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DIVERSITY ISSUES FOR AN AGING WORKFORCE

A Lifespan Intersectionality Approach

Jennica Webster, Christian Thoroughgood,
and Katina Sawyer

With the dramatic increases in life expectancy and the general movement toward healthier lifestyles, human beings are living longer than they ever have been before. In the United States, for example, it is projected that by 2030 there will be roughly 72.1 million older people (officially denoted as 65 years and over), more than twice as many as in 2000 (Administration on Aging, 2014). Consequently, today's modern workforce is growing more diverse in terms of age. Indeed, by 2020, five different generations are expected to be working alongside one another (Robbins & Judge, 2010). Because age carries with it a certain social stigma in Western societies, including a widespread view of older people as frail, weak, and grumpy (Kulik, 2014), it is perhaps not surprising that this older population of workers are susceptible to various negative work outcomes relative to younger employees. Compounding this problem, older workers may carry other pre-existing stigmas, including, among others, those related to gender, race, ethnicity, mental illness, or physical disability, all of which may intersect with the unique stigma acquired with age. As such, the aging nature of today's workforce places pressure on management scholars and practitioners to better understand and address issues related to age-related stereotypes and prejudice in organizations.

The stigma literature underscores that individuals may carry a wide range of visible (e.g., race, sex, obesity, physical disability) and invisible (e.g., sexual orientation, gender identity, physical disease, mental illness) stigmas. Based on Goffman's (1963) seminal work, a "stigma" reflects a personal characteristic that is perceived to be socially undesirable, or deviant, within a given social context. Stigmas devalue and discredit one's social identity in the eyes of other people by reducing one "from a whole and usual person to a tainted, discounted one" (Crocker, Major, & Steele, 1998; Goffman, 1963, p. 3). These "marks" become associated with

negative stereotypes, which tend to be widely espoused in a social system and which creates a basis for excluding and marginalizing those who possess (or who are thought to possess) them (Major & O'Brien, 2005). As individuals with pre-existing stigmas grow older, these stigmas, whether visible or invisible, intersect with the unique stigma acquired as an older person. Within the workplace, this intersection of age and other stigmatized identities therefore may combine to jointly shape the experiences of employees across the lifespan.

In this chapter, we review the relevant literature pertaining to various stigmatized identities and their intersections with age. In each case, we will briefly describe cross-classified demographics in order to provide a sense of its scope. We then describe the conditions that render an identity more salient, the likely stereotypes that are activated in such situations, and the effects of these situations on the work experiences of those possessing a given identity. Unfortunately, even a cursory glance of the literature suggests that many of these experiences are likely to be negative. Yet, societal perceptions of identity groups do change and are malleable within organizations. Indeed many organizations have adopted policies and practices aimed at reducing these negative experiences by promoting greater inclusion. It is also true that those with stigmatized identities display remarkable levels of resilience in the face of these negative experiences. With this in mind, we review some of the organizational and individual factors that may mitigate the negative combined effects of being an older worker with a pre-existing stigma. We conclude by discussing practical recommendations for employers who seek to promote inclusivity using an intersectional lens. In the following sections, we first provide a theoretical background on stigma and minority stress, intersectional identities, and lifespan development to provide a conceptual foundation for our discussion.

Stigma Theory

To explain further the process of stigmatization, Goffman (1963) argued that stigma creates an assumption in social perceivers that a person who possesses a given stigma is, in essence, less than human. This assumption, in turn, provides a foundation for various forms of discrimination that, according to Goffman, effectively reduce such an individual's life chances. Goffman (1963) specifically noted that, "We construct a stigma theory, an ideology to explain his [or her] inferiority … [and] impute a wide range of imperfections" (p. 14). This public perception of one's stigma, in turn, tends to permeate all other possible characteristics, qualities, or features of a person. Stigmas also vary along a series of dimensions (Jones et al., 1984). For example, some stigmas are concealable (e.g., sexual orientation, mental illness, criminal record), while others are not (e.g., race, physical disability). Some may be seen as controllable (e.g., obesity, drug addiction), while others are viewed as uncontrollable and are thus attributed less blame (e.g., physical deformity, cancer). Further, some stigmas vary in their

course – or the extent to which they become more prominent over time (e.g., degenerative disorders such as multiple sclerosis and Alzheimer's disease) – while others vary in their disruptiveness to social interactions (e.g., stuttering, seizures). In terms of aging, this stigma may be classified as non-concealable and non-controllable, progressing over the life course, and potentially disruptive to social interactions later in life, especially if individuals develop degenerative diseases that undermine their cognitive functioning.

Intersectionality

Based on the seminal work of Crenshaw (1989, 1991), intersectionality refers to the ways in which multiple aspects of identity combine and interact with one another to form qualitatively different meanings and social experiences (Warner, 2008). From this perspective, social identity structures do not reflect independent axes of demographic categories, but rather interlocking matrices of privilege and oppression (Gopaldas, 2013). For example, according to theories of intersectionality, the social experiences of African American women are qualitatively different from the experiences of African American men (or Caucasian women) due to the intersection between the two subordinate identities of being Black and female. With respect to the workplace, for example, recent research suggests Black female leaders may be reacted to differently from White female and Black male leaders due to differences in how social perceivers ascribe meaning to dominant behavior based on a leader's multiple group membership (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012; Rosette & Livingston, 2012).

While earlier definitions of intersectionality emphasized intersections between race, gender, and class, newer definitions expand the concept of intersectionality to include all possible social classifications, including sexual orientation, gender identity, mental health status, religion, height, weight, attractiveness, and age, among others. What this means is that a given person's social identity and related life experiences can only be viewed and understood within the context of the multiplicity of social advantages and disadvantages they possess (Gopaldas, 2013). In the workplace, employees may also possess various minority and majority statuses at the same time. These statuses are, in turn, often tied to organizational hierarchies, whereby employees may hold positions of both dominance and subordination at once (Kollen, 2014). Below, we highlight the importance of taking an intersectional perspective when examining how those with existing stigmas may be perceived and reacted to differently over the course of their careers as they slowly age and take on stigmatizing traits associated with this identity category.

Lifespan Theories

In examining the intersection of aging with existing stigmas on employees' work experiences, a consideration of within-person changes over time is necessary.

As such, we broadly discuss lifespan theories below given that they are well-suited to explaining such changes. Indeed, lifespan approaches have been used to explain various topics related to work and aging, such as motivation (Kanfer & Ackerman, 2004), retirement (Wang, 2007), job design (Truxillo, Cadiz, Rineer, Zaniboni, & Fraccaroli, 2012), and leadership (Walter & Scheibe, 2013).

According to lifespan theorists, human development represents a fluid, continuous process whereby individual and contextual factors interact with one another to produce significant inter-individual variation over time. As such, a lifespan perspective requires a recognition of individuals' unique developmental trajectories (i.e., individual differences in developmental pathways) over time. In a review of the literature, Rudolph (2016) summarized several core tenets underlying existing perspectives on human development. First, development is a lifelong process and thus no age or period is more or less important. Thus, in order to understand aging at work, an equal focus must be placed on understanding how individuals develop from their initial entry to their final exit (i.e., retirement). Second, development is marked by both gains and losses, growth and decline, such that an understanding of aging at work cannot ignore how these gains and losses interactively contribute to individuals' unique developmental trajectories. Third, development is multidirectional, suggesting pluralism in trajectories of developmental change. Finally, development is a dynamic, within-person process that does not take place within a vacuum, but rather is influenced by various contextual factors, including historical, cultural, and organizational factors. Relatedly, Rudolph and Zacher (2017) expanded on these ideas within the context of generations in the workplace, arguing that generations are better understood from a contextualized lifespan perspective that accounts for contemporary time period and history-graded developmental influences on individuals' attitudes, values, beliefs, motives, and behavior at work.

From this perspective, it should be recognized that aging may have differential impacts on the work experiences of employees with existing stigmas, given individual differences (e.g., personality, cognitive abilities), prior history (e.g., parenting, experiences in childhood and young adulthood), and organizational factors (e.g., coworker support). In sum, a lifespan view provides a richer, more nuanced perspective on how intersections of aging and stigmas, whether invisible or visible, may shape people's work lives.

Stereotypes of Older Workers

Stereotypes are generalized beliefs ascribed to a particular group about their assumed characteristics or traits (Fiske & Neuberg, 1990), and thus age-based stereotypes are ascribed to people based on their age (Finkelstein, King, & Voyles, 2015). Although Finkelstein et al. (in the current volume) provide a detailed review of research in this area, our intention is to highlight parts of this

research that are relevant to our focus, which is to help understand the dynamic and compounding effects of age stereotyping with that of other diversity categories over the lifespan.

Studied rather extensively, research has found that older workers face a number of age stereotypes in the workplace. Posthuma and Guerrero's (2013) recent work helped classify age stereotypes as varying across two dimensions, (1) polarity, and (2) veracity, where polarity reflects the degree to which the content of the stereotype favorably (vs. unfavorably) depicts the group, and veracity represents the degree to which the stereotype is empirically supported (true vs. false). Reviews of the age stereotype research (e.g., Finkelstein, Ryan, & King, 2013; Ng & Feldman, 2012; Posthuma & Campion, 2009; Posthuma, Wagstaff, & Campion, 2012) suggest that among the common stereotypes of older workers with negative polarity are the beliefs that older workers are poorer performers, less motivated, less willing and able to learn, and more resistant to change compared with younger workers. Among the stereotypes with positive polarity are the beliefs that older workers are more dependable, experienced, committed, and less likely to quit their jobs compared with younger workers. With regard to the veracity of these stereotypes, an abundance of empirical evidence has refuted nearly all of the negative stereotypes while many of the positive stereotypes have been supported. For example, in a series of meta-analyses, Ng and Feldman (2008, 2009, 2010, 2012) showed that, while age is largely unrelated to task performance, it is positively related to organizational citizenship behavior and negatively related to counterproductive behavior, absence, and turnover (Ng & Feldman, 2008, 2009). They also found that older workers had more positive task-, people- and organization-based attitudes at work (Ng & Feldman, 2010), and no evidence supported the stereotypes that older workers are less motivated or more resistant to change compared with younger workers (Ng & Feldman 2012).

Despite considerable disconfirming evidence, negative stereotypes of older workers persist and have negative effects on those workers. A growing body of work has begun to relate these negative stereotypes to discrimination against older workers (Chiu, Chan, Snape, & Redman, 2001; Fasbender & Wang, 2017). For example, older workers are evaluated more negatively than younger workers more generally, and with regard to advancement, selection, and performance appraisals (Bal, Reiss, Rudolph & Baltes, 2011; Gordon & Arvey, 2004). Beyond the possibility for discrimination, working in an environment where one may be aware of others holding negative stereotypes can also have negative effects on older workers via the process of meta-stereotypes and stereotype threat. Indeed, there is a large body of research that has shown the deleterious effects of stereotype threat on the performance of other stigmatized groups such as ethnic minorities (Walton, Murphy, & Ryan, 2015), and evidence for its negative effects on older workers is beginning to accumulate (Lamont, Swift, & Abrams, 2015; Oliveira & Cabral-Cardoso, 2017). Below, we will discuss the intersection of age and three categories of diversity including gender, race/ethnicity, and LGBT identities.

Social Categories of Diversity and Their Intersection with Age

Gender

Over half a century ago, women began entering the workforce in large numbers. Currently women make up 57 percent of the United States labor force and are staying in the workplace longer than ever before (US Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 2016). In 2016, labor force participation rates for women between the ages of 55 and 64 was 58 percent, while it was 70 percent for men, but by 2024 participation rates are projected to increase to 63 percent for women and stagnate for men (US Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, 2016). Thus, the gender gap in labor force participation rates for older workers is narrowing and especially so at older ages. Although participation rates for older workers are becoming increasingly equal, the work experiences of men and women are substantially different. Many occupations in the labor market continue to be segregated by gender where female-dominated occupations tend to have less prestige and status compared with male-dominated occupations (Cha, 2013). Women also tend to be concentrated in lower-level positions, and have difficulty reaching senior leadership roles (Catalyst, 2016a; Haveman & Beresford, 2011). Ultimately, this horizontal and vertical segregation of men and women in the labor market has contributed to pay disparity where women are still paid less than men (Catalyst, 2016b). The traditional division of labor between men and women across work and nonwork roles also helps to create differences in the work experiences of women and men. Women still bear the brunt of household duties in child rearing and, as a result more, often have a discontinuous work history (Abele & Spurk, 2011). At older ages, women are also more likely to take on caring for elderly parents (Aumann, Gajinsky, Sakai, Brown, & Bond, 2010).

One of the most well-reasoned and supported explanations for these differences in work experiences lies in the differing gender norms and expectations for the roles men and women inhabit. According to social role theory (Eagly, 1987; Eagly, Wood, & Diekman, 2000) gender stereotypes stem from these traditional social roles as well as power inequalities between men and women. Gender stereotypes are descriptive and prescriptive such that they reflect the beliefs about how women and men behave and set expectations for how they *should* behave (Burgess & Borgida, 1999; Eagly, 1987). For men, they are ascribed as having more achievement-oriented traits, often characterized as being more agentic, aggressive, forceful, and ambitious, whereas for women, they are viewed as having more service-oriented traits, such as being more communal, interpersonally sensitive, warm, nurturing, and deferential (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Eagly, 1987). These stereotypes are problematic insofar as they are often inaccurate, and when one violates the stereotypes associated with one's gender this can be met with backlash in the form of negative social and economic consequences (Rudman & Phelan, 2008). These stereotypes are

also problematic when they are misaligned with stereotypes regarding specific work roles. This lack of fit (Heilman, 1983) or incongruity (Eagly & Karau, 2002) between gender role and work role stereotypes can often lead to bias and discrimination. This misalignment and its effects are exemplified by the 'think manager–think male' phenomenon (Schein, 1973) which has received considerable support in the literature (Heilman, 2001; Schein, Mueller, Lituchy, & Liu, 1996).

Viewed from the perspective of intersectionality, gender role stereotypes can jointly interact with stereotypes associated with other social identities to produce unique consequences for those who are subjected to them. This is sometimes referred to as double or multiple jeopardy if more than one set of negative stereotypes are combined (Dowd & Bengtson, 1978). One early example of double jeopardy is the double standard of aging (Sontag, 1972), which suggested that as women age they are judged more negatively in terms of being old, less attractive and less valuable than men who are seen as being distinguished, well off and of higher status. Recent research on this model suggests that not all evaluations of aging women are necessarily more negative (Kite, Stockdale, Whitley, & Johnson, 2005) and we speculate that not all stereotypes of aging men positive (e.g., that men are confronted with a loss of the agentic stereotype as they become older). Rather, it is likely that the degree to which negative evaluations of women and men occur depends on the context (e.g., work versus nonwork domain; Kornadt, Voss, & Rothermund, 2013).

Based on this more general literature, we would argue that the extent to which stereotypes operate within the workplace to produce differential negative consequences for older men and women also depends on context, and more specifically, the degree to which the joint stereotypes of multiple identities are more or less incongruent with the specific work situation. For example, some occupations are gender stereotyped as more male (e.g., construction), whereas others are age stereotyped as more youthful (e.g., information technology). Clearly these varying workplace contexts are likely to activate, or render specific stereotypes, more salient, and in turn, produce different effects on outcomes for older men and women. Research is beginning to emerge that shows the effects of jointly ascribed gender and age stereotypes and how they differentially influence ratings of adaptive performance (DeArmond et al., 2006) and, importantly, hiring decisions (Ruggs, Hebl, Walker, & Fa-Kaji., 2014) and leadership potential (Hirschfeld & Thomas, 2011). Taking a lifespan perspective, a long history of disadvantage in the workplace, owing in large part to gender role stereotypes that limit women's earnings and advancement, has translated into lower lifetime wealth for women overall (Ruel & Hauser, 2013). This, combined with the additional burden of stereotypes regarding age that impact hiring and advancement decisions for older workers, amount to a cumulative and continuing disadvantage for women into old age and retirement.

Race/Ethnicity

There has been a considerable increase in racial and ethnic diversity among older adults in the workforce. Currently, White workers make up the highest percentage of the US labor force (80 percent), but this population is expected to grow at a much slower rate than in previous decades. Owing to higher birth, labor force participation, and international migration rates of other racial and ethnic groups (Toossi, 2012, 2016), it is projected that by 2039 people of color will make up the majority of the labor force (Wilson, 2016). The Hispanic and Asian populations are expected to have the highest growth rate compared with all other racial and ethnic groups (Toossi, 2012). The experiences of racial and ethnic minorities in the workforce has been considerably different from that of the White majority. Racial and ethnic minorities have long experienced the manifestations of prejudice. Before major changes were made to legal and regulatory oversight and societal norms, overt acts of discrimination were quite pervasive and even sanctioned in US organizations. These acts had a direct effect on the types of occupations, work-roles, and work-related experiences of racial and ethnic minorities. Yet, more recently, this more overt form of discrimination has been at least partially replaced with more insidious and covert forms of discrimination (Cortina, 2008). Generally, more subtle forms of discrimination have been referred to as micro-aggressions and include experiences such as neglect, ostracism, and incivility (Rowe, 1990; Van Laer & Janssens, 2011). Studies have shown that the impact of such prejudice and discrimination can be significant and damaging to the target's physical, psychological, and work-related well-being (e.g., Deitch et al., 2003).

The overt and subtle discrimination that racial and ethnic minorities face often stem from societal stereotypes that shape the perceptions, interpretations, and judgements people have of different groups (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Kawakami, 2010). As mentioned above, the stereotypes ascribed to particular groups are derived from the social roles they inhabit. Commonly-held stereotypes ascribed to White and Asian Americans are smart, hardworking, and ambitious (Hurh & Kim, 1989), where Asian Americans are seen as the 'model minority' (Gilbert, Carr-Ruffino, Ivancevich, & Lownes-Jackson, 2003). Hispanics and African Americans, however, are believed to be lazy, ignorant, and less determined (Dixon & Rosenbaum, 2004). Other studies have found that African Americans are characterized as having more negative traits (e.g., incompetent and confrontational) than Hispanics (e.g., hardworking and loyal; Heilman, Block, & Lucas, 1992; Kirschenman & Neckerman, 1991). The stereotypes and discrimination that many racial and ethnic minority groups face in the workplace has hindered the advancement of these groups in the workplace. Indeed, the data show that minorities face a steep climb to reach top leadership positions. In January 2016 there were only five Black CEOs working in Fortune 500 companies (McGirt, 2016). Another recent estimate found that,

in Fortune 500 companies, 72 percent of corporate leadership roles are held by Whites, followed by Asians at 21 percent, Latino/a's at 2 percent, and African Americans at 0.6 percent (Jones, 2017). One reason for this is the incongruence between stereotypes of the successful manager and stereotypes of African American and Hispanic managers. Chung-Herrera and Lankau (2005) examined the congruence between perceptions of a successful manager prototype and ratings of racioethnic managerial stereotypes and found that White and Asian American manager stereotypes were most similar to the prototype of a successful manager whereas African American and Hispanic manager stereotypes were most dissimilar. Others have examined racial and gender identities, leadership style (dominance vs. communal) and effectiveness and found that Black men and White women leaders were rated more negatively when they used a dominant style of leadership, while Black women and White men did not face the same consequence (Livingston, Rosette, & Washington, 2012). This finding however, has been more of the exception than the rule. Other research has shown that Black women leaders are often judged more harshly for making mistakes in science-based occupations (Williams, Phillips, & Hall, 2014), and under conditions of organizational failure (Rosette & Livingston, 2012). These results suggest that Black women are held to higher standards than others who only violate one leadership prototype stereotype (i.e., Black men or White women).

Although somewhat mixed, the research regarding the effects of racial identity and gender suggest that the consequences of co-occurring stereotypes varies substantially across individuals doubly stigmatized by their group memberships. The addition of age to create multiply stigmatized individuals subject to compounded (race × gender × age) stereotypes adds an additional layer of complexity. The process of combining multiple stereotypes may occur in several ways. In some instances, stereotypes may combine in an additive fashion. The combination of negative stereotypes associated with membership in two or more groups may simply sum to produce even stronger negative stereotypes that lead to a truly multiple disadvantage. However, the simple sum of stereotypes may be inadequate when the stereotypes of multiple group memberships are not uniformly positive or negative. In this case, one possibility is that certain stereotypes will be weighted more heavily (or that they will be discounted) to either positive, negative, or no effect. For example, older people tend to be perceived as low in competence and high in warmth, while African Americans tend to be perceived similarly low in competence but low in warmth (Fiske, Cuddy & Glick, 2007). When combined it may be that older African Americans will be perceived as higher in warmth but still low in competence. Some evidence for this comes from Kang and Chasteen (2009) who found that the effect of negative stereotypes of African American men was 'buffered' when presented in combination with older age. Of course, other combinations of stereotypes may interact in such a way as to exacerbate their negative effects. Still another possibility is that stereotypes associated with multiple stigmatized group memberships

may be synthesized to create an emergent category that is altogether unique (Kang & Bodenhausen, 2015). The 'cognitive calculus' by which stereotypes of individuals with membership in two or more stigmatized groups are combined is poorly understood and likely depends on individual differences among the perceivers (e.g., implicit attitudes) and characteristics of the work environment (e.g., occupation, level in hierarchy) that render some stereotypes more salient (Marcus & Fritzsche, 2015). What is clear, however, is that racial minorities fare poorer in the workplace over the course of their work lives and that translates into cumulative disadvantage at older ages in terms of poorer health (Brown, 2016), wealth and retirement savings (McKernan, Ratcliffe, Steuerle, & Zhang, 2013).

Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity

Gender and race represent two visible characteristics that carry with them negative stereotypes and stigma. As the workforce has grown more diverse, a number of 'hidden' or potentially concealable stigmatized characteristics have become increasingly acknowledged. Chief among these are sexual and gender minority identities such as those who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT). Based on population estimates, it is reported that 2.7 million older adults aged 50 and older, or 2.4 percent of older adults in the US, identity as LGBT, and it is projected that by 2060 this number will double to over five million (Fredriksen-Goldsen & Kim, 2017). Others have suggested that 1.75 to four million older adults aged 60 and older identify as LGBT (Administration on Aging, 2014).

However, these estimates are likely rather conservative given that studies have found that some report being attracted to or have engaged in sexual activities with others of the same sex but do not identify as a sexual or gender minority (Copen, Chandra, & Febo-Vazquez, 2016), while others identify as LGBT but decide to conceal their identity given the negative social stigma it carries (King, Mohr, Peddie, Jones, & Kendra, 2014). The decision to disclose or conceal is driven by multiple factors. One factor to conceal stems from the fear of discrimination, which is justified given that as many as 80 percent of LGB people have faced some form of harassment throughout their life (Katz-Wise & Hyde, 2012), and an estimated 56 percent of LGB employees who have disclosed at work report at least one form of employment discrimination because of their sexual orientation (Sears & Mallory, 2011). For those employees who identify as transgender, a Williams Institute report found that 15 to 57 percent of transgender employees reported experiencing discrimination at work, 6 to 60 percent reported being unemployed, and 22 to 64 percent of those working earned less than $25,000 per year (Badgett, Lau, Sears, & Ho, 2007). Others have reported as many as 90 percent of transgender employees have experienced harassment, mistreatment, or discrimination at work, where 47 percent reported being either fired, not hired, or denied a promotion due to their transgender

identity (Grant et al., 2010). A recent study further found that experiences of transgender discrimination at work were associated with emotional exhaustion, and that this relation was explained by heightened levels of non-abnormal paranoid cognition (Thoroughgood, Sawyer, & Webster, in press). While these are the experiences of those who decide to disclose their LGBT identity, those who conceal their identity are not spared from negative effects. For example, research shows that those who conceal their LGBT identities experience heightened levels of fear about being found out and/or deciding how, when, and where to disclose (Clair, Beatty, MacLean, 2005; King, Reilly, & Hebl, 2008; Ragins, Singh, & Cornwell, 2007). Thus, those with a concealable stigmatized identity face a double-edged sword.

Societal attitudes and stereotypes are the primary cause of the types of discriminatory behaviors faced by LGBT people. Commonly held negative stereotypes of LGBT individuals include "… HIV positive, sexual predators, man-hating, swishy, butch, confused, sick, or other such stereotypes" (Lucksted, 2004, p. 31). For gay and lesbians specifically, Kite and Deaux (1987) proposed the implicit inversion hypothesis, which argued that people hold the belief that gays and lesbians violate traditional gender roles and are expected to possess characteristics of the opposite gender. This hypothesis has been supported by empirical studies showing that gay men are perceived as more feminine/less masculine, and lesbian women are perceived as less feminine/more masculine compared with their heterosexual counterparts (Blashill & Powlishta, 2009). It should also be noted that there is considerable heterogeneity in the stereotypes and attitudes that people have about specific sexual or gender minority identities. That is, people can have somewhat different stereotypes and attitudes toward lesbian women than they do toward gay men, or between gay men and bisexual or transgender people from both outside and even within the LGBT community. For example, negative stereotypes of those who identify as transgender are more negative than those who identify as lesbian, gay or bisexual (Norton & Herek, 2013), and there have been calls to study these groups separately (Sawyer, Thoroughgood, & Webster, 2016). While not wanting to obscure differences across LGBT identities nor confound these groups, a complete discussion across all possible LGBT identities cross-classified by race, gender, and age is beyond the scope of this chapter.

Societal beliefs of LGBT-based stereotypes can have detrimental effects for LGBT employees when the content of those stereotypes does not fit with the characteristics of a particular occupation or work role they may want to hold. In a recent study, Liberman and Golom (2015) reported that the prototype of a successful manager was most similar to heterosexual men and women managers, and most dissimilar to the profile of a gay male manager. Interestingly, however, lesbian women managers were viewed as having a moderate fit with the successful manager prototype. Thus, gay men may be more in danger of work-related discrimination than lesbian women due to the perceived mismatch

between gay-related stereotypes and that of the successful manager prototype. Another study, examining perceptions of transgender leaders, found that participants rated leaders who revealed a transgender identity lower in effectiveness and likability than cisgender leaders (Adams & Webster, 2017).

Like the intersection of gender and race, the inclusion of sexual or gender minority identity as it too intersects with age creates a number of different stereotypes that may compete with or complement each other. For example, people hold stereotypes that sexuality among older people is either 'distasteful' or that older people are simply asexual (Dixon, 2012). On the one hand, the extent to which the 'distasteful' stereotype combines with the stereotype of LGBT people as 'sick' could combine to produce stronger negative effects at the intersection of age *and* sexual/gender minority status. On the other hand, it could be that the asexual stereotypes of old people tempers the effect of the stereotype of LGBT people as promiscuous. This type of finding would be consistent with research showing that counter-stereotypes may buffer the effects of negative stereotypes and increase liking of lesbian women and gay men (Cohen, Hall & Tuttle, 2009; Pedulla, 2014). Similar to the intersection age with other diversity group characteristics, the process by which multiple stereotypes become combined is poorly understood and likely influenced by individual differences among the perceivers and organizational/occupational context. Regardless of the process that produces it, however, considerable evidence indicates that a lifetime of overt discrimination (owing in part to a lack of legal protections) and more covert discrimination (i.e., in the form or micro-aggressions) as well as the stress associated with identity management and disclosure can have a negative impact on the wellbeing of LGBT at older ages. Substantial evidence finds that compared with heterosexual people, LGBT people have poorer physical health and mental health outcomes at older ages (Fredriksen-Goldsen, Kim et al., 2013). Considering the intersection of race and LGB at older ages, several studies find that among older LGB adults, both African American and Hispanic people reported higher instances of lifetime discrimination, lower socioeconomic status, and social support which, in turn, led to lower mental health (Kim & Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2016; Kim, Jen, & Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2016). Similarly, Bostwick, Boyd, Hughes, West, and McCabe (2014) found that among LGB adults, sexual minority discrimination in combination with racial/ethnic and gender discrimination were related to mental health disorders. The few studies examining older transgender individuals found that their mental and physical health risks were significantly more detrimental than those of the LGB participants (Fredriksen-Goldsen, Cook-Daniels et al., 2013). Interestingly, some research reports that compared younger with older adults, the relationship between lifetime discrimination and physical and mental health was strongest among those who were over 80 years old (Fredriksen-Goldsen, Kim, Shiu, Goldsen, & Emlet, 2015). The authors suggest that one reason for this may be differences in the sociopolitical context in which their participants came of age.

Indeed, social and political attitudes surrounding LGBT people have been changing rapidly and it may be the case that older workers (who came of age when their LGBT identity was considered a mental illness and even illegal) experienced and were impacted by LGBT stereotypes differently than current and future workers.

Directions for Future Research

As alluded to above, research that examines the intersections of age with other potentially stigmatized statuses is rare. Intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989) is important to study because it gives researchers a more accurate view of how various identity categories operate in tandem, giving a more accurate and nuanced perspective on how individuals are perceived overall. Thus, future researchers should certainly examine how holding multiple minority identity statuses, in conjunction with age, might affect perceptions of others at work and beyond. Further, while very little intersectional research examining the impact of age exists in the literature, even smaller amounts of research exist that study the actual perspectives of those who experience stigma stemming from age. Being able to better understand the lived experiences of those who hold mul-tiple stigmatized identities, in combination with age, will allow researchers to truly make space for the voices of those suffering from age-related and other stigmas to "shine." Qualitative work may be particularly important in laying the foundation for strong theoretical frameworks that expand our understanding of how intersectionality operates for those who face stigma related to age.

Specifically, within the literature, two approaches to intersectionality exist: the additive approach and the multiplicative approach. The additive approach suggests that holding a greater number of minority statuses will result in increas-ingly negative outcomes (Cole, 2009; Purdie-Vaughns & Eibach, 2008). Con-trastingly, the multiplicative approach suggests that holding a greater number of minority statuses will likely result in different outcomes, but that they might not always make outcomes "worse" (Hancock, 2007; King, Reilly, & Hebl, 2008; McCall, 2005). Given the small amount of intersectional work conducted on age, we believe that researchers would benefit from understanding how age might compound the impact of other minority identities or change the meaning of these identities, across contexts. For example, in a workplace consisting mostly of young, white males, an older, Black woman may stand out signifi-cantly from her peers, making her more likely to suffer negative outcomes. However, being an older, Black woman may also make her so distinctive from her peers that they don't perceive her as a "threat." Thus, the likelihood that she might face negative consequences may actually decrease as the number of minority statuses she holds increases.

As another example, an older person who also has a physical disability may be viewed more negatively at work, if stereotypes about being older and being

physically disabled both hold negative connotations regarding a lack of ability to perform the job properly. However, if individuals view having physical disabilities and being older as normative in combination (i.e., people are more likely to suffer physically as they age), it may be the case that being older decreases negative perceptions related to disability status, compared with those that might be faced by someone younger with a physical disability. Therefore, future researchers should attempt to tease apart the effects that age might have in combination with other identities, not to determine who has it "worse," but rather to understand how different combinations of age and other identities might uniquely impact the work experiences and attitudes of employees across the lifespan.

Future Directions for Practice

As discussed above, age is an impactful identity that can intersect meaningfully with other identity categories to create unique experiences and outcomes that occur throughout the lives of working individuals. We will now turn to the ways in which organizations and individuals can alleviate stigma associated with age, in order to create more diverse and inclusive workplaces for employees across the lifespan. Because it is always preferable to resolve stigma at the source, we will first outline how organizations can create more inclusive workplaces. However, because individuals do not always have job mobility and may have a lot of vested costs in organizations that they have been with for some time, it is also important to think about how individuals might buffer some of the negative impacts associated with age-related stigma at work. We will start by discussing organizational-level solutions for alleviating age discrimination at work and then move into discussing individual-level strategies for combating negative age-related perceptions that may be encountered in the workplace.

Organizational-Level Solutions

While organizations may resort to solving the effects age of stereotyping, including age-related discrimination and harassment by relying on formal organizational policies, research suggests that having inclusive and fair policies are just the starting point. For example, a recent meta-analysis demonstrated that, within a LGBT population, supportive workplace relationships were more strongly related to workplace attitudes and strain, and inclusive climates were more strongly related to perceived discrimination and disclosure (Webster, Adams, Maranto, Sawyer, & Thoroughgood, in press). Thus, organizations can not just rest on having good policies "on the books." Having a climate that is in alignment with these policies is also important in shaping the workplace experiences of stigmatized employees. Of course, policies can protect employees from

discrimination and provide peace of mind when employees are attempting to navigate potentially hostile work environments. But, proactively achieving inclusivity is not the same as avoiding discriminatory events. Companies must strive to be actively age inclusive, as well as inclusive in other areas of diversity (in addition to being forward thinking with regard to the law), to truly create positive working environments for employees across age ranges and with diverse, intersectional identities.

To achieve inclusivity at work, recent research has outlined some steps that are useful for achieving equity from the top down. For example, work that has been conducted in transgender populations suggests that instituting diversity training, which includes specific information about the population at hand (in this case, various age categories), as well as ensuring that inclusivity is consistent across organizational functions (legal, marketing, HR, etc.) (Sawyer & Thoroughgood, 2017), can drive perceptions of stigma and climate overall. Across age groups, this means that age-related stereotypes, and the ways in which they may intersect with the stereotypes of other diversity categories should be addressed in diversity trainings, and relevant research that highlights similarities between dominant and non-dominant groups should be reviewed. Further, creating consistency in age inclusivity across organizational functions requires organizational leaders to be trained on all areas of inclusivity, so that decisions are not made which contradict the organization's messaging overall. For example, while employees may feel their co-workers are generally well-versed in a particular type of inclusivity, a marketing campaign that presents elderly women as being unattractive or that stereotypes racial minority youth may fly in the face of these broader efforts toward decreasing age-related, and intersectional stereotypes at work.

Further, prior research has demonstrated that contact with employees who are stigmatized can help to decrease stereotypes associated with that particular group (Allport, 1954; Amir, 1969). However, as described above, age stereotypes may vary according to other intersectional identities one holds. Thus, contact alone may not be enough to capture all of the nuances associated with truly understanding the lived experiences of those with intersectional stigmas that include age – contact may have to happen under optimal conditions in order for change to occur. In a review of the literature on the contact hypothesis, Pettigrew (1998) described four cognitive, affective, and behavioral mechanisms by which contact may lead to understanding of and support for out-group members. These four components may be particularly useful in determining how to create a positive work environment for employees across the lifespan.

First, learning new information about out-groups may reduce stereotyping and increase positive attitudes toward out-group members (Pettigrew, 1998). This is especially likely if new information is inconsistent with existing stereotypes, out-group members are perceived as prototypical for their group (i.e.,

they are not seen as outliers when stereotypes are counteracted), and if contact is frequent (Rothbart & John, 1985). Thus, organizations may want to facilitate intergroup contact that is specifically oriented toward the goal of better understanding the perspective of employees from different age groups and with other intersecting, non-dominant identities. As mentioned above, this could occur through diversity training, or it could occur through diverse, cross-age group mentoring pairs or networking events. Any event that allows for sharing of information that might be stereotype inconsistent may be useful for achieving this goal. Second, by being civil toward out-group members in order to fulfil one's duty to be a good team member, one's attitudes may change (Pettigrew, 1998). Cognitive dissonance theory suggests individuals revise their attitudes to align with their behaviors (Aronson & Patnoe, 1997). As such, because working toward common team goals requires a certain degree of civility, more inclusive attitudes may result from greater contact and collaboration with team members from perceived out-groups. Thus, organizations should also attempt to create diverse, cross-age teams when pos-sible, to enhance perceptions of similarity (working toward a common goal) as opposed to difference (being from various age or other demographic groups).

Third, emotional ties may be strengthened as a result of intergroup contact (Pettigrew, 1998), such that empathy increases as a function of enhanced contact with out-group members (Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989; Batson, Early, & Salvarani, 1997). Because empathy has been found to increase prosocial behaviors (Eisenberg & Miller, 1987; Batson, 1987, 1991; Batson et al., 1989, 1997), enhanced contact with out-group members may promote sympathy toward such individuals and, in turn, support for them by in-group members. Finally, these more inclusive, empathetic attitudes may generalize to other out-group members not known specifically by the target individual (Pettigrew, 1998). Thus, in-group members may become involved in broader efforts to promote workplace equality as a result of contact with out-group members. Such individuals may be more likely to pledge public support to potential victims of discrimination, in all of their intersections, thereby conveying to out-group members that they are valued despite their broader perceptions of discrimination.

Overall, organizations should focus on creating environments in which age, and the intersections of age and other stigmatized identities, are not ignored, but rather celebrated and highlighted – with the goal of breaking down stereo-types, highlighting similarities, and encouraging empathy and productive collab-oration across diverse groups of employees. In fact, research shows that being accepted for one's authentic self by co-workers is a key predictor of job atti-tudes (Martinez, Sawyer, Thoroughgood, Ruggs, & Smith, 2017). Thus, achieving inclusivity may help to improve the attitudes and work lives of those who promulgate stigma, as well as those who might experience it.

Individual-Level Factors

Again, while it is the goal to ensure that workplaces are inclusive and individuals do not need to combat stigma on their own, this does not accurately describe the current state of affairs. Thus, individuals may need to leverage specific strategies that might allow them to cope with potential stigma, should it arise. Fortunately, diverse, older populations have been demonstrated to be quite resilient in the face of hardships (Averett, Yoon, & Jenkins, 2016; Hall & Fine, 2005; Jones & Nystrom, 2002). Interestingly, those with intersectional stigmatized identities in addition to age may fare even better than their non-stigmatized counterparts in some respects (Butler, 2004). For example, they may have developed skills that help them to cope when faced with prejudice and bias due to their identities, and have already located a support system of friends, colleagues, and family who have helped them to overcome difficult situations in the past (Butler, 2004). Thus, while age-related stigma is challenging, diverse aging employees may be able to draw on past stigmatizing experiences to better respond to and cope with current or ongoing stigmatization.

Prior research has also documented specific ways in which those with a stigmatized identity may be more resilient. One recommendation is to identify and leverage those positive relationships (family, friends, co-workers) that can help those facing intersectional age-related stigmas (Follins, Walker, & Lewis, 2014). For example, individuals could become more involved in groups within the local community in which they feel safe, or continue to remain engaged in leisure activities despite being busy with many life responsibilities (perhaps for younger workers) or constrained by loss of friends or family (perhaps for older workers). These activities may already be commonplace within diverse aging populations, given that prior research has demonstrated that 91 percent of LGBT older adults engage in weekly leisure and wellness activities, while 82 percent engage in moderate physical activities (Fredriksen-Goldsen, 2016). This is particularly important for older workers, given that group ties enhance cognitive health as individuals age (Haslam, Cruwys, Milne, Kan, & Haslam, 2016).

Further, positive attitudes toward oneself and the life cycle overall, may predict positive outcomes for diverse employees in various life stages, as they grow and change. For example, self-efficacy has been demonstrated to create resilience in stigmatized populations (Follins, Walker, & Lewis, 2014). Thus, engaging in activities at work and at home which help to drive mastery and pride in one's work can be useful in developing a buffer for those most likely to encounter stigmatizing experiences. Additionally, in a review of the literature on positive psychology and aging (Vahia, Chattillion, Kavirajan, & Depp, 2011), resilience, optimism, self-efficacy, and positive attitudes toward aging were outlined as key indicators of successful growth across the lifespan. Similarly, in a study of aging transgender individuals, agency, nurturing the spiritual self, and self-acceptance were all found to relate to resilience in the face of aging

(McFadden, Frankowski, Flick, & Witten, 2013). Thus, examining ways in which these resilience factors might be enhanced within diverse aging populations could help to create psychological reserves that might be drawn upon when stigmatizing events occur. In a recent study on transgender employees, mindfulness was shown to buffer the negative effects of perceived discrimination (Thoroughgood, Sawyer, & Webster, in press). Older workers experiencing stigma may be able to train themselves to effectively separate themselves from the stigmatizing views of others and to focus and draw on prior resources (past experiences with stigma, support networks), in order to overcome the negative consequences associated with intersectional age-related bias at work.

Conclusion

Overall, age and other diverse identities can intersect to create unique and meaningful employment experiences across the lifespan. In an increasingly diverse population, with regard to age, as well as gender, race/ethnicity, and sexual orientation it is important to understand the implications of age for employees who may hold other non-dominant identities. Stereotypes that exist at the interstices of age, race, gender, and sexual orientation can accumulate and exacerbate over the lifespan. Thus, it is important that workplaces, and society more broadly, create inclusive spaces for individuals at every age, and within every diverse group. In this way, we can strive to be the generation that creates a more fair and just world for future generations to come.

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