

## Explicating Ageism in the Productive Aging Framework

Nancy Morrow-Howell, Ph.D., MSW (<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8146-9323>)  
Harvey A. Friedman Center for AgingBrown School of Social Work, Washington University  
St. Louis, Missouri, USA

Ernest Gonzales, PhD, MSSW (<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-6182-1326>)  
Silver School of Social Work, New York University  
New York, New York, USA

\*Address correspondence to: Nancy Morrow-Howell, Ph.D., MSW. Email: [morrow-howell@wustl.edu](mailto:morrow-howell@wustl.edu)

Accepted Manuscript

## Abstract

This essay argues for a fuller integration of ageism and age discrimination into the productive aging framework. We briefly review the productive aging scholarship and the extent to which ageism has been considered in regards to working, volunteering, education, and caregiving. We suggest that ageism has not been adequately considered, and we identify how it permeates productive engagement in later life. We introduce modifications to the productive aging framework to more directly capture the roles of ageism and age discrimination in activity engagement and the outcomes achieved. We argue for the integration of key concepts from minority stress theory and critical race theory that may yield important insights for an increasingly diverse older population. We conclude with research directions that will guide intervention development to reduce ageism at the societal, organizational and individual level.

*Keywords:* age stereotype; age discrimination; employment; volunteering; caregiving

Accepted Manuscript

Dr. Robert Butler introduced the productive aging paradigm to shift focus away from preoccupation with dependencies in later life to contributions of older people to families and societies (Butler & Gleason, 1985). He also coined the term *ageism* and recognized barriers in later life stemming from negative age stereotypes and ageist behaviors (Butler, 1969). The concept of ageism has gained more attention over the last several years, given growing evidence of the negative effects on individuals, organizations, and society (Levy, 2022; Chang et al., 2020). Ageism in its various facets may be the biggest barrier to optimizing the productive engagement of older adults, including discrimination in the workforce, age-segregation in volunteer programs, and the internalized ageist messages affecting older people's behaviors. Yet, ageism has not been fully incorporated into conceptual models, research agendas, and policy analyses of productive aging scholarship. This paper summarizes the current knowledge regarding productive aging and ageism and puts forth ideas on how to incorporate ageism more directly into theoretical and empirical work.

### **Conceptual and Empirical Foundations of Productive Aging**

Productive engagement in later life is defined as older people performing paid and unpaid activities such as working, volunteering, pursuing education, and caregiving (Bass et al., 1993). (Note that the specification of older varies between research studies and policy applications.) Scholars argue the engagement of older adults in these roles can best be supported through programs, policies and organizational arrangements which can yield positive outcomes for individuals, families, communities, and society (Gonzales et al., 2015a; Morrow-Howell et al., 2001).

Several conceptual frameworks focusing on the productive engagement of older people highlight the extra-individual factors that influenced engagement and the interaction of various

levels of forces. In the first framework, Bass and Caro (2001) identified four sectors affecting productive activities: individual, situational, environmental, and social policy. When describing social policy contexts, they include public legislation as well as regulations and practices in the private sector, providing examples of defined-benefit packages in the employment sector, driving requirements in the volunteer sector, and informal expectations in religious organizations. Sherraden and colleagues (2001) identified institutional (organizational) and individual capacity for productive engagement as well as sociodemographic and public policy upstream determinants. Subsequent frameworks expanded environmental and social contexts. For examples, Gonzales et al. (2016b) suggested the construct environmental capacity to complement individual and institutional capacity and to capture the features of neighborhoods that affect the engagement. Morrow-Howell and Wang (2017) emphasized that these antecedents exist in larger cultural and country-specific contexts. Morrow-Howell & Greenfield (2016) highlighted the role of social norms and historical times as broad social context affected productive engagement.

Three frameworks specified ageism constructs in a conceptual model of productive engagement and referenced ageism or discrimination in the model. In the Integrative Conceptual Framework of Engagement in Socially-Productive Activity in Later Life (Matz et al. 2020) included age discrimination as a structural factor, suggesting that implicit and explicit age bias shapes “age appropriate” behaviors and creates barriers to working and volunteering. In the Integrated Framework of Productive Aging, discrimination of all types is included at the macro level, with discussion of how this results in inequities at the individual, neighborhood, and organizational levels (Gonzales et al., 2023). The reciprocal relationships between antecedents and outcomes were theorized in a system dynamics model (Morrow-Howell et al. 2017). This

Stock and Flow Diagram of Productive Engagement in Later Life includes age bias and suggests that the involvement of older adults in productive roles could change attitudes and reduce bias. We appreciate that ageism is directly included in these models. However, we suggest that this recognition is not sufficient, and research questions, hypotheses, and variables directly incorporating ageism and age discrimination are limited.

There is a large literature about patterns of engagement, antecedents of engagement, and outcomes to the individual, families, and communities. This literature references outdated images, stereotypes and ageist attitudes that limit the productive engagement of the older population. “Barriers such as ageism and age discrimination, a lack of support for those who provide care, and limited access to volunteer opportunities all suppress the ability to be meaningfully engaged in society” (Gonzales, et al., 2021c, p. 1). However, ageism in productive aging research is largely relegated to explanations and implications – to discussion points.

Most scholarly attention focuses on ageism in employment. Perceived age discrimination is associated with lower levels of engagement, lower job satisfaction, and early retirement (National Academies of Sciences, 2022). Further, the experience of age discrimination in the workplace has been associated with lower organizational performance (Kunze et al., 2011). It has been shown that age inclusive practices yield positive outcomes for all ages, including supportive and loyal relationships, resulting in higher company performance and lower employee turnover intentions (National Academies of Sciences, 2022). Although causal inferences limit extant literature, it is clear that ageism inhibits participation of older people in the workforce.

There is scant literature on ageism and volunteerism. Steward et al. (2022) assessed the mediating effect of internalized ageism on the relationship of volunteering to social connectedness. They documented that volunteering was associated with an increase in internal

positive messages about aging but there no relationship between volunteering and internal negative messages; and further, these positive self-assessments were related to higher levels of social connectedness. There is also scant research about how ageism operates in caregiving, but there are anecdotal examples of informal caregivers limiting choices, opportunities, and autonomy of the persons they are assisting (Gordon & Gonzales, 2022).

There is much commentary on the age-segregated nature of educational institutions and ageist attitudes and behaviors on college campuses (Montapare, 2019). There is a nascent knowledge base on the age-inclusiveness of academic institutions, assessment strategies and research approaches (Silverstein et al., 2022). Further, it is likely licensing exams rely on fluid intelligence and crystalized intelligence, thereby biasing older test takers. For example, the Association for Social Work Board released national data regarding pass/fail rates on social work licensing exam (ASWB, 2023), which showed that older test-takers fail at higher rates when compared to younger test takers. Research is needed to determine if educational degrees, licensing, and certificates intended for emerging adults systematically biases older students.

In sum, there are studies on the prevalence and effects of ageism in the employment literature; but in the other productive activities, there is little attention to the effects of ageism and age discrimination. Further, ageism has not been directly incorporated into conceptual productive aging frameworks.

### **Centering Ageism in Productive Aging Frameworks**

We suggest ageism constructs be infused as determinants of productive engagement at the intrapersonal, interpersonal, organizational, institutional and cultural levels. We offer a heuristic model in Figure 1, where we focus on legal and policy, community, organizational, and personal determinants of productive engagement. We give examples of ageism constructs in each

of these socio-ecological domains. We do not include other factors that previous frameworks have included because our intention is to highlight additional factors related to ageism that could be added. Further, the directional arrows are suggestive that more macro factors have downstream affects; and more specific hypothesis testing will require more accurate specification of relationships.

At the legal and social policy level, we recognize the existence of national and state regulations to prevent age-discrimination. We must interrogate the extent to which these laws actually protect older people in the workforce. The Age Discrimination in Employment Act sent institutional and cultural messages that older adults are important resources and are protected in the workforce. However, the effects of these policies are limited. The EEOC (Lipnik, 2018) reports that 60% of people experienced age discrimination in the workplace; yet only 3% of those who reported experiencing it reported it or made formal complaints. It has become more difficult to demonstrate age discrimination within the workplace after the 2009 Supreme Court Ruling which deemed it necessary to identify age as the deciding factor; and legislation to reinstate the original ruling that age can be a contributing factor (Protecting Older Workers Against Age Discrimination Act) has yet to be passed (Gonzales, 2023). Further, state laws vary with retirement and hiring regulations. Connecticut Public Act Number 21-69 makes it illegal to require dates on employment applications that reveal chronological age, such as birthdays or graduation dates. What are the effects on applicants of all ages of this law? The extent to which productive engagement varies in response to federal and state legal protection could reveal effectiveness of policies and regulations on organizational and individual behavior.

Furthermore, we need to consider how public policies have reinforced age segregation and devalued older volunteers. The federal government has relabeled Senior Corps (programs

targeting people 50 years and older, including Foster Grandparents, RSVP, and Senior Companion) to AmeriCorps Senior. This title change relegated age to a secondary position, and marketing includes visuals of diverse older volunteers as well as the benefits of engagement (e.g., health, new skills, community connection). These improvements are notable and hopefully will attract more older people to national service. Yet, fundamentally, federal programs remain age-segregated and guide older participants to siloed programs (Nicols & Freedman, *in press*). On what justifications are we developing our civic engagement policies and programs based on age alone? Why is there not a national service organization focused on civic engagement across the lifespan and with intentional intergenerational programming?

Any policies that affect caregiving affect older people, given 20 percent of caregivers are 65 years of age older (AARP, 2020). Yet age discrimination exists in regulations that disallow spousal caregivers from receiving pay under the consumer-directed care legislation. Consumer-directed care programs allow Medicaid beneficiaries to identify and pay caregivers of their choice, including friends and relatives. Yet spousal caregivers, almost 40% of caregiving workforce (Wolff et al, 2018), are not eligible for this public support. Further, given that older caregivers are more likely to have exited the workforce, caregiving support programs through employee assistance programs are not as available to older adults. The extent to which in-person support programs rely on transportation or virtual programs rely on digital competence limits access to caregivers of any age, but older caregivers may be disproportionately affected.

At the community level, the age composition of a geographic area affects not only the demand and supply of productive activities for people of all ages, it affects attitudes and expectations about resource allocation and intergenerational relationships. The level of ageism in a society is related to the percent of older persons and the availability of economic resources,



with more older people and fewer resources leading to negative ageist attitudes and behaviors (Marques, 2020). It is likely the social cohesion of a community relates to quality of intergenerational relationships and reciprocity, which can exacerbate or diminish ageism and productive engagement opportunities. Community design and shared spaces can facilitate age-friendliness, but also affect age-segregation. Ageism has been viewed as both a cause and effect of age segregation (Gendron, 2022).

Diversity, equity and inclusion (DEI) efforts at the organizational level often exclude age. A survey of work organizations (Trawinski, n.d.) revealed that only eight percent (8%) organizations included age as a dimension of diversity. Further, a review of university DEI efforts suggested that few institutions of higher education had initiatives focused on age (Morrow-Howell et al., 2022). In sum, organizations vary in attention to age inclusivity. Age discrimination policies relate to hiring and promotion practices; yet attitudes and behaviors of supervisors and coworkers who implement these policies and practices affect the experience of older workers and volunteers.

In Figure 1, personal factors are to the right of the community and organization domains to highlight how these antecedents affect the way older persons and their families think about productive engagement. Given the documented effects of internalized ageism on attitudes and behaviors of older people themselves (Levy, 2022), it is plausible that this self-directed ageism affects motivation and confidence to engage in productive roles. We include family dynamics in this domain because family members have expectations and attitudes toward older relatives which affect role engagement. Social queuing from family and friends influences retirement, volunteering, education and caregiving decisions. Ageist stereotypes held by family members may undermine the quality of caregiving between adult children and parents, such as limiting

access to driving, living independently, or engaging in other meaningful activities (Gordon & Gonzales, 2022).

We relabel “demographic characteristics” to “intersecting identities” to emphasize that age interacts with other identities to affect productive engagement and outcomes. Ageism is not the only bias that limits the potential of longer healthier lives (Gonzales, et al., 2021d); and centering ageism at the exclusion of other isms limits the knowledge base to inform policies and programs.

Policy, community, organizational and personal determinants exist in a sociocultural context where ageism is pervasive. The deeply embedded vision of the segmented life course (Riley et al., 1994) sequences the development and use of human capital. The “education-work-retirement” model is perhaps the oldest model on productive aging and one of the clearest forms of cultural ageism: age is the primary criterion for access to education, work, and retirement. We are all influenced by “appropriate” age expectations due to this dominant model, and any deviation from these norms often results in barriers and risks. These age-based norms are supported by the prevailing sociocultural narrative about aging and later life: age as decline and irrelevancy. Later life is viewed as a time of leisure or stepping down due to limited capacity to engage in vital productive roles.

The intermediate outcomes of productive engagement remain similar to previous models -- employment, volunteering, caregiving, pursuing education/training. Theoretical and empirical work has tied these engagements to outcomes at the individual, family, and societal levels (Morrow-Howell et al., 2001). We suggest that these outcomes can be expanded in this proposed framework. The alleviation of internal ageism may lead not only to more productive engagement but likely lead to optimal outcomes in health, economic wellbeing, and social connectedness.

Family outcomes can be expanded to include more realistic expectations and healthier relationships. At the societal level, the achievement of an age-just society and intergenerational cohesion are possible goals.

### **Infusing new theoretical constructs into productive aging scholarship**

Productive aging scholars have relied on a range of concepts and theories from numerous disciplines to understand the relationships depicted in larger conceptual frames -- role theory, socioemotional selectivity theory, human/social/cultural capital theories, and the theory of person-environment fit, to name a few. New set of theories must be infused, such as minority stress theory and critical race theory.

Minority stress theory seeks to explain the disparate health outcomes of minoritized populations (Forrester et al., 2019), suggesting that chronic stress from actual and anticipated discrimination undermines various dimensions of health. Most of this work has focused on racial, sexual, and gender minorities (Clark et al., 1999; Meyer, 2003). Older people can be viewed as a minority, living with stress from this marginalized position. Three processes of minority stress are relevant to productive aging, including external, objective stressful events and conditions; expectations of these events and the vigilance required; and internalization of negative stereotypes (Meyer, 2003). These stressors apply to older people generally and in specific settings such as employment and volunteer organizations. How do they operate to constrain or facilitate choices to engage in work, volunteering and/or caregiving, shape the engagement experience and the outcomes of the engagement? The concept of concealment is likely important, where hiding of one's identity is proposed as a proximal stressor (Miller & Major, 2000). Concealment applies directly to the aging experience. Some older people may hide their age to get hired, be considered for promotion, gain respect or feel better about themselves.

The large anti-aging industry encourages this concealment. Might we articulate the unique stressors associated with age as an identity? Finally, we can use this model to identify interventions aimed at distal and proximal stressors at the individual and structural levels.

Critical race theory (CRT) asserts that racism is pervasive and exists independently of individual people and that racism is ingrained within ordinary practices (Delgado & Stefania, 2017; Blesset & Gaynor, 2021). These same ideas can be applied to ageism. *Resource hoarding* is a key concept in CRT to explain how certain populations are minoritized, like older people, and given less access to education, good paying jobs, and other opportunities for engagement. Additionally, *interest convergence* occurs when powerholders are interested in advancing social justice when it benefits them. From this perspective, organizations strive to include older people when it is beneficial -- when employers need employees or agencies need volunteers or society needs caregivers. The interest convergence concept captures longstanding concerns in the productive aging literature that older adults will be exploited and that we will rely on unpaid work instead of adequately funding it. Systems of inequity which use race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation and disability as criteria for access to resources overlap to exacerbate health disparities (Crenshaw, 1991), underscoring the importance of *intersectionality*. Older age adds to the accumulating identities that put people at risk of disadvantage. Productive aging scholarship can benefit from CRT perspectives as researchers explore ways that age and ageism intersect with other minoritized identities which underlie legislation, social structures, and people's behaviors.

## Expansion of research agendas

Theoretical and empirical developments spotlight how ageism in our culture becomes embodied by older individuals; and these self-definitions influence health and functioning (Levy, 2009). We need research to learn how these beliefs relate to decisions to engage in productive activities, the experience of participation in attaining goals and expectations, and outcomes associated with self-concept and health and economic wellbeing. In the workplace, how does internalized ageism affect professional development, retirement decisions, and encore career options? We need understanding about how family expectations enable or disable meaningful engagement in work, volunteer, and educational pursuits. Further, the engagement of older persons as caregivers or care receivers may relate to the internalized and interpersonal ageism in the family network.

Further research is necessary to elucidate how employers and work colleagues are legally compliant with age discrimination laws but continue to be ageist in all phases of the employment cycle. We need to assess the effects of actions to enforce or strengthen age discrimination regulations. Do federal and statewide anti-discrimination policies have any effect on discriminatory attitudes and behaviors? How do co-worker and supervisor attitudes and behaviors affect older workers' workplace experience and decisions about retirement? How does internalized ageism interact with co-worker and supervisor age beliefs?

Rates of volunteering among older adults are lower than among younger adults and it is suggested that older volunteers are often relegated to less intense, less complex, and less demanding roles (i.e. stuffing envelopes). We hypothesize negative age beliefs of volunteer managers limit outreach and support to older adults and especially minoritized older adults;

while internalized ageism also limits motivations for engagement. We further hypothesize age-exclusive workspaces (physical and social) negatively affect the experience and outcomes of older volunteers. How can we legislate programs and design productive activities that are fundamentally age-integrated and contribute to cross-age collaboration to reduce stereotyping of both young and old?

Theoretically, age is a diversity, equity and inclusion factor; but in practice, age is excluded (Samuel, 2020). How is age viewed as a diversity factor amidst the compelling forces to address racism, sexism, classism, etc.? How can we elevate age among diversity officers and their efforts? It is suggested that demonstrating the positive effects of multigenerational workplaces will be useful (Pitt-Catsouphes & Matz-Costa, 2008). The same questions apply to higher education, where DEI efforts do not give much consideration of age, despite age-biased practices in student outreach, support and curriculums. Further, it remains uncertain if DEI practices in general are even effective in reducing bias and increasing inclusivity (Chang, et al, 2019); so evaluating the effects of initiatives regarding age are important.

How age intersects with race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, etc. to affect productive engagement and outcomes is not fully known. We have assessed moderating and mediating relationships with age and race variables; and we use secondary data to conduct these analyses. However, this approach may be reductionistic with an emphasis on individual characteristics rather than structural factors. It may be more fruitful to think more macro, more structural and ask how structural racism contribute to structural ageism, and vice versa.

Efforts to facilitate engagement should expand to include interventions directly aimed at ageism (Burnes et al. 2019). How can we promote these general interventions aimed at ageism and perhaps tailor them for the context of productive roles?

We must continue to advance data collection to answer these questions. We can maximize the use of secondary data (Health and Retirement Survey and National Poll on Healthy Aging) and build on HRS sister datasets. We must advance measurement of the various expressions of ageism and expand their use in data collection efforts. Scales are widely available, like the Workplace Age Discrimination Scale (Marchiondo, et al., 2016) or Everyday Discrimination (Williams et al., 1997); however, we need to refine and extend these assessments to non-paid activities, specifically volunteering and caregiving.

### **Conclusion**

Centering ageism in the productive aging literature is a research frontier. This article suggests modifications to productive aging frameworks to more directly capture ageism and age discrimination and effects on activity engagement and the outcomes achieved. Minority stress theory and critical race theory offer new insights to the productive aging scholarship. We suggest research questions to guide changes in laws, organizational policies, and attitudes and beliefs of older adults and family members. Ultimately, these changes must disrupt longstanding norms derived from the age-segregated life course and move us toward a more age-integrated approach to productive engagement. Productive aging scholars can contribute to this knowledge development and influence program and policies interventions to reduce ageism to optimize productive engagement.

**Funding:** None reported

**Conflict of Interest:** None reported

**Data Availability:** This article does not report data and therefore the pre-registration and data availability requirements are not applicable.

Accepted Manuscript



## References

- AARP & National Alliance for Caregiving (2020). *Caregiving in the United States 2020*. AARP.
- Bass, S.A., & Caro, F. (1996). Productive Aging: A conceptual framework. In N. Morrow-Howell, J. Hinterlong, & M. Sherraden (Eds.), *Productive Aging: Concepts and Challenges* (pp. 37-80). Johns Hopkins University Press. In W.H. Crown (Ed.), *Handbook on Employment and the Elderly* (pp. 265–275). Greenwood.
- Bass, S.A., Caro, F.G., & Chen, Y.P. (Eds.). (1993). *Achieving a productive aging society*. Auburn House.
- Blessett, B., & Gaynor, T. S. (2021). Race, racism and administrative callousness: Using critical race theory for a race-conscious public administration. *Public Integrity*, 23(5), 455-458. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10999922.2021.1967011>.
- Burnes, D., Sheppard, C., Jr, C. R. H., Wassel, M., Cope, R., Barber, C., & Pillemer, K. (2019). Interventions to reduce ageism against older adults. *American Journal of Public Health*, 109(8), e1-e9. <https://doi.org/10.2105/ajph.2019.305123>.
- Butler R. N. & Gleason H. P. (1985). *Productive aging: Enhancing vitality in later life*. Springer Publisher.
- Butler, R.N. (1969). Age-ism: another form of bigotry. *The Gerontologist*, 9, 243–246, [https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/9.4\\_Part\\_1.243](https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/9.4_Part_1.243).
- Chang, E. Milkman, K., Zarro, L., Brabaw, K., Gromet, D. Rebele, R, et al. (2019). Does diversity training work the way its supposed to? *Harvard Business Review*, July 19, 2019.
- Chang, E. S., Kanno, S., Levy, S., Wang, S.-Y., Lee, J. E., & Levy, B. R. (2020). Global reach of ageism on older persons' health. *PLoS One*, 15(1), e0220857. <https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0220857>.

- Clark, R.; Anderson, N., Clark, V. & Williams, D. (1999). Racism as a stressor for African Americans. *American Psychologist*, 54, 805–816. doi:10.1037/0003-066X.54.10.805.
- Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review*, 43(6), 1241–1299. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1229039>.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical Race Theory* (3rd ed.). New York,
- Forrester, S., Gallo, J., Whitfield, K. & Thorpe, R. (2019). A Framework of Minority Stress: From Physiological Manifestations to Cognitive Outcomes, *The Gerontologist*, 59, 1017–1023, <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gny104>.
- Gendron, T. (2022). *Ageism unmasked: Exploring age bias and how to end it*. Steerforth Press
- Gonzales, E. (April, 2023). Written Testimony to The United States Senate, Special Committee on Aging, “Beyond 9 to 5: Dismantling Barriers and Building Economic Resilience for Older Workers.”
- Gonzales, E., Lee, Y. J., & Marchiondo, L. A. (2021d). Exploring the Consequences of Major Lifetime Discrimination, Neighborhood Conditions, Chronic Work, and Everyday Discrimination on Health and Retirement. *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 40(2), 121-131. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0733464819892847>.
- Gonzales, E., Matz, C., Morrow-Howell, N., James, J., Putnam, M., Greenfield, J., et al. (2021c). Policy Recommendations for Meeting the Grand Challenge to Advance Long, Healthy, and Productive Lives. American Academy of Social Work & Social Welfare. Policy Brief No. 13, <http://hdl.handle.net/2451/61979>.
- Gonzales, E., Matz-Costa, C. & Morrow-Howell, N. (2015a). Increasing opportunities for the productive engagement of older adults. *The Gerontologist*, 55(2), 252-261. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnu176>.

- Gonzales, E., Shen, H.W., Wang, Y., Sprague Martinez, L.S., & Norstrand, J. (2016b). Race and Place: Exploring the Intersection of Inequity and Volunteerism among Older Black and White Adults. *Journal of Gerontological Social Work*, 59(5), 381-400.  
DOI: 10.1080/01634372.2016.1224787.
- Gordon, S., & Gonzales, E. (2022). Exploring ageism within the family. *Innovation in Aging*, 6(Suppl 1), 659–660. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geroni/igac059.2433>.
- Gonzales, E., Morrow-Howell, N., Angel, J., Fredman, L., Marchiondo, L., Harootyan, R., et al. (2023). Integrating AASW&SW's Grand Challenges of Productive Aging with Anti-Racism and Health Equity Lenses to Improve Population Health. In Martell L. Teasley, Michael S. Spencer, and Melissa Bartholomew (eds), *Social Work and the Grand Challenge of Ending Racism* (New York, 2023; online edn, Oxford Academic, 22 June 2023), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780197674949.003.0009>.
- Kunze, F., Boehm, S. A., & Bruch, H. (2011). Age diversity, age discrimination climate and performance consequences. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 32(2), 264-290.  
<https://doi.org/10.1002/job.698>.
- Levy, B. (2009). Stereotype Embodiment: A Psychosocial Approach to Aging. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*, 18(6), 332–336. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8721.2009.01662.x>
- Levy, B. (2022). *Breaking the age code: How your beliefs about aging determine how long and well you live*. William Morrow Company.
- Lipnik, V. (2018). *The state of age discrimination and older workers in the U.S. 50 Years after the age discrimination in Employment Act (ADEA)*. U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

- Marchiondo, L., Gonzales, E., & Ran, S. (2016). Development and Validation of the Workplace Age Discrimination Scale (WADS). *Journal of Business and Psychology, 31*, 493-513. DOI: 10.1007/s10869-015-9425-6.
- Marques, S., Mariano, J., Mendonça, J., De Tavernier, W., Hess, M., Naegele, L., et al. (2020). Determinants of Ageism against Older Adults. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health, 17*(7), 2560. <https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17072560>.
- Matz, C., Sabbath, E., & James, J. B. (2020). An integrative conceptual framework of engagement in socially-productive activity in later life. *Clinical Social Work Journal, 48*(2), 156-168. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10615-020-00756-x>.
- Meyer I. H. (2003). Prejudice, social stress, and mental health in lesbian, gay, and bisexual populations. *Psychological bulletin, 129*, 674–697. <https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-2909.129.5.674>.
- Miller, C. T., & Major, B. (2000). Coping with stigma and prejudice. In T. F. Heatherton, R. E. Kleck, M. R. Hebl, & J. G. Hull (Eds.), *The social psychology of stigma* (pp. 243–272). The Guilford Press.
- Montepare, J. M. (2019). Introduction to the special issue-Age-Friendly Universities. *Gerontology & Geriatrics Education, 40*(2), 139-141. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02701960.2019.1591848>.
- Morrow-Howell, N. & Greenfield, E. (2016). Productive engagement in later life. In George, L. & Ferraro, K. (Eds). *Handbook of Aging and the Social Sciences*. London: Elsevier.
- Morrow-Howell, N., Galucia, N., & Dinman, M. (2022, November 4). *Age as a diversity factor in higher education* [Conference presentation]. Gerontological Society of American Annual conference, Indianapolis, United States.

- Morrow-Howell, N., Halvorsen, C. J., Hovmand, P., Lee, C., & Ballard, E. (2017). Conceptualizing productive engagement in a system dynamics framework. *Innovation in Aging, 1*(1). <https://doi.org/10.1093/geroni/igx018>.
- Morrow-Howell, N., Hinterlong, J., Sherraden, M., & Rozario, P. (2001). Advancing research on productivity in later life. In N. Morrow-Howell, J. Hinterlong, & M. Sherraden (Eds.), *Productive aging: Concepts and challenges* (pp. 285-313). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- National Academies of Sciences, Engineering, and Medicine (2022). Understanding the Aging Workforce. Washington, DC: The National Academies Press. <https://doi.org/10.17226/26173>.
- Nicols, E., & Freedman, M. (in press). The Roadmap for Making the Most of Our Increasingly Multigenerational Society. *Generations*.
- Pitt-Catsouphes, M. & Matz-Costa, C. (2008) The multi-generational workforce. *Community, Work & Family, 11*:2, 215-229, DOI: 10.1080/13668800802021906.
- Riley, M., Kahn, R., & Foner, A. (1994). Age and structural lag: Society's failure to provide meaningful opportunities in work, family and leisure. New York: Wiley.
- Samuel, L (2020, November 9) Why Is Age Not Part of Diversity and Inclusion? *Psychology Today*. <https://www.psychologytoday.com/us/blog/boomers-30/202011/why-is-age-not-part-diversity-and-inclusion>.
- Sherraden, M., Morrow-Howell, N., Hinterlong, J., & Rozario, P. (2001). *Productive aging: Theoretical choices and directions*. In N. Morrow-Howell, J. Hinterlong, & M. Sherraden (Eds.), *Productive Aging: Concepts and Challenges* (pp. 260–284). Johns Hopkins University Press.

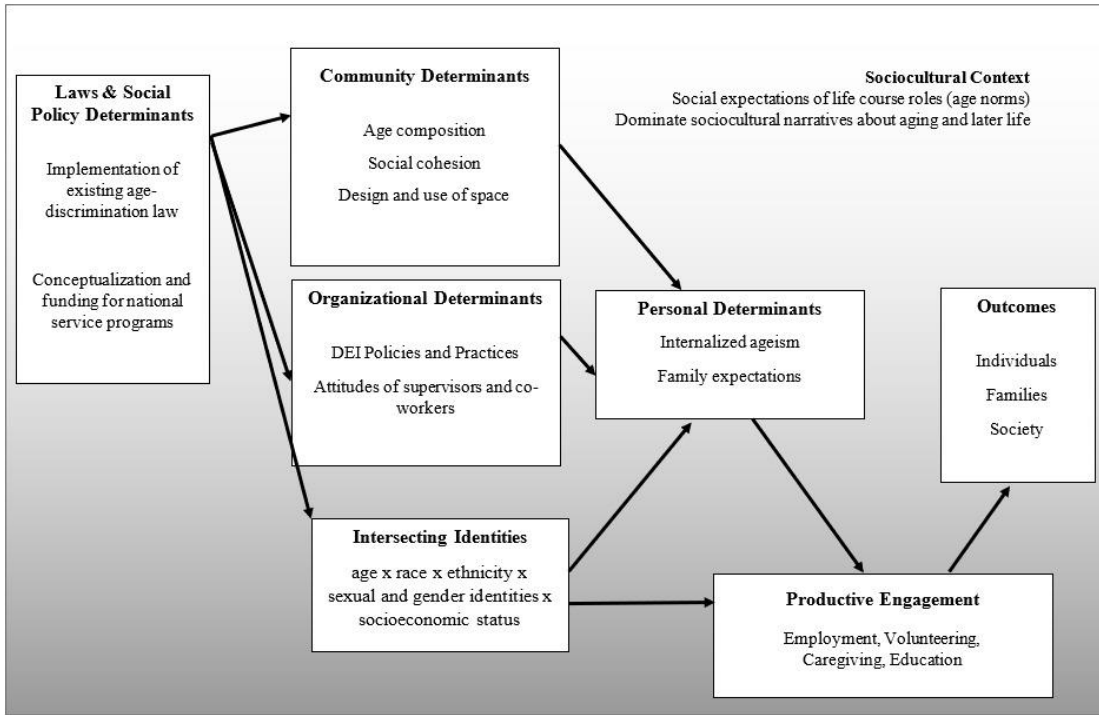
- Silverstein, N., Whitbourne, S., Bowen, L., Montepare, J., Jansen, T., Beaulieu, C. et al. (2022). Assessing age inclusivity in higher education. *The Gerontologist*, 62, e48–e61. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnab090>.
- Steward, A. T., Hasche, L., & Laser, J. A. (2022). Do internalized age stereotypes mediate the relationship between volunteering and social connectedness for adults 50+? *Journal of aging studies*, 61, 101031. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jaging.2022.101031>.
- Trawinski, L. A. (n.d.). *Leveraging the value of an age-diverse workplace*. The Society for Human Resource Management Foundation. <https://www.shrm.org/foundation/ourwork/initiatives/the-aging-workforce/Documents/Age-Diverse%20Workforce%20Executive%20Briefing.pdf>.
- Victor, B. G., Kubiak, S., Angell, B., & Perron, B. E. (2023). Time to move beyond the ASWB licensing exams. *Research on Social Work Practice*, 33(5), 511–517. <https://doi.org/10.1177/10497315231166125>.
- Williams, D., Yu, Y., Jackson, J., & Anderson, N. (1997) Racial differences in physical and mental health. *Journal of Health Psychology*, 2, 335-351.
- Wolff, J. L., Mulcahy, J., Huang, J., Roth, D. L., Covinsky, K., & Kasper, J. D. (2018). Family caregivers of older adults. *The Gerontologist*, 58, 1021–1032. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geront/gnx093>.

## Figures

**Figure 1.** Ageism and Determinants to Productive Engagement and Outcomes

Accepted Manuscript

Figure 1



Accepted Manuscript