008; Rosette & Livingston, 2012). Although the intersectionality concept was first introduced as a means of understanding the unique plights faced by women of color (Crenshaw, 1991), researchers have begun to expand the term to reflect interactions between multiple categories of any kind, both advantaged and disadvantaged, and unpacking how they reflect interwoven systems of oppression and privilege (Bowleg, 2017).

The current article extends this line of work by elucidating the complicated nature of age's intersectionality with race and gender. In Study 7, although older individuals with intersectional identities (i.e., Black females) seemed to be similarly targeted by Succession biases (though less so than were White men), they were liked and respected more by those who endorsed Egalitarian Advocacy. This presents a nuanced understanding of ageism in the context of multiple identities: Although they were encouraged to "step aside," older Black women were supported in other ways (liking, desire for interaction). Thus, future research should examine the conflicting and complicated effects of ageism as it relates to older individuals. Much as recent investigations have begun to identify how age is a noteworthy component within any intersectionality context (Kang & Chasteen, 2009; Martin et al., 2019), within a rapidly aging population, age intersectionality is set to become an increasingly larger part of the intersectionality conversation.

### Limitations and Future Directions

The current article focuses on general perceptions of older adults, particularly as manifested in workplace attitudes. However, it is certainly possible that the effects found in this article emerge differently in other contexts, such as those in which older adults are clearly disadvantaged. For instance, in the domain of health care, it remains to be seen as to whether egalitarian advocates continue to disfavor investing resources into older adults, as prior work shows that younger adults more often tend to do (North & Fiske, 2013a). Another possibility is exploring whether Succession concerns become hyper-salient after imagining a world where medicine has effectively cured aging (e.g., as depicted in fiction; Vonnegut, 1998), then testing whether this indeed intensifies age-based (but not race- or sex-based) Succession bias. Moreover, it is possible that egalitarians differentiate between Succession, Consumption, and Identity prejudices; it is certainly possible that whereas egalitarians endorse the active Succession of status and power, they do not do the same for shared resources (Consumption) or symbolic mainstream appeal (Identity). Overall, an important caveat to the current findings is that egalitarians may not discriminate against older adults in all contexts.

We also acknowledge that ageism is but one possible prejudice that egalitarian advocates may endorse; we do not mean to imply that it is the only one. For instance, related to the case of ageism, a general bias against "politically conservative, older White males" may also exist in the minds of egalitarians advocates, who might feel that women and minorities more aptly represent the future of society (Danbold & Huo, 2017) and see these groups as uniform in their privilege, wealth, and opportunities (Cooley et al., 2019). We test this assumption in Footnote 1 and Study 7, and do not find this to be entirely the case. Regardless, older individuals are not uniform in their experience of workplace discrimination—and in fact, at least some evidence suggests that older men are the most likely to experience workplace age

discrimination, especially those who are low-income and disadvantaged (Rippon et al., 2014). Thus, even if the perception that those who are receiving discrimination is of those who are in power, it is not the case that all older individuals are in power and receiving benefits, though this perception may legitimize such age biases. Further, this article looks at holistic biases and policies for older individuals, and even if older, White, conservative males were the prototypical exemplars, this stereotype would have implications for all older adults (e.g., forced-retirement and social security for racial minorities and women).

Finally, this work highlights the increasing importance of developing initiatives, strategies, and policies to foster inclusion for everyone. First, though we present one way in which to mitigate ageism (i.e., highlighting the economic realities for older individuals), future research should explore other ways in which to minimize Succession prejudice. Further, as organizations contribute more money than ever before to increasing diversity (Staley, 2017), it is increasingly necessary to take stock of who is being included, versus who is being left behind. The current research suggests that strategies toward diversity and inclusion should not and cannot be monolithic, and more research is needed to understand which diversity strategies may be more or less effective for different kinds of social groups. In this vein, although we elucidated one context where egalitarian advocates are (unexpectedly) more discriminatory, age may not be the only one. Future work should strive to unpack the contexts and domains in which egalitarians are more or less likely to strive for truly universal equality and inclusion.

### Conclusion

As society experiences a rise in social justice movements, understanding the mindset of egalitarian advocates is becoming increasingly timely. Nevertheless, in the context of an equally rapid rise in generational equity issues, the current research shows that such advocates do not endorse anti-ageism views in the manner that they do with racism or sexism. In the minds of such individuals, "equality for all" in spirit might yield "equality for some" in reality.

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## Appendix

### Articles Used in Studies 5 and 6

#### Will Not Retire

##### *The Current State of American Employment*

The nature of retirement is changing. Almost one in four adults 65 and older are now in the workforce. That number is only expected to increase making the older generation the fastest-growing group of workers in the country. One of the main reasons? They enjoy it. Unlike previous generations who came before them, those 65 and older place more value on work, making them feel engaged, useful, and fulfilled. Unlike the current generation, those 65 and older benefited from a great economy, which offered safe and well-paying jobs. And, many older workers are reluctant to give them up. Recent data reflects this trend, where the employment rate for workers age 65 and older has risen by 101%, and the number of employed people

age 75 and up has increased by 172%. In fact, in 2010 one study found that 26% of retirees have chosen to “un-retire.” Indeed, the changing nature of the economy has allowed older workers to stay engaged longer than ever before. Although those over 65 hold more than one third of the United States wealth, have the highest savings of any generation, and are least likely to be in poverty, for many, retirement is nowhere near the horizon. Although many listed financial reasons, three of the top five reasons older workers refuse to retire are because work provides enjoyment, gives them meaning, and occupies their time. It is not uncommon for people to work into their 60s, 70s, or 80s these days, and many are actively engaged in their careers, certain to avoid retirement. For the aforementioned reasons, nearly one in four American workers do not know if they will retire at all.

(Appendix continues)

## Cannot Retire

### *The Current State of American Employment*

The nature of retirement is changing. Almost one in four adults 65 years and older are now in the workforce. That number is expected to increase, making the older generation the fastest-growing group of workers in the country. One of the main reasons? They cannot afford to retire. Unlike previous generations who came before them, those 65 and up do not have the economic means to retire. In today's economy, the lack of social security, recent economic recessions, and their continued support to their grown children—who also face difficulty in today's economy—has made it difficult for them to retire. Recent data suggests that baby boomers have less savings than ever before, with the median savings being just over \$150,000, and as life-expectancy increases, this amount needs to get through what could be a 30-year retirement. Further, economic recessions have affected the stability of those savings; for example, in the last recession, 401(k) accounts lost one third of their value, which forced many to continue working long beyond their original plans. Unlike previous generations, most modern organizations offer no retirement plans at all. The days of working for one company that would support you after you retire are long gone. Few private sector organizations offer traditional, defined benefit pensions, where you are paid a fixed stipend for life depending on your salary and years of service. The current nature of wealth and employment is not just affecting the older generations, the younger generations struggle as well; and indeed, the older generation are dipping into their retirement savings to support their grown children. A recent survey found that 50% of older adults have and/or continue to sacrifice their own retirement savings to help their adult children financially. For the aforementioned reasons, despite their desire to, nearly one in four American workers do not know if they will be able to retire at all.

## Control

### *Big Data Is the Future*

The nature of decision-making is changing. Over the past decade, "Big Data" has become one of the largest drivers of

decision-making and policy reform. Almost one in four decisions is made using big data in some way, and this number is only expected to increase. Many scientists see this as an opportunity, as it allows us to capture important and diverse information from millions of people. Using public data from millions of posts, articles, and discussion forums, Big Data can capture more information than is possible through traditional methods. Collecting this information and leveraging this data allows the United States to capture more information and remain a strong and growing economy. This kind of data allows decision-makers to understand both the similar and different perspectives that people bring to life. Though such data includes millions of data-points, it also allows each individual to contribute to policies, research, and decision-making. Although traditional ways of making inferences have been useful for understanding human behavior, Big Data provides a new opportunity for decision-making, especially in areas where people are reluctant to express opinions candidly. There are indisputable benefits to collecting data using traditional methods, like census data and opinion surveys; but, recognizing the potential accuracy of Big Data can help supplement these methods. New research suggests that missing the utility of big data for policy-making could be counterproductive, as many other economies have already adopted this approach. Understanding the potential of this information is important, as it would capture more data and contribute to better decision making for areas that affect everyone, such as political and health care policies. For the aforementioned reasons, Big Data, and its role in decision-making, is unlikely to disappear; many encourage us to leverage and use Big Data, rather than ignore it.

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