

AGE AND RETIREMENT CATEGORIES: IMPACT OF LANGUAGE AND STEREOTYPES

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for ASSA workshop, May 2013

AIM OF THE TALK

- Speak to you as researchers
- Provoke you, rather than give information
 - Thinking about age, ageing and retirement as social categories
 - Impact of language, terminology, stereotypes on the way we think about research
- Perhaps provoke research that goes beyond “productive” or “healthy” ageing or retirement

SOCIAL CATEGORIES

- Can be helpful ways to describe people
- Provide a basis for social identity
 - Evoke language both subtly and overtly, often without much awareness
 - Ascribed categories like gender, ethnicity nevertheless attract strong identification
- Age as a category, however, does not seem to do this – few people identify as old, middle-aged, young, children (maybe generation cohort?)
- Downside of social categories is that they minimise perceptions of within-group differences and variability
- The very words “age” and “ageing” evoke a whole set of stereotypes

AGE AND RETIREMENT AS CATEGORIES

- Age is typically studied as a group variable
 - Variables chosen for convenience or precedent (e.g., under 18 (or 25), 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, over 65 – usually less fine-grained than this)
 - Two extreme groups are biggest, with most variability
 - This is a problem because it affects what is interpreted and what is considered as error in research
 - Also affects who are selected as participants (e.g., over 65 – or 55 – as “older” group) – both quant and qual

AGE AND RETIREMENT AS CATEGORIES

- Same thing is true of retirement
 - Categories tend to be employed, part-time, retired (volunteer in the best cases)
 - Comparative format typically adopted (e.g., retired vs employed)
- Leads to limited conclusions, interpretations, policy

AGE: CASE OF DRIVING ACCIDENT RATE

- Headlines (and government web sites on driving) say Older Drivers are More Dangerous
 - Claim by researchers is that over 65s have the highest accident rates
 - Interpreted as cognitive and visual decline, with relevant developmental psych theory
 - We assume that people will decline cognitively (“when decline occurs”)
 - Leads to driver testing interventions, policy of more frequent testing for older adults
 - A whole research and intervention industry has developed around this
 - Not easy to find data more fine-grained than over 65

DRIVING ACCIDENT RATE: STATISTICS

- Census statistics do not support the claims
 - US 2009 (and prior years): 55-64 and 65-74 have the *lowest* accident rates – over 75s are higher, but still lower than under 25s
 - Victoria: over 75s have the highest rate – 65-74 is lower than under 30s (and comparable to other rates) – numerical basis not as clear here
- We still know nothing about accident-prone vs other drivers – what predicts this?
 - The key variable is being masked by age
- How can this mistake have come about?

AGE, RETIREMENT, RESEARCH

- Driving example is one among many using comparative approach with age as IV
- Retirement: comparing retired to employed masks extreme diversity in both groups (e.g., HILDA surveys, etc.)
- Why do we do this?
 - Because there is funding in it – research funds going toward “epidemic of ageing”
 - Because age has migrated from a descriptor to an independent variable
 - Because we invoke societal stereotypes with little reflection
 - Researchers – ourselves – are responsible for much of this

WHERE HAVE INDIVIDUAL DIFFERENCES GONE?

- Forgot our core commitment (in psychology at least) to this
 - Individual differences are not just personality – whole multivariate profile
- Also forgot that age does not cause anything, and its correlation with other things is highly variable
- Not clear whether retirement causes anything, but probably not
- Our exploration of differences based on gross categories overwhelms everything else

AGE AND RETIREMENT RESEARCH

- So we have categories that people do not often identify with, that are variably related to outcome variables, and that do not cause anything
- Yet we have created (or documented) a strongly intergroup context for ageing and retirement
- In an attempt to reduce the stigma of ageing, we have adopted the terms “productive,” “positive,” and “healthy” ageing and retirement
- But this may make things worse
 - Adds stigma to the mix and implies an ideal, which is fictional

WHAT IS THE WAY FORWARD?

- Stop collecting data on age status?
- Stop using age and retirement status as IVs
- This requires exploring the variables that do cause other things
 - Dementia, chronic illness, disability as causes of care and independence problems (e.g., driving) – understanding that this is a minority of people of all ages
 - Power conflicts (generational, organisational) as causes of social identification and intergroup conflict
 - Social isolation, lack of support, lack of structure as causes of mental health problems
 - Loss of group memberships as causes of problems

WHAT IS THE WAY FORWARD?

- Research methods
 - Abandon comparative approach altogether?
 - Use a profile approach (e.g., retirement quality)
 - Avoid recruiting from a single age or retirement category (“experience” of retirement)?
 - Gather full range of experience, with sufficient power
 - Take more advantage of longitudinal modelling?
 - Segment the participants more precisely?
 - Start with the real DV (predictors of depression, etc.)?
 - Use data mining?
 - Need theory that is adequate for this
- To do this, how do we overcome the vested interests opposing new ways of thinking about age and retirement?