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Views on Aging – Current Trends and Future Directions for Cross-Cultural Research

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Abstract

The investigation of what enables societies and individuals to age well remains one of the greatest challenges of our time. Views on aging are a decisive factor in this process, and thus, improving their understanding through cross-cultural research is of utmost importance. In the current review, we address the role of socio-ecological variables and cultural values and beliefs when investigating country differences in what people think about older persons and getting old themselves. Several complexities are introduced in terms of a differentiated conceptualization of views on aging that takes life domains and normative prescriptions into account, and also in terms of a differentiated and extended view on the factors through which societal and cultural aspects and views on aging mutually influence each other. We propose that an encompassing, lifespan framework on views on aging enhances our understanding of aging well in different cultural and societal contexts.

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Introduction

With increasing life expectancy and population aging in many countries across the world, the investigation of what enables societies and individuals to age well remains a great challenge (WHO, 2020, 2021). As age is a salient social category, societal and individual aspects are relevant in shaping views on aging (VoA). “Views on aging” is an umbrella term that encompasses different constructs, which all refer to conceptions about older people, old age, and aging in general (Wurm et al., 2017). VoA can be conceptualized as descriptive age stereotypes (i.e., perceptions of how older people are; Brewer et al., 1981; Cuddy et al., 2005) or prescriptive age stereotypes (i.e., how older people should be; de Paula Couto et al., 2022; de Paula Couto & Rothermund, in press; North & Fiske, 2012), but can also refer to the self. Self-perceptions of aging (sometimes also termed attitudes toward own aging) capture what it means to get or be old oneself (Kornadt & Rothermund, 2012), and also encompass people’s subjective age, which is the age people feel as compared to their chronological age (Barrett & Montepare, 2015; Kotter-Grühn et al., 2016). In the current review, we will mostly focus on descriptive and prescriptive age stereotypes as well as self-perceptions of aging on the individual level, but also take into consideration other constructs that have also been discussed in this regard (e.g., awareness of age-related change, generation identity, age identification; Diehl & Wahl, 2010; Weiss & Zhang, 2020), or have been identified as affective (e.g., aging anxiety) and behavioral (e.g., age discrimination) correlates of VoA (see also a recent review by Segel-Karpas & Bergman, in press).

As described by Stereotype Embodiment Theory (SET, Levy, 2009), individual differences in various operationalizations of VoA have been shown to be powerful predictors of health and well-being, and it is assumed that they influence these outcomes via physiological, behavioral, and psychological pathways. A large number of studies, mostly with participants from the US, Europe or China, have shown that VoA longitudinally affect cognitive functioning (Debrecezeni & Bailey, 2021), life satisfaction and well-being (e.g., Rothermund, 2005), social integration (Menkin et al., 2017), preparation for old age (Kornadt et al., 2015), physical and mental health and ultimately even mortality (Westerhof et al., 2014). Thus, VoA represent an important lever to facilitate aging well.

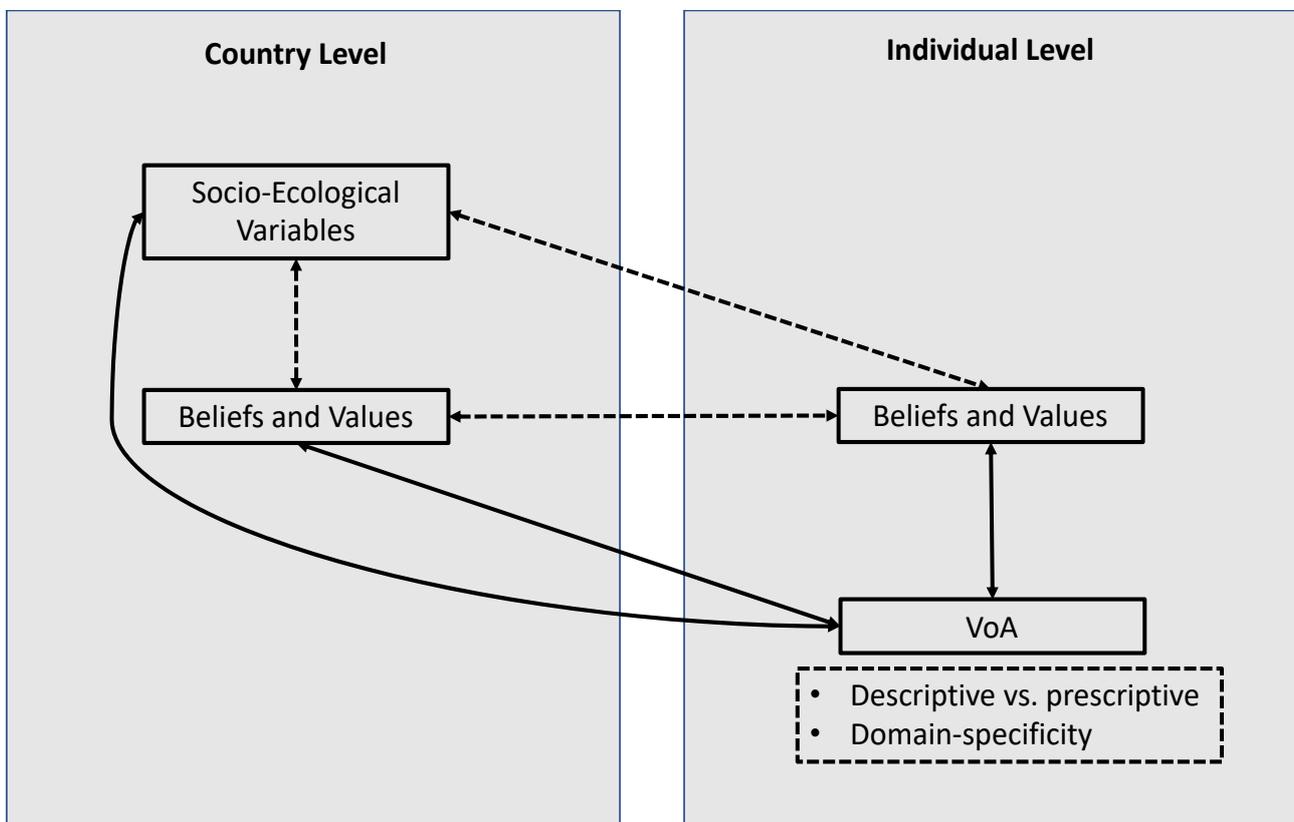
Historically, there has been a longstanding interest in cross-cultural research on VoA (Bringmann & Rieder, 1968; Ikels et al., 1992). One of the now–classic studies in that regard was published by Levy and Langer in the early nineties. They (Levy & Langer, 1994) found that older Americans performed worse in a memory test compared to younger and older Chinese and deaf participants, which was explained by the negative VoA that are harbored in American culture. The supposed absence of largely negative stereotypes in those groups was assumed to foster more positive cognitive aging as compared to groups in which negative stereotypes of old age prevailed. Further studies with different methodological approaches have since corroborated and extended these results (Yoon et al., 2000).

Results like these show that even though aging can be considered a biological process, it does not happen in a vacuum, and is shaped by societal and cultural contexts and might also vary according to these contexts, which then translates into the views that people have of their own and others’ aging (Kornadt et al., 2020). Studies that investigate such variations in VoA usually draw on geographical regions (country, continent) as a proxy for

socio-ecological and cultural differences. More often than not, the underlying idea lies on the individualism (West) *versus* collectivism (East) dichotomy and the assumed cultural characteristics each of those poles entails. Given that there is a multitude of variables that might lead to country differences in VoA, it is important to consider these variables and their influence on VoA in more direct ways to understand why views on aging differ in individuals from different countries.

Socio-ecological and cultural factors in which countries differ are imperative contexts of human thought and behavior (Adams & Markus, 2004; Oishi & Graham, 2010), and can shape VoA (see Figure 1). Socio-ecological structures, such as economic, political or welfare systems, but also population structures, define the margins within which aging takes place, for example by fixing retirement ages or regulating the distribution of resources to older or younger people. Cultural aspects, such as cultural symbols, manifested in practices, beliefs, and values also shape VoA and the role of older people within a country, for example by defining the role of grandparents in the family. Importantly, individually held VoA can also drive societal and cultural change, for example by individual actions.

Figure 1.



Note: Proposed model of mutual influences between socio-ecological variables, cultural beliefs and values, and VoA at different levels of analysis. Dashed lines represent areas with the necessity of further research and refinement as discussed in the paper. VoA = Views on Aging.

The present review investigates current trends and future directions for cross-cultural research in VoA as endorsed by individuals. We will start by outlining how views on aging differ according to socio-ecological variables as well as cultural beliefs and values, and by summarizing the knowledge gained from these studies. We will then show how this research has recently been extended and refined, by adding differentiations on the predictor and the outcome side that take the complexities of both into account and from there, propose directions for future research (see Figure 1).

The Factors Behind Country Differences in Individual VoA

Socio-Ecological Variables

Socio-ecological variables (Oishi & Graham, 2010) comprise the physical, societal, and interpersonal environments of individuals and represent important contexts on the country level that influence VoA. This is most easily illustrated by retirement age, that is the age determined within a society at which a person can (or has to) stop working. As such, it is an institutionalized age barrier, implying that after a certain age, people do not have the abilities, resources, or obligations to further contribute to the workforce (Kornadt & Rothermund, 2015). This institutionalization of retirement age thus shapes culturally shared expectations about the social roles of older adults (Neugarten et al., 1965; Settersten & Hagestad, 2015). Besides, differences in modernization and the inclusion of older people (e.g., in the workforce) on a structural level also affect VoA. For instance, Vauclair et al. (2015) showed with data from the European Social Survey (ESS) that in countries with higher modernization rates (operationalized via life expectancy, degree of urbanization, education, and income) people perceived the social status of older people as higher. In addition, for less modern countries, the number of older people in employment (another socio-ecological factor descriptive of the workforce in a given society) was related to the perceived social status of older persons. The lower the proportion of older people in employment was, the lower was their perceived social status. Relatedly, and using data from the ESS as well, Bowen and Skirbekk (2013) found that in countries with higher engagement of older people in volunteer and paid work, older people in general were perceived as more competent.

Demographic developments on the country level, such as population aging, and the availability of resources such as health care and jobs, also affect how people view aging. Analyzing data from more than 50 countries in the World Values Survey, Peterson and Ralston (2017) found that there were large country differences regarding the agreement with the statements that “older people are a burden on society” or that “they get more than their fair share of resources”. These differences were related to higher social security coverage on the country-level, which decreased negative attitudes. North and Fiske (2015) found similar patterns in their meta-analyses and linked these findings to the perceived social and intergenerational conflict over available resources in a society (see also Stanciu, 2020). Resource distribution (e.g., access to health care and pensions) may be affected by the rise in population aging insofar as older adults may receive a greater share of resources as a result. This is said to have the potential to change the intergenerational dynamic and, in consequence, how older adults are perceived (North & Fiske, 2012).

However, empirically, the role of many socio-ecological variables seems to be rather mixed, as is visible in two studies (Ackerman & Chopik, 2021; Löckenhoff et al., 2009), which

investigated VoA in a large number of countries. Ackerman and Chopik (2021) analyzed 68 countries and operationalized VoA via bias against older compared to younger people as measured implicitly (via an Implicit Association Test) and explicitly (via ratings). Löckenhoff et al. (2009) investigated 26 countries and measured VoA in terms of age stereotypes (ratings of several characteristics of older people). In terms of socio-ecological variables, these studies included gross domestic product (GDP), income inequality (Gini index), and population aging (i.e., the proportion of the population that is 65 years and over). Löckenhoff et al. (2009) also included education on the country level. Findings indicated that GDP either showed no significant associations with VoA (Löckenhoff et al., 2009) or that it showed associations with some aspects of VoA, such as warmer feelings and a more positive explicit bias toward older adults (Ackerman & Chopik, 2021). The same was true for education levels, which showed associations with specific aspects of age stereotypes (increases in wisdom and general knowledge, decreases in family authority; Löckenhoff et al., 2009). Whereas population aging predicted more negative age stereotypes in the study by Löckenhoff and colleagues (2009), it showed no association with age bias as measured by Ackerman and Chopik (2021).

Cultural Beliefs and Values

While socio-ecological variables are usually measured on the country level, cultural beliefs and values can be measured at both the country and individual levels (Fig. 1, see also Marcus & Fritzsche, 2016 for a differentiated model). Historically, the main comparison axis was between “Eastern” (e.g., China, Japan) and “Western” (USA, Europe) countries, often lumping countries in these geographical regions together. The rationale behind this contrast was that collectivistic values that are more present in Eastern cultures, as well as cultural traditions such as filial piety (i.e., a virtue-based in Confucianism, which places high value on respect, obedience, and devotion toward parents and older family members), should lead to more positive VoA compared to Western, more individualistic cultures. While initially this hypothesis received some support, recent overviews and meta-analyses showed the opposite, with “Eastern” countries often displaying more negative VoA, regardless of sample age (North & Fiske, 2015; Zhang et al., 2016). The authors discuss these findings as possible results of accelerated population aging and intergenerational resource conflicts in Eastern countries, which might also change the role of collectivism and individualism as a predictor of respect toward older people (North & Fiske, 2015). Zhang et al. (2016) also showed that country-level values not necessarily match individual values, a point we will discuss later in this review. Consequently, recent research (Ackerman & Chopik, 2021; Luo et al., 2013; Vaclair et al., 2017; Voss et al., 2018) shows that cultural differences in VoA seem to show more complexities than assumed by previous studies. We will address such complexities and nuances in more detail later in the review.

Broadening the investigation of cultural values besides the East/West distinction centered on individualism and collectivism, Löckenhoff and colleagues (2009) assessed a broad set of different values in relation to age stereotypes in a young sample and found that country-level values of higher uncertainty avoidance and power distance (Hofstede, 2001) were negatively related to age stereotypes, while higher levels of hierarchy, embeddedness, and lower intellectual autonomy (Schwartz, 1994) had a positive relationship. This was corroborated in the study by Ackerman and Chopik (2021), who found that living in countries with more Long-term Orientation and Individualism also predicted less favorable individual VoA (more implicit and explicit bias against older adults).

Finally, comparing countries that supposedly differ in their youth-centeredness has long been a focus in cross-cultural VoA research. For instance, Westerhof and colleagues (2012) compared participants in the US and the Netherlands, and found that age identities and self-perceptions of aging (as measured via personal aging experience) were slightly more positive in the US and also more relevant for participants' self-esteem compared to the Netherlands. The latter finding indicates that a positive personal experience of aging seems to be more important for identity processes in the US. In a similar way, McConatha et al. (2003) compared young adults from the US and Germany with regard to their attitudes towards aging (e.g., psychological concerns associated with aging and fear of age-related losses) and showed that young Americans view aging more positively than Germans. Nevertheless, they also believed that they would become old at younger ages than Germans do, which may be related to the greater difficulty in keeping up with the ideals of youthfulness in the US.

Cross-Cultural Research on VoA: Knowns and Open Questions

In trying to summarize the so far reviewed studies that focused on socio-ecological variables and cultural beliefs and values, some aspects can be highlighted (for a complete description of studies, see Supplement Table 1). First, the heterogeneity in the definition of VoA becomes clear. VoA as an outcome variable have been assessed as reflecting perceived social status of older adults, societal (meta-) perceptions of older adults, age stereotypes, perceived age discrimination, age-based prejudice, and perceptions of older adults as being a threat or a burden to society. Second, in relation to variables that may explain cultural variations in VoA, taking the broad categories of socio-ecological and cultural values, we can conclude the following: (1) GDP per capita, wealth inequality, population aging rate, proportion of older adults in the population, and proportion of employed older adults are the most commonly assessed socio-ecological variables, and (2) variables measuring cultural values reflect mostly Hofstede's (2001, 2010) or Schwartz's (1992, 2005) value dimensions. Third, most studies draw on comparing the contrast between Western and Eastern countries.

In terms of findings, despite some consistency in results (higher rates of employed older adults relate to more positive VoA, population aging rate is associated with more negative VoA), findings are still inconclusive. This is specially the case for variables like GDP per capita (inconsistent findings showing either a positive association with VoA or no effect), proportion of older adults in the population (both positive and negative associations with VoA), and cultural values (in some studies collectivism is associated with more positive VoA, whereas in others, individualism is associated with more positive VoA).

Despite the inconsistencies found among studies' results, the presented findings show that to understand country differences in VoA, researchers do need to consider explanatory variables at the socio-ecological level and at the level of cultural beliefs and values (Ng & Lim-Soh, 2021). Broad regional dichotomies (e.g., East vs. West) may mask societal and cultural variability within these regions, which is why simple regional comparisons produce inconsistent findings, depending on which countries are selected and compared. However, many of the presented studies rely on simplifications when conceptualizing and operationalizing cultural differences, but also VoA. Besides, differences on the country and individual levels are often confounded. In the following, we will discuss more recent research that has focused on this topic but added complexities such as the consideration of different

life domains, the mechanisms behind country differences, the differentiated assessment of VoA, and how individual aging experiences can ultimately affect societal stances on aging.

Extending the Role of Context: Life Domains

Most studies that cross-culturally compare VoA take a global approach, disregarding that the valence of VoA can vary depending on life domain (Kornadt & Rothermund, 2011). In other words, older adults tend to be perceived negatively in some domains, like health and physical appearance, whereas in other domains, like family and personality, they may be perceived more positively. This domain-specificity of VoA might explain the heterogeneity of findings obtained by studies, for example regarding the East-West dichotomy. Boduroglu and colleagues (2006), for example, compared participants from the US and China with respect to their attitudes towards older adults. They investigated whether the valence of attitudes varied across specific domains, such as the social/emotional and the cognitive/physical. Their findings show that Chinese participants were more positive toward older adults in relation to the social/emotional domain, but at the same time, they also held negative views about older people in the cognitive/physical domain, which indicated a lack of the assumed global positive bias towards older adults in Asian countries. In line with this idea, Voss and colleagues (2018) conducted a cross-cultural study, which investigated age stereotypes in the US, Germany, and China. Their findings revealed a general pattern according to which age stereotypes were more positive in the West (US and Germany) than they were in the East (China/Hong Kong). However, when they applied a more fine-grained approach, their findings corroborated and extended those by Boduroglu and colleagues: VoA were not always more positive in the West than they were in the East, instead this depended on the life domain that was investigated. For example, in the domain of personality and life management, VoA were more positive among Chinese than among American and German participants, and regarding the domain of finances and dealing with money, there were no differences among countries.

In a similar way, another recent study on domain-specific age stereotypes (de Paula Couto et al., 2021) in Eastern (India) and Western (the US and Germany) countries also emphasizes the importance of taking a more differentiated approach. In this study, young and old participants rated young and older people in different life domains. Findings showed a distinct pattern of results according to life domains. While a clear pro-young bias (i.e., more positive stereotypes of younger people than of older people) was found for domains like friends, appearance, and health, a clear pro-old bias (i.e., more positive stereotypes of older people than of younger people) was found for the domains of family and personality. However, a pro-old bias or the lack of a reduced pro-young bias in specific life domains was only found in the Western countries (Germany and the US), while it was absent in the Indian sample. Taken together, such findings (Boduroglu et al., 2006; de Paula Couto et al., 2021; Voss et al., 2018) testify to the importance of taking a more complex approach to understanding VoA, especially in cross-cultural investigations. The reported country differences in domain-specificity might be a result of different socio-ecological variables or cultural beliefs and values that affect VoA differently depending on domain.

Extending the Scope of Socio-Structural and Cultural Predictors

We have previously described how socio-ecological variables as well as cultural beliefs and values can explain why VoA differ between countries. However, an extension and refinement

in the operationalization and measurement of these variables is needed. For example, given the potentially important role of resource conflicts between generations for cultural differences in VoA (North & Fiske, 2015), the investigation of socio-structural variables needs to be taken beyond global, rather indirect indicators such as GDP or access to health care. Instead, future cross-cultural studies focusing on VoA could examine an explicit indicator of resource distribution between generations as a macro-level variable (Ayalon & Rothermund, 2018). In addition, how individuals themselves perceive resource distribution between generations could also be investigated as a variable on the individual level. In this case, perceptions of unfair distribution favoring the older generation could result in more negative VoA among young people (North & Fiske, 2012).

This also relates to the previously touched upon disentanglement of values and beliefs at the country versus individual level. Zhang et al. (2016) investigated whether personal values of communal vs. agentic motives or cultural values such as individualism were related to attitudes towards older adults in the World Value Survey (WVS). They found that higher communal values at the individual level were related to more positive attitudes while individualist values at country level were not. They corroborated this differential relationship in an experimental follow-up study with participants (with a mean age of 25) in which priming personal values (individualism vs. collectivism, by either writing down how they differed vs. what made them similar to their family and friends) had an influence on aging attitudes, whereas priming the same cultural values (via bogus scientific articles highlighting either collectivistic or individualistic aspects of the respective culture) had not. However, in the study by Stanciu (2020), both individual (self-transcendence, self-enhancement) and country level (egalitarianism, hierarchy) values predicted ageism in younger (aged below 45 years) participants from the ESS (including 29 European countries) and the World Value Survey (including 60 countries worldwide). Relatedly, Vauclair et al. (2016) investigated country- and individual-level meta-perceptions (e.g., perceived feelings of pity or envy towards older adults) of older adults in the ESS and their influence on perceived age discrimination. They found that perceptions on both levels had distinct and independent effects on perceived age discrimination. These results show that in future research, it is necessary to further investigate which predictors from different hierarchical levels (country, individual) are related to individual VoA and under which conditions.

Extending the Construct of VoA: Prescriptive VoA

So far, we have discussed descriptive VoA (age stereotypes, age-related prejudice, self-perceptions of aging), recent studies, however, have introduced the concept of prescriptive age stereotypes, or prescriptive VoA (for more details, see de Paula Couto & Rothermund, in press; de Paula Couto et al., 2022). In contrast to descriptive VoA about how older adults are, prescriptive VoA reflect the expectations people have about how older adults should be. One central aspect that differentiates prescriptive VoA from other VoA regards their regulatory functions for behavior. Descriptive VoA influence behavior and can become self-fulfilling prophecies (Levy & Leifheit-Limson, 2009). Their influence on behavior is, however, only indirect (e.g., via stereotype threat [Hess et al., 2003], internalization into the self-concept [Kornadt & Rothermund, 2012, 2015; Rothermund & Brandtstädter, 2003], or embodiment [Levy, 2009]). Prescriptive VoA, on the other hand, define standards for age-appropriate behavior (North & Fiske, 2012, 2013). In doing so, they directly proscribe targeted individuals to behave in certain ways. Regarding the consequences of VoA and prescriptive VoA, older

adults who confirm the prevailing VoA may be target of benevolent, paternalistic ageism (Cary et al., 2017; Vale et al., 2020). Differently, older adults who violate prescriptive VoA may face strong resentment and become targets of hostile ageism instead (North & Fiske, 2013).

With respect to cross-cultural comparisons, prescriptive VoA have so far only been investigated in the American context (North & Fiske, 2013, Martin & North, 2021). Three domains of age-based prescriptions have been proposed (North & Fiske, 2012, 2013), Succession (older adults should give up important roles for the younger generation), Consumption (older adults should use resources only moderately, especially regarding health care and pensions), and Identity (older adults should behave their own age instead of trying to act like younger people). In addition to the potential negative consequences of violating prescriptive VoA, in a recent study, Martin and North (2021) showed that Succession expectations correlated positively with egalitarian advocacy (i.e., the endorsement of statements regarding active commitment to equality). In other words, endorsement of the belief that older adults are less justified to occupy influential roles and positions was found even among those who endorse values regarding equality. Interestingly, endorsement of egalitarian advocacy was negatively related to sexism or racism. This matches the findings reported by Stanciu (2020) who found a positive relation between egalitarianism (on the country level) and individually expressed blatant ageism. Hence, in terms of prescriptive VoA, ageism is not always perceived to be unjustified.

Culture plays an important role in what people expect from older adults. Shared cultural beliefs and representations as well as socialization processes permeate social contexts and help define individuals' perceptions and expectations for older adults. There is therefore a gap in current cross-cultural research exploring prescriptive VoA. In line with the investigation of descriptive VoA in different countries, the influence of culture on prescriptive VoA represents a promising avenue for future investigations.

Reversing the Direction of Influence: Investigating the Role of Individual VoA for Societal Change

One peculiarity of VoA differentiates them from other attitudes and beliefs: If we are lucky, we get old ourselves and become members of a group (older persons) that we have previously seen as a stereotyped outgroup. Individual beliefs about aging and older people are thus not only influenced by socio-ecological variables, and cultural beliefs, norms and practices, but also incorporate diverse and heterogeneous individual experiences with older people and with the aging process. Several studies have shown that personal experiences with the aging process are fed back into age stereotypes via projection processes (i.e., my own aging experience influences how I see older people and the aging process in general; Kornadt & Rothermund, 2012; Rothermund & Brandtstädter, 2003; Weiss & Kornadt, 2018). As individuals have their own agenda for their lives, and set goals for themselves that can and do deviate from what is normative in a given culture (in both the descriptive or prescriptive sense), individual experiences have the potential to change age stereotypes also on the country level in the long run, in that they might challenge narrow and rigid conceptions of older people and living in old age, in particular with regard to beliefs about what is possible in old age (Fig. 1). Of course, such a change is not an easy process. Individuals that contradict existing norms and stereotypes of their group are often seen as atypical exemplars, a process that is labeled as subtyping, whereas exemplars that over-confirm the prototype are seen as supporting the pre-existing beliefs and lead to even more extreme stereotypes (Dolderer et al., 2009).

Therefore, this issue needs further scientific consideration also from a cultural lens, to understand under which conditions individual VoA might be drivers of change with regard to cultural beliefs and values and socio-ecological variables, and how this relationship can be used to foster practices and conditions that in turn enable further positive aging experiences in different countries.

Outlook and Conclusion: An Encompassing Life Span Approach to Culture and VoA

Lifespan development takes place within the constraints and affordances of historic and cultural contexts, this was already formalized as one of the main tenets of lifespan developmental psychology by Baltes (1990). This is also more than true for the construct of VoA (Kornadt et al., 2020). Numerous studies show that VoA differ according to various operationalizations aimed at cultural differences, and more studies try to differentiate and explain these differences to ultimately understand what drives successful aging in different contexts. In the current review, we have given a brief overview of this line of research and have also shown that more differentiation is needed to understand how VoA develop and how they relate to outcomes regarding health and well-being in later life (cf. Marcus & Fritsche, 2006). Differences and mechanisms that might be visible in younger people might not be the same for older generations and vice versa, and historical developments might affect people from different countries and ages differently. In order to get a realistic picture, we also need to extend our focus beyond the East-West dichotomy. Samples from African or South-American countries, for instance, have been underrepresented in studies on VoA, and including them more widely (Schönstein et al., 2021) enriches and broadens the picture of socio-ecological factors, cultural practices as well as beliefs and values that might influence VoA. Here lies a lot of potential for an enhanced understanding of VoA, their development and impact. Together with a differentiated assessment of different VoA constructs and a refined operationalization of the factors in which (people from) countries differ, this might help to move the field forward. Given that individual aging experiences and personal VoA can also influence societal VoA, culturally sensitive interventions can be developed (Tan & Barber, 2020; Saluja et al., 2017) that might help to foster productive, potential-oriented, and differentiated VoA across cultural and generational contexts.

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Further Information

<https://www.who.int/teams/social-determinants-of-health/demographic-change-and-healthy-ageing/combating-ageism/> WHO initiative to combat ageism on a global level

<https://www.alternatzukunft.uni-jena.de/> The Ageing as future project, designed to investigate views on aging in different countries

<https://www.pewresearch.org/global/2014/01/30/attitudes-about-aging-a-global-perspective/> Pew research center report on attitudes about aging across the world

Questions for Discussion

1. When you think about the country you live in, which views on aging do you think are most prevalent and visible?
 - a) Which life domains do they concern? Are there life domains, in which Views of Aging (VoA) are especially positive?
 - b) How are VoA in your country transported (e.g., via the media, in tales and colloquial expressions)?
 - c) Why do you think that especially these VoA prevail in your country?

2. Do you think that older adults refrain from or engage in certain activities in your country because of certain prescriptive VoA?
3. Why is it important to study the expression of views on aging, within and between cultures?
4. Do you think that VoA might change as a function of historical change in a given country?
5. Which measures could be implemented on a country level, for instance by governments and/or other institutions, to increase multifaceted, realistic positive perceptions of aging? What could you do on an individual level?
6. While in most Western countries, older people tend to feel much younger than their chronological age, this effect seems to be much less pronounced in certain African countries. What do you think might be reasons for this?