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Intergenerational Contacts and Young Adults’ Attitudes toward Older People in Indonesia: Mediating Effects of Aging Anxiety and Ingroup Norms

August 2019

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Abstract

This study investigates the associations between intergenerational contacts (contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact) and attitudes toward older people through the mediating role of aging anxiety and ingroup norms among young adults in Indonesia.

The research questions are as follows:
1. Are contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact directly related to positive attitudes toward older people in general?
2. Are contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact indirectly related to positive attitudes toward older people in general through the mediation of aging anxiety and ingroup norms?

The study involved Indonesian young adults aged 18-35 years (N = 515). Data were collected through an online survey and analyzed using STATA 13.0 for descriptive statistics and Mplus 6.0 for structural equation modeling.

The results are as follows:

First, the better contact quality that young adults directly experienced with older people, the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general. Other types of contact (i.e., contact frequency and extended contact) were not associated with positive attitudes toward older people. Second, the more extended contact that young adults had, the lower their levels of aging anxiety, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general. The mediational role of aging anxiety was not evident in the association between contact frequency and attitudes toward older people and between contact quality and attitudes toward older people.
Third, the more frequent contact with older people, the less positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the less positive their attitudes toward older people in general. Fourth, the better contact quality with older people, the more positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive young adults’ attitudes toward older people in general. Fifth, the more extended contact, the more positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive young adults’ attitudes toward older people in general.

In conclusion, this study emphasizes the significance of quality over quantity of intergenerational relationships. Also, it highlights extended contact as an alternative to direct contact in the context of cross-age relationships. The findings draw attention to future research in Indonesia on the topic of intergenerational relationships, particularly between young and older adults. The study also emphasizes the need to encourage the promotion of intergenerational interaction between young and older adults which is expected to promote positive views on older people in Indonesia.

Keyword : Aging anxiety, attitudes toward older people, contact frequency, contact quality, extended contact, ingroup norms, intergenerational contact, young adults

Student Number : 2017-28290
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Chapter 1. Introduction

1. Background

Intergenerational contact has been extensively documented as a factor that could reduce young people’s ageist attitudes (Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, & Voci, 2005; Iweins, Desmette, Yzerbyt, & Stinglhamber, 2013; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Societal view toward the older population, particularly ageist attitudes or ageism (Butler, 1980) has been widely discussed given the growing aging population around the world. Particularly in Indonesia, discussions on the topic of intergenerational contact and attitudes toward the elderly are lacking and have not been paid enough attention. This study is arguably the first to investigate young adults’ attitudes toward older people as well as factors that predict it in the Indonesian context.

Direct intergenerational contact between young and older generations may be identified through the frequency and quality of the contact. Direct intergenerational contact may occur in various settings, such as at home with elderly family members, healthcare center, and workplace with various means of communication including face-to-face contact, phone call, and ICT-based contact. However, as today’s society has become more age-segregated, meaningful direct intergenerational contacts cannot easily occur. Both young and old generations may have lack opportunities to establish positive cross-age relationships, especially those other than their family members. Family as the center of intergenerational ties has also been experiencing changes which are gradually disabling the meaningful interaction between young and older generations. To allow young generations nurture positive images toward
the aged amid the increasingly limited direct contact, this study suggests extended intergenerational contact. Extended contact, or indirect contact, has been proposed as an additional contact situation to promote more positive attitudes toward older people (Christian, Turner, Holt, Larkin, & Cotler, 2014).

Numerous studies have proved that extended contact could reduce prejudice and improve attitudes in the interracial contact situation (Turner, Hewstone, & Voci, 2007; Turner, Hewstone, Voci, & Vonofakou, 2008; Voci & Hewstone, 2003; Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, & Ropp, 1997). Extended contact refers to knowledge or observations of other’s contact experience with outgroup members (Wright et al., 1997). In contrary to direct intergenerational contact, extended intergenerational contact represents indirect contact in that one observes other’s contact experience with older people, and/or one shares intergenerational contact experience with his friends or relatives in the same age. Studies have shown that more extended contact with older people was related to less ageist attitudes among young people (Drury, Hutchison, & Abrams, 2016). Given these promising findings, attentions need to be drawn to this construct and more examination needs to be conducted. Therefore, this study incorporates both direct and indirect (i.e., extended) intergenerational contacts to predict attitudes toward older people among young adults.

Many scholars have attempted to shed lights on the mechanism on which the intergenerational contact may lead to improving one’s attitudes toward the aged, one of which is through mediation. This study incorporates the mediational role of aging anxiety and ingroup norms. Aging anxiety is one’s uneasiness revolved around his own aging process (Lasher & Faulkender,
It is one of the most studied constructs in the literature yet shown inconsistent findings. Lynch (2000) has argued that concerns on aging among young people are not salient unlike on older age groups. This is expected probably due to becoming old, albeit inevitable for every human being, is seen as a distant future for young people. Besides, aging and old age are widely attributed to various declines and ‘finish line’ that everybody is naturally reluctant to looking forward to. Therefore, this study investigates young adults’ views on older people relative to their own concerns about getting old, in relation to their direct and indirect experiences of interacting with older people. This study is expected to clarify whether young adults’ aging anxiety would explain the relationship between their intergenerational contact experiences and attitudes toward older people and to which direction of attitudes it would lead to.

The second potential mediator, ingroup norms, refers to a shared understanding among ingroup members regarding appropriate group-based actions, thoughts, values, and beliefs (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991). Unlike aging anxiety, the literature on ingroup norms in the context of intergenerational relationships is still in infancy. Existing research has documented the work of Drury and colleagues (2016) as the first and the only one to date that has studied ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships and has proved its mediating effect between intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people.

Ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships represent one’s desirable actions, thoughts, and values as a member of a group (i.e., young adults) concerning his interactions with different age-group (i.e., older adults). This construct has been noted as one of the mechanisms of extended contact.
Existing research has shown that ingroup norms explained the relations between extended intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people (Drury et al., 2016). However, the role of ingroup norms in mediating the relations between direct contact and attitudes toward older people remains unknown. Thus, this study attempted to illuminate whether ingroup norms would also play a role in explaining the relationship between young adults’ intergenerational contact experiences and their attitudes toward older people.

This topic of study was conducted in Indonesia mainly due to the current situation of the Indonesian population. As the world’s fourth most populous country with over 260 million people, Indonesia’s population is steadily aging. The proportion of older people has taken up 8.97% of its population and is expected to reach 15% in 2035 (Statistics Indonesia, 2017). There have been five aging provinces in Indonesia with the elderly population of more than 10% (Statistics Indonesia, 2017). Unlike aged societies such as Japan and South Korea, Indonesia may be the least affected by population aging thanks to the big proportion of its young population. However, the growing aging population is going along with the increasing old dependency ratio which hit 14.02 in 2017 (Statistics Indonesia, 2017), means that every 100 persons of working age have to support 14 individuals aged 65. Long term care for elders which is used to come from family members (Abikusno, 2009) is now moving to the government, due to social-economic changes (e.g., changes in family size and structure, woman participation in workforce, and changes in social norms) which make it increasingly difficult for families to care for elderly relatives. As the group that will be directly affected by these changes, it is important to understand young generations’ views on older people. Therefore,
attention should be drawn to the topic of cross-age relationships and attitudes toward older people as an attempt to prepare society for the future consequences of population aging.

2. Purpose and Research Question

The purpose of this study is to investigate the associations between intergenerational contact (consists of direct contact frequency, direct contact quality, and extended contact) and young adults’ attitudes toward older people through the mediation of aging anxiety and ingroup norms. Thus, this study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. Are contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact directly related to attitudes toward older people?
2. Are contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact indirectly related to attitudes toward older people through aging anxiety and ingroup norms?

These research questions are elaborated in the following hypotheses:

H1. The more frequent young adults had contact with older people, the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.
H2. The better contact quality young adults had with older people, the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.
H3. The more extended contact young adults had, the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.
H4. The more frequent young adults had contact with older people, the lower their aging anxiety level, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.
H5. The better contact quality young adults had with older people, the lower their aging anxiety level, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.

H6. The more extended contact young adults had, the lower their aging anxiety level, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.

H7. The more frequent young adults had contact with older people, the more positive their ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.

H8. The better contact quality young adults had with older people, the more positive their ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.

H9. The more extended contact young adults had, the more positive their ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general.

The above associations are embodied in a research model as shown in Figure 1.
Figure 1
Hypothesized model of associations between intergenerational contacts (contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact) and attitudes toward older people through the mediation of aging anxiety and ingroup norms among young adults in Indonesia
Chapter 2. Literature Review

1. Intergenerational Contacts and Attitudes toward Older People

Intergenerational contact is a form of intergroup contact in which different age groups engage in interactions. According to Allport’s (1954) contact hypothesis, intergroup contact can lessen prejudice toward outgroup members under certain conditions, namely equal group status within the situation, common goals, intergroup cooperation, and the support of authorities, law, or custom. However, empirical studies investigating these conditions (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006) found that they were not required for contact to reduce prejudice, and that solely contact could achieve the same goal.

The intergroup contact theory was first developed in the context of intergenerational contact by Caspi (1985). It was found that frequent contact between children and elderly classroom assistants led to children’s positive attitudes toward older people in general (Caspi, 1985). As the growing number of studies on intergenerational contact has appeared, the intergroup contact theory now stands as a general social psychological theory applied to cross-age contact as well and no longer limited to the racial and ethnic contact. Using the theoretical framework of the contact hypothesis, this study investigates whether young adults’ contact experience with older people of their family members and non-family members affected their evaluations on older people in general.

This study incorporates direct intergenerational contact and extended intergenerational contact. In terms of direct contact, researchers have
addressed the importance of distinguishing between contact quality and contact frequency because they were documented to have different effects on attitudes toward older people. When assessed as a single item of contact, results have shown that a frequent, positive contact was associated with positive attitudes toward older people (Barnett & Adams, 2018; Hutchison, Fox, Laas, Matharu, & Urzi, 2010). Similarly, studies have shown that contact frequency and contact quality, assessed separately, were respectively associated with positive attitudes toward older people (Harwood et al., 2005; Zhang, Paik, Xing, & Harwood, 2018). On the other hand, other studies have also found that instead of contact frequency, contact quality was associated with positive attitudes toward older people (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010; Drury et al., 2016; Schwartz & Simmons, 2001). To clarify how these different aspects of contact might affect attitudes, this study observes young adults’ direct contact experiences in terms of their frequency and quality and examined each relation to attitudes toward older people.

Despite the empirical evidence of the effect of intergenerational contact on attitudes toward older people, the ever-changing society has made it difficult to realize meaningful and positive direct contacts between young and older adults. In today’s society, the intergenerational gap between young and old generations has become more apparent, especially due to social and technological changes. Older adults are increasingly at risk of becoming excluded and marginalized from social developments if they are unable to acquire some new knowledge and become part of modern society. Extended contact is later suggested as another type of contact in which intergenerational contact may occur. Extended contact, or indirect contact, can be understood
as knowledge on other ingroup member’s contact experience with outgroup members (Wright et al., 1997).

According to the extended contact hypothesis (Wright et al., 1997), the effects of extended contact can be promoted through, one of which, the existence of referent informational influence from which ingroup norms are promoted. Knowing ingroup members who have positive relationships with outgroup members can promote more positive outgroup attitudes (Wright et al., 1997). In the context of intergenerational contact, a young adult who knows people on the same age group have positive relationships with older people may likely have positive attitudes toward older people in general (Drury et al., 2016). Extended contact may occur when young adults share their intergenerational contact experience, or when a young adult observes people in their age have relationships with older people. Consequently, young adults are likely to develop positive views about older people as they get to know intergenerational contact through the experience of their ingroup members (i.e., friends or relatives at the same age group).

Hagestad and Uhlenberg (2005) argued that extended contact was especially true in today’s age-segregated society where there were limited opportunities to experience firsthand positive and meaningful intergenerational contact on a daily basis. Furthermore, extended contact is beneficial in that it prepares for future direct contacts (Eller, Abrams, & Zimmermann, 2011) and allows individuals to avoid intergroup anxieties encountered in the direct contacts (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). Particularly in Indonesia, the percentage of multi-generational families have decreased from 42.32% (Statistics Indonesia, 2014) to 35.73% (Statistics Indonesia, 2017) which is somewhat remarking the gradually limited direct intergenerational
contact and the need to consider extended contact as an alternative to promote positive views toward older people.

Drury and colleagues (2016) examined the extended intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people by conducting three different studies on different samples. The first two studies (Drury et al., 2016), conducted on mainly college students, have shown that extended contact was associated with reduced ageism whereas the last study did not indicate significant associations between extended contact and ageism. The studies indicate that college students who had friends/relatives, who were befriending with older people, were more likely to have less ageism toward older people (Drury et al., 2016). This study attempts to further our knowledge regarding extended contact in the context of intergenerational relationships and to prove it as an alternative to direct contact by investigating it on different society.

2. Factors that Mediate the Relationship between Intergenerational Contacts and Attitudes toward Older People

Recent studies of intergroup contact have been developed in how intergenerational contact is associated with young people’s attitudes on older adults by examining the mediating role of several variables. Aging anxiety and/or intergroup anxiety (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010; Drury et al., 2016; Kim, 2013; Stephan & Stephan, 1985) and ingroup norms (Drury et al., 2016) are some of the mediators. Those variables were initially examined in the interracial contact (Davies, Wright, Aron, & Comeau, 2013; Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Turner et al., 2007; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Only recently
they have contributed to the literature on intergenerational contact (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010; Drury et al., 2016; Kim, 2013).

Lasher and Faulkender (1993) defined aging anxiety as an uneasiness that is revolved around one’s own aging process. Pettigrew and Tropp (2008) suggested anxiety as a stronger mediator between intergroup contact and attitudes. In the context of intergenerational contact, many studies have found that contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact were related to lower levels of aging anxiety (Allan & Johnson, 2008; Barnett & Adams, 2018; Drury et al., 2016; Jarrott & Savla, 2016). In turn, aging anxiety was also found to be associated with reduced ageism and more positive attitudes toward older people (Allan & Johnson, 2008; Allan, Johnson, & Emerson, 2014; Drury et al., 2016; Harris & Dollinger, 2001).

Similarly, studies found that aging anxiety was significantly to mediate the relationship between intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people (Allan & Johnson, 2008; Allan et al., 2014; Drury et al., 2016; Kim, 2013). Thus, higher intergenerational contacts both in terms of contact frequency and quality, as well as higher numbers of extended contact, may be associated with lower levels of aging anxiety which in turn led to more positive attitudes toward older people. However, the literature has also documented the insignificant mediation of aging anxiety between intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010). Bousfield and Hutchison (2010) accounted for this result to personality traits, that is neuroticism, which is positively related to aging anxiety. According to Harris and Dollinger (2003), personality traits (i.e., neuroticism, agreeableness, extraversion, and conscientiousness) contribute to anxiety about aging. Thus, Bousfield and Hutchison (2010) predicted the
differences of this individual-level factor might also play a role in the relations between intergenerational contact, aging anxiety, and attitudes toward older people.

Another observed mediator variable, ingroup norms were found to mediate the association between extended contact and positive attitudes toward Asians among British adolescents (Cameron, Rutland, Hossain, & Petley, 2011). Cialdini and colleagues (1991) defined ingroup norms as a shared understanding among ingroup members regarding appropriate group-based actions, thoughts, values, and beliefs. Turner (1991) stated that social interactions between people as members of a social group have resulted in ingroup norms. Turner and colleagues (2008) suggested that having positive perceived ingroup norms regarding the outgroup during extended contact may be an effective way to reduce prejudice as the group members will not be ‘punished’ for developing close relationships with the outgroup.

Ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships in this study can be understood as desirable actions, thoughts, and values that are shared among young adults concerning their interaction with older people. This construct is tightly related to extended contact as conceptualized in the extended contact hypothesis (Wright et al., 1997). This is expected given that extended contact requires ingroup members as referent informational influence from which the ingroup norms are shared.

Studies on ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships are yet scarce. The study of Drury and colleagues (2016) is arguably the only one to date that studied ingroup norms in regard to intergenerational interactions. The studies found that contact quality and extended contact were positively associated with ingroup norms, but its relation to contact frequency was not
evident (Drury et al., 2016). High-quality direct contact between undergraduate students and older people was related to more positive ingroup norms about intergenerational relationships. Similarly, the more extended contact that the participants had, the more positive their ingroup norms about intergenerational relationships. However, the further examination on the mediational effect of ingroup norms was only evident between extended contact and attitudes toward older people. The association between contact quality and attitudes toward older people through aging anxiety was insignificant (Drury et al., 2016). The studies suggested that direct intergenerational contact did not provide information about other young adults’ contact with older people nor the acceptability of intergenerational contact among young adults; therefore, their ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships were not associated with direct contact nor it mediated direct contact and attitudes toward older people.

However, this study suggests that ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships among young adults may also explain the relation of direct contact and attitudes toward older people. As the appropriate group-based action, thoughts, values, and beliefs, ingroup norms are expected to play a role in how young adults interact with an outgroup member, that is older individual. When young adults have direct contact with older people, they strive, either consciously or unconsciously, to uphold certain beliefs and actions which are regarded as acceptable by the group they belong to, that is the young adult group. Therefore, this study considers the role of ingroup norms in mediating between direct contact (contact frequency and contact quality) and attitudes toward older people as important as it is expected between extended contact and attitudes toward older people.
3. Research State in Indonesia

The topic of intergenerational contact and/or relationships between older and younger people are rarely found among the Indonesian literature. Discussions are limited to middle-aged children caring for elderly parents and family support for elderly relatives (e.g., Riasmini, Sahar, & Renayati, 2013) whereas studies on relationships between young adults and older adults are scarce, if not to say none. This may be accounted to the nature of the young-older adult relationship in Indonesia. The intergenerational relationship between young adults and elderly people is arguably dominated by grandchild-grandparent relationships whereas the non-familial relationships are regarded as uncommon and the literature is limited to healthcare contact situation such as interactions between nurse and elderly patients (e.g., Setiawan & Suza, 2017).

Respect for the elderly and filial obligations exist in Indonesia as the combination of both cultural norms and religious belief. As the majority of Indonesian people are Muslim, Islamic teachings are contributing to social norms including the family function to provide care for elderly relatives. Furthermore, the national law also states that services and supports for older people are provided based on respect and gratitude to the older generation (Act No. 13/1998 on older person welfare and Government Regulation No. 43/2004 on efforts to improve the social welfare of elderly people). However, the filial obligation has been challenged due to social-economic changes occurring in the country; migration, female participation in the workforce, lowered fertility rate, and longer life expectancy are only to name few of
factors that contribute to changes in family structure and family functions in Indonesia.

A qualitative study on well-educated Indonesian young adults found that these young adults might want to re-negotiate the filial obligations to care for elderly parents as it might hinder their employment (Setiyani, 2011). Some studies have also found the phenomenon of sending elderly relatives to nursing homes which were caused by the value changes regarding intergenerational ties (Andriani, 2013; Habib, 2015). These studies may indicate the shift on views toward older people and intergenerational relationships in general among young generations. Furthermore, these are also contributing to the decreasing opportunity of intergenerational interactions in Indonesia which are mainly used to revolve around familial ties. Amid this changing, this study attempts to investigate the experience of intergenerational contact of today’s young adults in Indonesia and how they evaluate the old-age group in general.

Studies on aging anxiety and/or death anxiety in Indonesia are mainly carried out on middle-aged adults and older adults (e.g., Dinakaramani & Indati, 2018; Kaloeti & Hartati, 2017; Muthoharoh & Andriani, 2014). This is expected given that concerns on later life as well as symptoms of old age are primarily experienced by older adults, and that these concerns are unnoticeable among young people (Lynch, 2000). However, it does not make the investigation on aging anxiety among young adults less important because it is an unseparated construct of human development. It is said to be able to determine one’s adjustment to the inevitable aging process and it predicts one’s psychological constructs such as well-being and life satisfaction (Harris & Dollinger, 2003). Study on aging anxiety may as well serve
meaningful knowledge about the future’s older population in Indonesia as their responses can be seen as their future projection. Furthermore, this knowledge could be beneficial in establishing necessary interventions for realizing successful aging in the country.

Ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships are considered a new topic among Indonesian research. To date, there is no empirical research conducted on this construct in Indonesia and thus little is known about how Indonesian young people share a consensus about intergenerational relationships other than the value of respect for the elderly. The taken-for-grantedness of this value may have resulted in lack of discussion on the topic of intergenerational relationships, and young generations may be paying less attention to the elderly people especially when their profession does not include interactions with older people. As an attempt to shed lights on this topic, this study examines how young adults in Indonesia share consensus regarding interactions with older people and whether this consensus explains the associations between their (direct and extended) intergenerational contact experience and their attitudes toward older people.

This study develops a hypothesized mediational model between intergenerational contact (contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact) and attitudes through aging anxiety and ingroup norms (Figure 1). We test the relationships among the research variables on Indonesian population. The study attempts to contribute to the early literature on this topic in Indonesia by bringing up the novelty of the research topic and filling the gaps in the literature especially on extended intergenerational contact.
Chapter 3. Method

1. Procedures and Participants

The participants of the study were Indonesian young adults aged 18 – 35 years ($N = 515$). While the age of adulthood of 18 in Indonesia is determined by the national law (Article 426 of Indonesian Civil Code), the end of young adulthood of 35 is commonly used among Indonesian research (e.g., Nisa & Sedjo, 2010; Rao & Reddy, 2017). Data were collected through an online survey between March and April 2019. The online survey was chosen with a few considerations. First, unlike other means of data collection, this method has the advantage of reaching a wider range of participants especially in a big country like Indonesia where direct data collection may be limited due to travel cost and time. Second, the online survey is also more convenient as participants may be able to do it whenever they can. Third, based on the survey report of the Indonesian Internet Service Providers Associations (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia, 2017), there are 143.26 million internet users in Indonesia and 49.52 percent consists of people age 19-34 which is in line with the participants of this study.

An online questionnaire created on Google Form was distributed through a number of online platforms owned by the researcher including social media such as Facebook and Instagram as well as instant messaging applications such as WhatsApp, KakaoTalk, and Line. The first part of the questionnaire showed a brief explanation of the study followed by the consent of the participants to voluntarily participate in the study and that any given information would be kept confidential. ‘Agree’ and ‘Not Agree’ buttons

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were provided, and once the participants clicked on the ‘Agree’ button, they would be directed to the subsequent parts of the questionnaire. All parts of the questionnaire were presented in Indonesian language and the obtained data was translated into English for the analysis process.

Table 1

Descriptive statistics of research participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Min</th>
<th>Max</th>
</tr>
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<td>Gender</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College or above</td>
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<td>79.03</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment status</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No paid job</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>36.50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Having a paid job</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>63.50</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Region</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Java</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>81.44</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sumatera</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>9.05</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sulawesi</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4.41</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalimantan</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.62</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nusa Tenggara</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.48</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of older person in household</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>371</td>
<td>72.04</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>18.83</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>8.74</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.19</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Descriptive statistics of the participants are shown in Table 1. The mean age of participants was 25 years (SD = 3.98). The majority of participants were female (79.81%). Most had obtained a bachelor’s degree or above
(79.03%) and had a paid job (63.50%). The majority of participants were from Java island (81.44%), and the rest was spread in other islands including Sumatera island (9.05%), Sulawesi island (4.41%), Kalimantan island (1.62%), and Nusa Tenggara island (3.48%). Nearly one-third of the participants (27.96%) coresided with one or more older people.

2. Measures

1) Independent Variables

Intergenerational contact is divided into three types of contact, namely contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact. These terms will be used in the subsequent discussions to specifically refer to young adults’ intergenerational contact experiences with older people. The term of elderly individual in this study is referred to individuals aged 60 years or above as defined by the national law in Indonesia.

Contact frequency of direct contact. Frequency of direct intergenerational contact assessed how often young adults had contact with older individuals. It was measured using one question, ‘How often did you have contact with elderly individuals (aged 60 years or above) in the past year?’ (Drury et al., 2016). The question was asked twice; the first was to refer to the direct contact with elderly family members, and the second was to the direct contact with elderly non-family members. Responses were rated on a 5-point scale (1 = never, 2 = few times in a year, 3 = few times in a month, 4 = few times in a week, 5 = everyday). Higher mean scores indicated a higher frequent direct contact.
Contact quality of direct contact. Quality of direct intergenerational contact assessed the quality of young adults’ contact with older individuals. It was measured using the question, ‘How was the quality of your previous contact with elderly individuals (aged 60 years or above)?’ (Drury et al., 2016). Similar to contact frequency, this question was also asked twice; the first was to refer to the direct contact with elderly family members, and the second was to the direct contact with elderly non-family members. Responses were rated in a 5-point scale (1 = very poor, 2 = poor, 3 = moderate, 4 = good, 5 = very good). Higher mean scores indicated better quality direct contact.

Number of extended contact. Extended intergenerational contact assessed the number of contact of young adults’ friends or relatives who have elderly friends/acquaintances. It was measured using the following questions: (a) How many of your friends in your age group have friends/acquaintances who are elderly? (b) How many of your very best friends in your age group have friends/acquaintances who are elderly? (c) How many of your family members in your age group have friends/acquaintances who are elderly? and (d) How many people in your age group that you know having friends/acquaintances who are elderly? (Drury et al., 2016). All were rated on a 5-point scale (1 = none, 2 = one, 3 = between two and five, 4 = between five and ten, 5 = more than ten). Higher mean scores indicated a more extended contact.

2) Dependent Variable

Attitudes toward older people. Young adults’ attitudes toward older people are treated as the dependent variable. This study measured 11 pairs of
adjectives to describe older people with endpoints labeled as follows: cold-warm, negative-positive, hostile-friendly, suspicious-trusting, contempt-respect (General Evaluation Scale; Wright et al., 1997), dependent-independent, grumpy-pleasant, ignorant-knowledgeable, narrow-minded – open-minded, unwell-healthy, and withdrawn-sociable (Rowland & Shoemaker, 1995). These two scales were used in this study with the expectation of capturing more extensive views on older people by providing more traits of the population as proposed in the literature. The original General Evaluation Scale (Wright et al., 1997) is composed of 6 items; however, the item of admiration-disgust was not included because it was not culturally suitable. All responses were rated on a 7-point scale and higher mean scores indicated more positive attitudes.

3) Mediator Variables

**Aging anxiety.** Young adults’ aging anxiety was assessed using items as follows: (a) I am worried that I will lose my independence when I am old, (b) I am relaxed about getting old (reverse coded), (c) I am concerned that my mental abilities will suffer when I am old, and (d) I do not want to get old because it means I am closer to dying (Drury et al., 2016). Responses were rated on a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). The mean scores were calculated and higher scores indicated higher levels of aging anxiety.

**Ingroup norms.** Ingroup norms assessed how intergenerational contact was regarded by young adults. This measurement assessed using four items as follow: (a) Most of your friends in your age group would consider it
something positive to have elderly people as friends, (b) Most of your friends in your age group would choose to have a friend who is elderly, (c) People in your age group like elderly people, and (d) Do you think your friends in your age group would be happy to socialize with someone who is elderly? (Drury et al., 2016). All responses were rated on a 7-point scale with the first three items ranging from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree) whereas the last item was ranging from 1 (not at all happy) to 7 (very happy). Higher mean scores indicated more positive ingroup norms about relationships with elderly.

4) Covariates

Participants’ characteristics were considered for their relevance to attitudes toward the elderly. Age, gender, education, and employment status were entered as covariates (control variables) in the model. Gender was composed of male (coded as 1) and female (coded as 0). Education was composed of 1 (none), 2 (primary school), 3 (middle school), 4 (high school), and 5 (college or above). Employment status was coded as 1 (having paid job) and 0 (no paid job).

3. Analytical Strategy

Firstly, descriptive analysis and correlation analysis were performed using STATA 13.0. Correlation analysis was employed to examine the correlations between all study variables. Next, confirmatory factor analyses (CFAs) were performed to examine the measurement model consisted of 27 observed variables which were treated as indicators of five latent variables.
These observed variables were derived from all scale items of each research variable. Finally, through a structural equation modeling (SEM) the relationships between the latent variables as well as the significance of mediating effects using the bootstrapping method were tested. CFA and SEM were run using Mplus 6.0.

The 11-items of attitudes were item-parcelled in the analysis. Item parceling is a practice of aggregating items into one or more parcels to become the indicator of the latent variable (Kishton & Widaman, 1994). Item parceling is favorable to the model fit in that it increases the model parsimony and needs fewer parameters as compared to non-parcelled data or item-level data (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). This study did the subset-item-parcel-approach by averaging the items into two parcels with the consideration of original study from which the items were adopted; the first 5 items (Wright et al., 1997) composed the first parcel and the remaining 6 items (Rowland & Shoemaker, 1995) were on the second parcel.

The measurement and structural models were assessed by a number of fit indices as follow: Chi-square, root mean squared error of approximation (RMSEA), Comparative Fit Index (CFI), and standardized root mean squared residual (SRMR). The Chi-square goodness-of-fit index is not an appropriate index in that it tends to produce significant Chi-square values on large samples (n > 200) (Schumacker & Lomax, 2004). Thus, the relative Chi-square index (the Chi-square index divided by the degrees of freedom) was used instead which is less sensitive to sample size. An acceptable model fit falls on the relative Chi-square of less than 5 (Schumacker & Lomax, 2004). The RMSEA of .08 is considered the upper limit of reasonable fit and below .05 representing close fit (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). An acceptable
model should also have the CFI ≥ .95 and the SRMR of .08 or less (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The indirect effects were tested using bootstrapping with 5,000 iterations (Preacher & Hayes, 2008) and the significance was estimated through the 95% confidence interval (CI); the effect is considered significant if zero is excluded in the CI.
Chapter 4. Results

1. Descriptive Statistics of Variables and Correlation Analysis

Table 2 shows the distribution of contact frequency, contact quality, extended contact, aging anxiety, ingroup norms, and attitudes toward older people. The mean scores of contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact, ranging between one to five, were 3.13 (SD = .84), 3.86 (SD = .60), and 3.43 (SD = .96), respectively. On average, young adults had direct contact with older people few times in a month which was considered moderate. Moreover, they reported that the quality of their previous contact with older people was good. In terms of extended contact, young adults reported having between two and five friends and/or family members of the same age group who had direct contact with older people.

The average level of aging anxiety of young adults in Indonesia, ranging from one to seven, was 3.89 (SD = 1.20). This score was indicated neither high nor low level of aging anxiety. The mean scores of ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships was 4.73 (SD = 1.09). This score showed a relatively positive shared belief regarding intergenerational relationships among young adults in this study. Also, it indicates that young adults in this study believed that people in their age group would have been happy with the idea of having interactions with older people. Similarly, the mean score of attitudes of 4.63 (SD = .79) indicates that young adults in this study tended to view older people in a positive light.
Table 2

Descriptive statistics of research variables (N = 515)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Score range</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contact frequency</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>.84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact quality</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3.86</td>
<td>.60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended contact</td>
<td>1-5</td>
<td>3.43</td>
<td>.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aging anxiety</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>3.89</td>
<td>1.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup norms</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>4.73</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>1-7</td>
<td>4.63</td>
<td>.79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Correlations among study variables are presented in Table 3. The results showed that few variables were insignificantly correlated one another. Attitudes toward older people were significantly correlated with contact quality (r = .239; p < .001), extended contact (r = .181, p < .001), aging anxiety, (r = -.208, p < .001), and ingroup norms (r = .421, p < .001), but were insignificantly correlated with contact frequency (r = .061, p < .05).

Aging anxiety was significantly correlated with extended contact (r = -.201, p < .001) and ingroup norms (r = -.212, p < .001). However, it was insignificantly correlated with contact frequency (r = -.068, p < .05) and contact quality (r = -.085, p < .001). Significant correlations were also evident between ingroup norms and contact frequency (r = .092, p < .05), contact quality (r = .347, p < .001), and extended contact (r = .368, p < .001).

Table 3

Correlations among research variables (N = 515)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contact frequency</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact quality</td>
<td>.348***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended contact</td>
<td>.231***</td>
<td>.254***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aging anxiety</td>
<td>-.068</td>
<td>-.085</td>
<td>-.201***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ingroup norms</td>
<td>.092*</td>
<td>.347***</td>
<td>.368***</td>
<td>-.212***</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitudes</td>
<td>.061</td>
<td>.239***</td>
<td>.181***</td>
<td>-.208***</td>
<td>.421***</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. * p < .05. *** p < .001
2. Measurement Model of Contact Frequency, Contact Quality, Extended Contact, Aging Anxiety, Ingroup Norms, and Attitudes toward Older People

The Confirmatory Factor Analysis was performed to test the measurement model consisted of observed variables (Figure 2). The initial model exhibited generally adequate fit ($\chi^2 = 335.147$, $df = 120$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .059, CFI = .933, SRMR = .045) yet indicating possible improvements of model fit. A number of post hoc alterations was taken by allowing the residuals of the observed variables to covary one another: IN 4 (“Do you think your friends in your age group would be happy to socialize with someone who is elderly?”) and IN 3 (“People in your age group like elderly people.”); IN 2 (“Most of your friends in your age group would choose to have a friend who is elderly”) and IN 3 (“People in your age group like elderly people”); EC 4 (“How many people in your age group do you know who have friends/acquaintances who are elderly?”) and EC 2 (“How many of your very best friends in your age group have friends/acquaintances who are elderly?”). The alterations were carefully made upon the consideration of the item measuring the same thing, resulting in a well-fitting model ($\chi^2 = 260.971$, $df = 117$, $\chi^2/df = 2.23$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .049, CFI = .955, SRMR = .043). The measurement model is shown in Figure 2.
Figure 2

Measurement model with standardized coefficients
\( \chi^2 = 260.971, \text{df} = 117, \chi^2/\text{df} = 2.23, p < .001, \text{RMSEA} = .049, \text{CFI} = .955, \text{SRMR} = .043 \)
3. Structural Equation Modeling

The mediational model (Figure 3) was estimated to test if aging anxiety and ingroup norms explained the indirect effects of contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact on attitudes toward older people among young adults in Indonesia. Model fitness with bootstrapping with 5,000 iterations (Preacher & Hayes, 2008), controlling for the effect of young adults’ sociodemographic characteristics (age, gender, education, employment status), was conducted which resulted in acceptable fit ($\chi^2 = 362.440$, $df = 177$, $\chi^2/df = 2.05$, $p < .001$, RMSEA = .045, CFI = .944, SRMR = .051). The results of the effects of contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact on attitudes toward older people mediated by aging anxiety and ingroup norms are shown in Table 3.

More frequent contact and more extended contact were not directly related to more positive attitudes toward older people; thus, H1 and H3 were rejected. On the contrary, better contact quality was positively associated with more positive attitudes toward older people. It was found that the more positive contact quality, the more positive attitudes toward older people in general (H2; $\beta = .182$, 95% CI = .003, .694).

Aging anxiety was negatively related to positive attitudes. Thus, the lower aging anxiety, the more positive attitudes toward older people. However, the mediating role of aging anxiety was only evident in the relationships between extended contact and attitudes toward older people. High frequent contact and high quality contact were not indirectly related to more positive attitudes toward older people through aging anxiety. In other words, H4 and H5 were rejected whereas H6 was accepted. Thus, the more extended contact that
young adults had, the lower their aging anxiety level, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general (H6; β = .027, 95% CI = .003, .045).

Better ingroup norms were associated with more positive attitudes toward older people. In other words, the more positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, the more positive attitudes toward older people in general. The mediating role of ingroup norms was also statistically significant between all types of intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people. More frequent contact was related to less positive ingroup norms and resulted in less positive attitudes toward older people (H7; β = -.099, 95% CI = -.353, -.048). This hypothesis was partially accepted given different direction of relationships between contact frequency and ingroup norms as predicted. The better contact quality, the more positive ingroup norms, and the more positive attitudes toward older (H8; β = .216, 95% CI = .182, .487). Similarly, the more extended contact, the more positive ingroup norms, and the more positive attitudes toward older people (H9; β = .153, 95% CI = .060, .170). In terms of the indirect effect, the strongest effect was indicated between contact quality and attitudes toward older people through ingroup norms (β = .216, 95% CI = .182, .487).
Table 3

Indirect effects of contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact on attitudes toward older people through aging anxiety and ingroup norms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Indirect effect</th>
<th>β</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>95% CI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contact frequency → aging anxiety → attitudes</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>[-.026, .084]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact quality → aging anxiety → attitudes</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>[-.049, .043]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended contact → aging anxiety → attitudes</td>
<td>.027</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>[.003, .045]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact frequency → ingroup norms → attitudes</td>
<td>-.099</td>
<td>.164</td>
<td>[-.353, -.048]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contact quality → ingroup norms → attitudes</td>
<td>.216</td>
<td>.133</td>
<td>[.182, .487]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extended contact → ingroup norms → attitudes</td>
<td>.153</td>
<td>.048</td>
<td>[.060, .170]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3

Structural mediational model with standardized coefficients

Note. Solid lines indicate statistically significant path coefficients (p < .05) and dashed lines indicate nonsignificant path coefficients.
Chapter 5. Discussion

1. Main Findings

The present study aimed to examine the associations between intergenerational contacts (contact frequency, contact quality, and extended contact) and attitudes toward older people through aging anxiety and ingroup norms among young adults in Indonesia. Using a sample of Indonesian young adults aged 18 – 35 years ($N = 515$), the results of the study in general partially support the hypotheses. The main findings are as follows: (a) The better contact quality that young adults directly experienced with older people, the more positive their attitudes toward older people; (b) The more extended contact indicated by young adults, the lower their levels of aging anxiety, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people; (c) The more frequent contact with older people, the less positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the less positive their attitudes toward older people; (d) The better contact quality with older people, the more positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people; (e) The more extended contact that young adults had, the more positive ingroup norms regarding intergenerational relationships, and the more positive their attitudes toward older people.

First, the finding suggests that good contact quality was positively associated with positive attitudes toward older people among Indonesian young adults whereas contact frequency and extended contact did not show any statistical significant direct effects on attitudes toward older people. The
frequency of direct contact that young adults had with older people and the number of extended contact that they had could not predict their attitudes toward older people in general. These results support previous research that, instead of contact frequency, contact quality was the one to be associated with positive attitudes toward older people (Bousfield & Hutchison, 2010; Drury et al., 2016; Schwartz & Simmons, 2001). This result indicates that high quality direct contact with older people in Indonesia, both family members and non-family members, is related to positive attitudes toward older people in general. Despite not being able to have high frequent direct contact with an older person, good quality contact might have a greater impact to promote more positive views on older people as a whole. In fact, high frequent contact does not necessarily mean better relationships. This also emphasizes the nature of contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954) which states the conditions in which intergroup contact might lessen prejudice and promote positive attitudes toward the outgroup.

This study did not assess the types and what means of communication were used by young adults in this study when getting involved in intergenerational contact with older people. In general, the intergenerational contact possibly occurs in various settings such as home, workplace, healthcare center, and neighborhood. In terms of the contact means, face-to-face communication and phone calls are the most likely to realize in Indonesian society. The contact through ICT with older people has less possibility of occurrence because the use of information and communications technology (ICT) by adults aged 54 years and above in Indonesia is only 4.24% (Asosiasi Penyelenggara Jasa Internet Indonesia, 2017). Positive direct contact regardless of frequency or quantity of the contact could be more
meaningful and impactful as it leaves young adults with good impressions on older people in general. Intergenerational interactions such as knowledge and experience sharing and receiving advice from older people may be able to give young adults positive impressions on older people as knowledgeable, wise, and respected.

Second, aging anxiety significantly mediated the association between extended contact and attitudes toward older people. The more intergenerational relationships of other young people that young adults knew, the lower their aging anxiety, and thus the more positive their attitudes toward older people in general. In line with the second study of Drury et al. (2016), we also found that indirect experiences with older people predicted Indonesian young adults’ concerns about their aging, and thus alleviated their positive attitudes toward older people in general.

Different to the result between extended contact, aging anxiety, and attitudes, aging anxiety did not mediate the associations between direct contact (contact frequency and contact quality) and attitudes toward older people. The alternative explanation to these findings is that young adults regard contact experience of others as more important than their own direct experience as it reassurances them of what is appropriate and expected regarding interactions with older people. As a social creature, one’s attitudes and behaviors can be unwittingly shaped by other people (Hardin & Higgins, 1996). The study of Levitan and Verhulst (2015) also confirmed the effects of other’s views on one’s attitudes, and that this effect could still emerge even without discussion or exchange arguments, which might indicate the drive of conformity to other’s opinions.
The existing literature might not show how much discussions about interactions with older people are shared among young adults in Indonesia or how much information exchanged regarding intergenerational contact experience occurs among young adults, which might help to indicate the prevalence of extended contact. However, the result of this study provides more empirical evidence that knowing other young people’s contact experience with older people could be impactful on low levels of aging anxiety on young adults and later it encourages more positive views on older people. As suggested in the literature (e.g., Drury et al., 2016; Jarrott & Savla, 2016), this study also points out the importance of intergenerational contact as a way to predict one’s lowered aging anxiety. This knowledge is necessary to design interventions to promote successful aging in society.

Third, ingroup norms mediated the associations between all types of intergenerational contact and positive attitudes toward older people in Indonesia. As expected, the findings indicate that having more indirect (extended) contacts were related to more positive attitudes mediated by positive ingroup norms. Having positive perceived ingroup norms regarding the outgroup during extended contact may be an effective way to reduce prejudice as the group members will not be ‘punished’ for developing close relationships with the outgroup (Turner et al., 2008). Likewise, in the context of intergenerational contact, as young adults in Indonesia knew and observed that people in their age group had relationships with older people, they might consider cross-age relationships as more socially acceptable and common which later promoted more positive attitudes toward older people in general. This finding also supports the literature (Drury et al., 2016) that extended contact could become an alternative to direct contact, not only in the
interracial contact but also in intergenerational contacts, when positive norms regarding intergenerational relationships among young generations are encouraged. Furthermore, the existence of extended contact, together with ingroup norms, can be understood as a normative influence (Levitan & Verhulst, 2015). Levitan and Verhulst (2015) on their study regarding attitude change suggested that individuals used others as a source of information and that other individual’s views acted as an indicator of what is expected and appropriate.

Interestingly, the indirect effects of contact frequency and contact quality on attitude through ingroup norms were also found to be significant. These findings were not evident in the prior study (Drury et al., 2016). Unpredictably, the more frequent contact, the less positive ingroup norms, which resulted in the less positive attitudes toward older people. The more frequent direct contact that Indonesian young adults have with an older person, the more they believe that people on their age would not as much enjoy intergenerational contacts. This may occur due to the more intergenerational gaps they discover during the high-frequent interaction with older people which leads them to think that other young adults might find it unpleasant and difficult to interact with older people. In turn, it leads to less positive attitudes toward older people in general. This finding points out the drawback of frequent direct intergenerational contact which turns out to be negatively consequential for young adults’ views on older people as it predicts less positive consensus of intergenerational relationships among young adults. In spite of the value of respect for the elderly, attitudes toward older people of young adults in Indonesia could, in fact, become less positive when their frequent intergenerational interactions lead them to perceive these
interactions as undesirable and unsupportable by other young adults in which they belong to.

On the contrary, better quality contact was proved to be related to positive ingroup norms which resulted in positive attitudes toward older people. Unlike contact frequency, contact quality is related to ingroup norms and attitudes in a predictable way. Indonesian young adults who experience high-quality interactions with older people are more likely to believe that other young people would also enjoy interactions with older people. In turn, it predicts positive impressions about older individuals as a whole. As noted in the previous finding of the direct effect of contact quality on attitudes, this finding further explains that the consensus among young adults about intergenerational relationship underlies this association.

This study further our knowledge on the complex mechanism between intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people by offering mediator variables, aging anxiety and ingroup norms. The results point out the significance of high quality direct contact between younger and older adults. It also emphasizes the importance of quality over quantity in a relationship, particularly in the intergenerational relationship. This study sheds lights on another predictor that may clarify the effects of intergenerational contact on attitudes toward older people, that is, ingroup norms. The consensus regarding intergenerational relationships among young adults explains how less frequent contact and better quality contact are associated with more positive attitudes toward older people.

This study also contributes to the body of knowledge on extended contact in the context of cross-age relationships. Extended contact emerges as an alternative to direct intergenerational contact in promoting positive attitudes.
toward older people in Indonesia as it was associated with lower aging anxiety levels and alleviates the consensus regarding intergenerational relationships among young adults. This highlights the need to encourage the promotion of positive intergenerational interactions in Indonesian society to increase the acceptability and ubiquitousness of intergenerational relationship. This effort of age integration is expected to promote positive views toward the old-age group which may have positive consequences for both young and old generations in the long run.

This study found that Indonesian young adults in this study held positive views toward older people in general. Nevertheless, the findings suggest factors to consider to promote more positive views toward the aged in society. Positive images of the older population are expected to realize an old-age friendly society which supports healthy and successful aging for current and future older population. As older people are supported to age well and healthily, they may be able to stay productive which later will be beneficial in reducing vulnerable people that need to be supported by the government and society as a whole.

The findings of this study also provide an idea of Indonesian older population (mainly female population) in the future in terms of aging anxiety, even though it is possibly changed as young adults get older and the aging process, as well as the way toward later life, become more salient. The findings suggest that aging anxiety of young adults in this study were neither good nor bad, with men showed slightly higher levels of aging anxiety than women even though no gender difference indicated (results are not presented). Some studies have shown that women reported higher levels of aging anxiety than men, specifically on the dimension of physical appearance (Brunton &
whereas men showed higher aging anxiety regarding psychological concern (Brunton & Scott, 2015). The scale of aging anxiety in this study did not measure physical appearance-related concern which might have resulted in men reported higher levels of aging anxiety.

2. Limitations and Recommendations

There are some limitations in this study that could be addressed in future research. The research participant is overrepresented by female participants whereas Indonesian young population is dominated by men (Statistics Indonesia, 2013). The sample bias, the means of convenient sampling, and the nature of cross-sectional study should be noted that the findings do not capture the Indonesian diverse society despite the attempt to cover the major regions in Indonesia. Given these limitations, careful attention should be given in interpreting the findings. National representative sample and repeated studies are encouraged to verify the stability of the proposed model in this study. Future longitudinal studies are also encouraged to shed lights on the causality and directionality of the findings and further our knowledge on this topic.

It is noteworthy to point out that this study is arguably the first to investigate this phenomenon in Indonesia. In spite of non-saliency and lack of discussions on attitudes toward older people in Indonesian society, this study strived to keep the social desirability bias of the participants to the minimum, such as through the anonymity and confidentiality of the responses, to ensure the true situations of the society through limited data sample.
Repeated future studies in similar societies could incorporate different attitude scales, omit the neutral response which might lead the participants to give socially acceptable responses, and use larger data sample to address this issue.

In general, the findings of this study draw attention to the future research direction in Indonesia on the topic of intergenerational relationships, particularly young-older adult relationships which are yet underestimated. This study further our knowledge on the mediating role of ingroup norms between direct intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people, which has not been documented in the literature. Repeated studies are needed to validate this finding. Also, investigations on aging anxiety as one of the important constructs in gerontology should be encouraged in Indonesia. Future research may address gender and age differences in aging anxiety and incorporate aging anxiety scale with various dimensions to capture a more complete image of concerns about aging.

Some studies suggest that attitudes are strongly related to with whom the contact occurs (Allan & Johnson, 2008; Harwood et al., 2005; Ng, H., Weatherall, & Loong, 1997), and any attitude changes are limited to certain situations (Amir, 1969). The present study measured the contact with elderly family members and non-family members. However, the analysis of attitudes was referred to attitudes toward older people in general. Future studies might want to specifically look into differences in attitudes toward elderly family members and attitudes toward elderly non-family members.

As much as the concern on young generation’s views toward older people, the investigation on older adults’ views toward their own aging process and their age group is also necessary as it will shed lights on the psychological
state of the aging population in Indonesia. Indirect contact experience in this study is represented by direct contact of young adults’ friends and/or relatives with older people as the influential exemplar. Future research could incorporate media as the influential exemplar in which older people are captured and its role to predict attitudes toward older people. Finally, mediation is only one of many ways that help us better understand the relationships between intergenerational contact and attitudes toward older people. Future research could incorporate other intervening mechanisms such as moderation. Aging anxiety and knowledge regarding elderly population might also be able to moderate the association between intergenerational contact experience and attitudes toward older people.
References


Habib, M. A. F. (2015). Pergeseran nilai dan dukungan sosial keluarga lanjut usia (Studi kasus pada lansia miskin di Kabupaten Blitar) [Values shifting and social support of elderly family (Case study in poor elderly in Blitar Regency)]. *Jurnal Ilmu Sosial dan Politik UNAIR.*


Hutchison, P., Fox, E., Laas, A. M., Matharu, J., & Urzi, S. (2010). Anxiety, outcome expectancies, and young people's willingness to engage in


Appendix

The online survey can be accessed at the following link: http://bit.ly/survey82
Apakah profesi Anda? *
(Contoh: pelajar, mahasiswa, ibu rumah tangga, pegawai, wiraswasta, pencari kerja, dsb)

Your answer

Apakah Anda memiliki pekerjaan yang menghasilkan pendapatan? *
- Ya
- Tidak

Berapakah rata-rata besar penghasilan Anda setiap bulan? *
(Penghasilan dapat berupa gaji, beasiswa, pemberian orang tua/other, dsb)
- Rp0 - Rp1.000.000
- Rp1.000.001 - Rp5.000.000
- Rp5.000.001 - Rp10.000.000
- Rp10.000.001 -

Apakah Anda tinggal bersama lansia di dalam satu rumah? *
- Ya
- Tidak

BACK NEXT

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* Required

Mohon perhatikan poin berikut sebagai acuan Anda memberikan respon:
- Lansia/Individu berusia lanjut dalam penelitian ini adalah individu Indonesia berusia 60 tahun ke atas.
- Bentuk kontak berupa kontak langsung (tatau muka/menyapa) dan tidak langsung (telepon, pesan singkat, percakapan video, dll).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frekuensi</th>
<th>Tidak pernah</th>
<th>Beberapa kali dalam sehariun</th>
<th>Beberapa kali dalam sebulan</th>
<th>Beberapa kali dalam seminggu</th>
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</table>

Bagaimanakah kualitas kontak Anda dengan LANSIA DARI KELUARGA Anda? *
(Contoh nenek, kakek, paman, bibi, dsb)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kualitas</th>
<th>Sangat buruk</th>
<th>Buruk</th>
<th>Biasa</th>
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</table>

Seberapa seringkah Anda melakukan kontak dengan LANSIA SELAIN KELUARGA Anda? *
(Contoh tetangga, guru, atasan, rekan kerja, ataf di asiloah/kampus, penjual, dsb)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frekuensi</th>
<th>Tidak pernah</th>
<th>Beberapa kali dalam sehariun</th>
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</table>

*Required
Bagaimanakah kualitas kontak Anda dengan LANSIA SELAIN KELUARGA Anda?  
(Contoh: tetangga, guru, tetangga, rekan kerja, asisten sekarang, penjual d室内)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kualitas</th>
<th>Sangat buruk</th>
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<th>Biasa</th>
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</table>

Berapa banyak TEMAN SEUSIA Anda yang memiliki kenalan (selain anggota keluarga) berusia lanjut?  

- Jumlah  
- 0   1   2-5   6-10   Lebih dari 10

Berapa banyak TEMAN DEKAT SEUSIA Anda yang memiliki kenalan (selain anggota keluarga) berusia lanjut?  

- Jumlah  
- 0   1   2-5   6-10   Lebih dari 10

Berapa banyak ANGGOTA KELUARGA SEUSIA Anda yang memiliki kenalan (selain anggota keluarga) berusia lanjut?  

- Anggota keluarga sekarang, adik, kakak, saudara sepupu, keponakan, dibi

- Jumlah  
- 0   1   2-5   6-10   Lebih dari 10

Berapa banyak ORANG SEUSIA Anda yang Anda tahu memiliki kenalan (selain anggota keluarga) berusia lanjut?  

- Jumlah  
- 0   1   2-5   6-10   Lebih dari 10

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Survei Kontak Antargenerasi dan Sikap Pemuda Indonesia terhadap Lansia

* Required

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kebanyakan teman seusia saya menganggap memiliki kenalan lansia adalah hal positif *</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sangat tidak setuju</td>
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<tr>
<th>Kebanyakan teman seusia saya akan memilih berkenalan dan berhubungan baik dengan lansia *</th>
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<td>Sangat tidak setuju</td>
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<tr>
<th>Orang-orang di kelompok usia saya menyukai lansia *</th>
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<td>Sangat tidak setuju</td>
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<tr>
<th>Apakah menurut Anda orang di kelompok usia Anda akan senang bersosialisasi/berinteraksi dengan lansia?</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sangat tidak senang</td>
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[BACK] [NEXT]
Survei Kontak Antargenerasi dan Sikap Pemuda Indonesia terhadap Lansia

* Required.
Mohon nyatakan seberapa setuju Anda atas pernyataan berikut dengan skala 1-7.

Saya khawatir akan kehilangan kemandiran saat berusia lanjut *

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Saya merasa tenang-tenang saja akan menjadi lansia *

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Saya khawatir akan menghadapi masalah mental saat berusia lanjut *

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Saya tidak ingin menjadi lansia karena itu berarti saya semakin dekat dengan kematian *

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BACK NEXT

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## Survei Kontak Antargenerasi dan Sikap Pemuda Indonesia terhadap Lansia

*Raih Andal*

### Apa yang Anda pikirkan tentang lansia secara umum?

Mohon nyatakan pendapat Anda atas pernyataan berikut dalam skala 1-7:

**Secara umum lansia berkepribadian...**

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<td>Dapat dipercaya</td>
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Secara umum lansia... *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

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Secara umum lansia... *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Pemarahan ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○  Menyenangkan

Secara umum lansia... *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Berpengetahuan sempit/bodoh ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○  Berpengetahuan luas

Secara umum lansia... *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Berpikiran sempit/kuno ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○  Berpikiran luas/modern

Secara umum lansia... *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Sakit-sakitkan ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○  Sehat

Secara umum lansia... *

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Penyendiri ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○ ○  Supel/Senang bergaul

BACK  |  SUBMIT

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The English version of the online survey is shown below.

**Intergenerational Contacts and Young Adults’ Attitudes toward Older People in Indonesia**

Greetings.
My name is Bona Intan Rahmaniah, a master’s degree student at the Department of Child Development and Family Studies, Seoul National University, South Korea. I am conducting a Thesis research entitled "Intergenerational Contacts and Young Adults’ Attitudes toward the Elderly in Indonesia". This study aims to investigate the intergenerational contacts between Indonesian young adults and elderly and their attitudes toward the elderly in general.

If you meet the following criteria:
- Individuals aged 18-35 years
- Indonesian citizen and has been residing in Indonesia for the past one year;
I request your participation in my research by filling out this questionnaire (filling time is ± 15 minutes). The information you provide will be kept confidential and will only be used within the scope of this research. Your participation in this study is voluntary. You have the right to withdraw at any time and/or cancel your participation after completing this survey by contacting me.

Your participation in this study will contribute indirectly to efforts to support and improve the quality of life of the elderly group in Indonesia which is growing every year. I would also be grateful if you could spread this online survey to your family and friends who meet the criteria. Thank you for your time and attention.

Regards,
Bona Intan Rahmaniah

Do you understand the above information and agree to participate in this study?

☐ Yes
☐ No
Please respond to the following questions.

Q1. How old are you?
__________________________

Q2. Please indicate your gender.
☐ Male  ☐ Female

Q3. Where do you live?
(Please indicate only the name of the province and the city)

Q4. What is your latest education?
☐ None
☐ Elementary school
☐ Middle school
☐ High school
☐ University or above

Q5. What is your profession?

Q6. Do you have any paid job?
☐ Yes  ☐ No

Q7. How much is your monthly income?
☐ Rp0 – Rp1.000.000
☐ Rp1.000.001 – Rp5.000.000
☐ Rp5.000.001 – Rp10.000.000
☐ Rp10.000.001 - ~

Q8. Do you live together with any elderly individual?
☐ Yes (Go to Q8.1)  ☐ No

Q8.1. How many elderly individuals do you live with?

Q8.2. What is your relationship with them?
In responding to the following questions, please pay attention to below points:
- Elderly individual is referred to Indonesian individual aged 60 years or above
- Contact is referred to any direct communication (face-to-face, greeting) and indirect communication (by phone call, chat message, video call, etc.)

Q9. How often do you have contact with elderly individuals aged 60 years or over from your family?
☐ Never
☐ Few times in a year
☐ Few times in a month
☐ Few times in a week
☐ Every day

Q10. How is the quality of your previous contact with elderly individuals aged 60 years or over from your family?
☐ Very poor
☐ Poor
☐ Moderate
☐ Good
☐ Very good

Q11. How often do you have contact with elderly individuals aged 60 years or over who are not your family?
☐ Never
☐ Few times in a year
☐ Few times in a month
☐ Few times in a week
☐ Every day

Q12. How is the quality of your previous contact with elderly individuals aged 60 years or who are not your family?
☐ Very poor
☐ Poor
☐ Moderate
☐ Good
☐ Very good
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2-5</th>
<th>6-10</th>
<th>More than 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q13. How many of your friends in your age group have friends who are elderly?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q14. How many of your very best friends in your age group have friends that are elderly?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q15. How many of your family members in your age group have friends who are elderly?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q16. How many people in your age group do you know who have friends who are elderly?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1 Strongly disagree</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q17.</td>
<td>Most of your friends (in your age group) would consider it something positive to have elderly people as friends.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q18.</td>
<td>Most of your friends (in your age group) would choose to have a friend who is elderly.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q19.</td>
<td>People in your age group like elderly people.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q20.</td>
<td>Do you think your friends in your age group would be happy to socialize with someone who is elderly?</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q21.</strong> I am worried that I will lose my independence when I am old.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q22.</strong> I am relaxed about getting old.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Q23.</strong> I am concerned that my mental abilities will suffer when I am old.</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
<td>☐</td>
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<td><strong>Q24.</strong> I do not want to get old because it means I am closer to dying.</td>
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Q25. What do you think about older people in general? Do you think they are…

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국문초록

인도네시아 청년의 세대 간 접촉과 노인에 대한 태도: 노화불안과 내집단 규범의 매개효과

Bona Intan Rahmaniah
아동가족학과
생활과학대학
서울대학교

본 연구는 인도네시아 청년의 노화불안과 내집단 규범의 매개효과를 통해 세대 간 접촉 (접촉 빈도, 접촉 품질, 확장 접촉)과 노인에 대한 태도의 연관성을 조사하였다.

연구 질문은 다음과 같다:

1. 접촉 빈도, 접촉 품질 및 연장된 접촉은 노인에 대한 긍정적인 태도와 직접적으로 관련이 있는가?
2. 접촉 빈도, 접촉 품질 및 확장 접촉은 노인에 대한 긍정적인 태도와 노화불안 및 내집단 규범을 통해 간접적으로 관련이 있는가?

본 연구에는 18-35세의 인도네시아 청년이 참여하였다 (N = 515). 데이터는 온라인 설문 조사를 통해 수집되었으며 기술적 통계의 경우 STATA 13.0을 사용하고 구조 방정식 모델링 (Structural Equation Modeling)의 경우 Mplus 6.0을 사용하여 분석되었다.

연구 결과는 다음과 같다.
첫째, 청년들이 노인과 직접 경험한 접촉 성이 좋은수록 노년층에 대한 태도가 긍정적으로 나타났다. 다른 유형의 접촉 (접촉 빈도 및 확장 접촉)은 노인에 대한 긍정적인 태도와 관련성이 없었다.

둘째, 청년층이 더 긴 접촉을 할수록 노화불안이 적어지고 노인에 대한 태도가 긍정적으로 나타났다. 노화불안에 대한 매개 역할은 접촉 빈도와 노인에 대한 태도, 접촉 품질과 노인에 대한 태도 사이의 연관성에서 분명하지 않았다.

셋째, 노인과의 접촉 빈도가 높을수록 세대 간 관계에 관한 내집단 규범이 낮아지고 노인에 대한 태도는 긍정적이지 못하다.

넷째, 노인과의 접촉 품질이 좋은수록 세대 간 관계에 관한 긍정적인 내집단 규범, 노인에 대한 청년들의 태도가 더 긍정적이다.

다섯째, 접촉이 확대됨에 따라 세대 간 관계에 관한 내집단 규범이 긍정적으로 나타났고 노인에 대한 청년들의 태도가 긍정적으로 나타났다.

결론적으로, 이 연구는 세대 간 관계의 양보다 질이 갖는 중요성을 강조한다. 또한 세대 간 관계의 맥락에서 직접 접촉의 대안으로 확장 접촉을 강조한다. 이 발견은 특히 청년은 세대와 노인 사이의 세대 간 관계에 관한 주제에 관한 인도네시아의 향후 연구에 주목한다. 이 연구는 또한 청년층과 노인층 간의 세대 간 상호 작용 증진을 장려할 필요가 있을음을 강조하며 인도네시아의 노년층에 대한 긍정적인 전망을 촉진할 것으로 기대된다.

주요어 : 내집단 규범, 노인에 대한 태도, 노화불안, 세대 간 접촉, 접촉 빈도, 접촉 품질, 청년, 확장 접촉
학번 : 2017-28290
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