

PERCEPTIONS OF GRANDCHILD-GRANDPARENT COMMUNICATION
IN SOUTH KOREA AND REDUCTION OF PREJUDICE TOWARD AGING

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Abstract

Guided by intergroup contact theory and communication accommodation theory, this study investigated the relationships between Korean young adults' ($N = 301$, M age = 21.90, $SD = 1.79$) contact frequency with their grandparents (with whom they had the most frequent contact) and perceptions of the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging. In addition, the current research examined the moderating role of age salience and the mediating role of intergroup anxiety in these relationships.

Findings showed that the grandparents' intergroup communication was significantly and negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults whereas contact frequency was significantly and positively associated with attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults' own aging. In addition, the grandparent's intergroup communication was significantly and positively associated with age salience and intergroup anxiety whereas contact frequency was significantly and negatively associated with intergroup anxiety. Intergroup anxiety was significantly and negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults' own aging. Furthermore, age salience was shown to moderate the relationships between contact frequency, the grandparents' intergroup communication, and attitudes toward older adults. Intergroup anxiety was shown to mediate the relationships between contact frequency, the grandparents' intergroup communication, and attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults' own aging. These findings were discussed in terms of intergenerational communication and culture, theoretical contributions, practical implications, and limitations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

A significant part of our identity as individuals is made up of our social identity. According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity consists “of those aspects of an individual’s self-image that derive from the social categories to which he perceives himself as belonging” (p.16). Social Identity Theory (SIT) argues that we constantly compare our own group with other groups to show positive distinction between our own group and other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Individuals categorize themselves and others into different social groups (Soliz & Harwood, 2003) in order to achieve group identification or membership. Age is one of the ways in which we define our group membership. The typical categorization labels used in research on aging are *young*, *middle-aged*, and *old* (Harwood, Giles, & Ryan, 1995). Although positive stereotypes of older adults do exist (Hummert, 1990), young adults tend to hold negative attitudes toward older adults (Bonnesen & Hummert, 2002; Fowler & Soliz, 2010; Harwood, 2000; Nussbaum, Pitts, Huber, Krieger & Ohs, 2005; Pecchioni & Croghan, 2002; William & Garrett, 2002; Yan, Silverstein & Wilber, 2011), which has negative impacts on intergenerational interactions (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986). When young adults’ communication with older adults is motivated by negative age stereotypes of older adults, intergenerational communication satisfaction, which is important for both young and older adults’ physical and especially psychological wellbeing, is decreased (Harwood, 2000; Ng, Liu, Weatherall, & Loong, 1997; Ryan, Hummert & Boich, 1995; William & Giles, 1996).

In addition to the humanistic concern for older adults’ wellbeing, the increased proportion of older people in almost every nation has also propelled research on intergenerational communication. Due to prolonged average life expectancy, intergenerational contact both inside

and outside of the family is more frequent than in the past. In North America, the population of adults over the age of 60 is expected to grow from approximately 16 % of the population in 1995 to more than a quarter (27.4%) of the population in 2050 (Harward & Zhang, 2001). This increase in the aging population will contribute to the increasing intergenerational relationships within and outside the family (Soliz & Harwood, 2003).

Much research has examined younger and older adults' intergenerational communication (William & Nussbaum, 2001) but the research has focused on communication outside the family (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). Grandchildren experience most frequent and satisfying intergenerational contact through their grandparents (William & Giles, 1996). Therefore, young adults' attitudes toward older adults are greatly influenced by their contact with grandparents (Mitchell, 1998). William and Nussbaum (2001) state that "to understand intergenerational communication, a much greater effort on the part of scholars needs to be directed towards the communication behavior found within the grandparent-grandchild relationships" (p. 183). In other words, young adults' positive relationships with their grandparents can mitigate their negative attitudes toward older adults in general. Guided by both accommodation theory (Giles, Coupland & Coupland, 1991) and intergroup theory (Allport, 1954), the current study examines grandparent-grandchild relationship and its impact on attitudes towards older adults and one's own aging. The majority of the studies in intergenerational communication have been conducted in the West. Contributing to the growing literature in intergenerational communication in the family context, the current research examines grandparent-grandchild relationships in South Korea by focusing on the influences of perceived grandparent communication on attitudes toward older adults and their own aging from Korean young adults' perspective.

South Korea has seen a great increase in the number and proportion of the elderly

population due to the lengthening of life expectancy for decades. On the contrary, status of older people is diminishing both in the family and in society due to modernization (Choi, 1996). On the one hand, along with the rapid economic development and influx of Western culture, the young generations prefer for individualism (Sung, 1990) and are not likely to feel filial responsibility than before (Sung, 1998). The contemporary older generations also have a strong desire for autonomy and independence to adapt to changing society (Jang, Haley, Small, & Reynolds, 2000). On the other hand, Confucian values still remain strong in South Korea; there is a strict division between the elder and younger and authority of the elderly is very important in South Korea (Jang, 2003). Older generations expect young generations to practice filial obligation (Yoo & Sung, 1997). In contemporary South Korea, both collectivism and individualism coexist and these two cultural values tend to collide with each other; hence, conflicts between young and old generations have deepened. In traditional Korean society, elderly were revered and admired, but nowadays they are viewed as weak and dependent (Han, 1996). Moreover, contact between grandparents and grandchildren is minimized as a result of modernization of Korean family structure (Choi, 1996). Specifically, grandchildren do not live under the same roof with their grandparents and they do not visit each other very often (Rhee, 1996). All of these factors contribute to negative attitudes toward older adults and becoming older. In modern Korean society, negative attitudes towards older adults and aging are major social problems. However, Korea has a high chance to overcome these social issues given the fact that traditional Confucian values still persist within the family despite the rapid changes in the society (Park & Cho, 1995). For example, Sung's study (1991) found that Korean elders interact more frequently and receive more care and support from their relatives than their American counterparts.

In light of accommodation theory and intergroup contact theory, the current study examines how contact frequency, overaccommodation and underaccommodation affect young adults' attitudes towards older adults and their own aging in the context of Korean family. Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis argues that direct contact is one of the most effective ways to reduce prejudice when facilitating conditions are met (e.g., high quality contact, equal status, institutional support). Intergroup anxiety functions as a mediator between contact and prejudice. Intergroup contact typically reduces anxiety and the reduced anxiety contributes to diminished prejudice. Shim, Zhang, and Harwood's study (2012) investigated Korean young adults' attitudes toward U.S Americans. The results indicated that intergroup anxiety mediated the relationships between direct contact with their closest U.S American person and their attitudes toward U.S Americans in general. Additionally, group memberships should be salient for attitudes from individual outgroup members to generalize to the outgroup as a whole. Voci and Hewstone's study (2003) showed that contact is effective in reducing intergroup anxiety when group categorization is highly salient. Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, and Voci's study (2005) showed that in high-frequency grandparent relationships, perceived grandparent communication affected attitudes only when salience was high, not when salience was low. Consistent with this line of literature, the current study examines how intergroup anxiety mediates perceived grandparent communication and attitudes toward older adults as well as aging, and how age salience moderates the relationship between contact and attitudes in the context of grandparent-grandchild relationships in South Korea.

Communication accommodation theory (CAT; Giles, Coupland, & Coupland, 1991) explains the manner in which individuals attune (or fail to attune) communication to perceived needs or desires of others based on group categorization. Accommodative behaviors are person-

centered communication and are associated with positive evaluations (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). Overaccommodation (i.e., alter communication in excess of what is needed) and underaccommodation (i.e., fail to adjust communication) reflect intergroup distinction and are associated with negative evaluations (Harwood, Giles, & Palomares, 2005).

Family includes both intragroup and intergroup nature of the relationship (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). Family members share a collective identity which strongly binds them as ingroup. The shared family identity results in maximized personalized interaction in family relationships. At the same time, relationship within a family is also characterized by age salience and intergroup anxiety which comes from age differences between family members. The shared family identity is associated with positive perceptions of the relationship (Banker & Gaertner, 1998) whereas the age salience and intergroup anxiety are associated with negative perceptions of the relationship (Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini & Voci, 2005). Perceived grandparent accommodation was positively associated with attitudes towards older adults (Soliz & Harwood, 2003). Nonaccommodation on the part of the grandparent was positively associated with age salience and negatively associated with closeness (Harwood, Raman, & Hewstone, 2006) and was positively associated with intergroup anxiety (Harwood et al., 2005). The current study examines relationships between communication dimensions (overaccommodation and underaccommodation) and attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging, as well as the moderating role of age salience and the mediating roles of intergroup anxiety in the Korean family context.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Confucianism and filial piety in South Korea

Filial piety has been a cardinal cultural norm practiced in China, Korea and Japan and other Asian societies that have been influenced by Confucianism over a long history period (Kim, Kim & Hurh, 1991). The tradition of elder respect is based on Confucian teachings of filial piety (Sung, 2001). People in East Asia, for example, China, Korea, and Japan have shared this tradition from generation to generation (Lang, 1946; Park, 1983; Silberman, 1978; Sung, 1998). It was the Yi Dynasty (1593-1910) or Chosun that designated Neo-Confucianism as the state religion of Korea, a nation with a long history of filial piety. Since then, Neo-Confucianism has played the role of the basic moral principles which governed everyday life of Korean people for centuries. Confucianism was first adopted in the fifth century A.D as moral conducts but Buddhism was more prevalent and influential. The Yi Dynasty suppressed Buddhism and fully accepted Neo-Confucianism as the state religion. Confucianism focuses on the values of family and filial piety. Japanese colonial rule and the Korea war strengthened family values among Koreans. To them, family was the most important value to survive (Lew, Choi, & Wang, 2011).

Koreans still seem to be considerably influenced by Confucianism in spite of its great social changes due to Westernization. Confucianism during the Yi Dynasty emphasized ritual services honoring ancestors which required a lot of detailed procedures. People in contemporary Korean society still worship their ancestors but in simplified forms (Lee, 1998). Hierarchy and harmony within the family are two core principles in Confucianism (Zhang, 2008) which prescribes relationships among family members. Hierarchy was based on the age difference and gender roles, which means that vertical relationships exist between children and parents, between

husband and wife, between the younger and older. The most important is the one between parents and children. Filial piety dictates that children should obey and support their parents. In a society where filial piety was practiced, elderly people were revered and valued, never alienated (Sung, 1990). By the same token, children should put parents' opinions ahead of theirs when they make any decision to achieve the harmony within the family. It was viewed as essential to harmonize relations between parents and children because when all families were harmonious, the society would be harmonious (Sung, 1995). Children are taught to think of the family first and place emphasis on their obligations and commitments to the family (Lee & Sung, 1998; Sung, 1998). Confucianism contributed to collectivism in Korea, characterized as a social pattern in which individuals are connected to one another and are willing to give priority to the interests of others over their own (Triandis, 1995).

With rapid modernization, individualism is more prevalent in contemporary Korean culture where emphasis is put on individual success and freedom. Young Koreans appreciate Confucianism less than older Koreans because of Confucian values, which prescribe them to be subordinate to the authority of older people (Hyun, 2001). Modernization has not only contributed to the diminishing status of older people but also the aging problem in South Korea (Choi, 1996). The decline of elderly parent care has become a serious social problem because industrialization has undermined the willingness of young Koreans to take care of their elderly (Sung, 1992). In traditional Korean family culture, it was desirable for elderly parents and adult children to live together and depend upon each other (Sung, 1991). Urbanization and industrialization led to the fragmentation of the Korean extended family system (Park & Cho, 1995) and decline in filial obligation and responsibility among young adults. More and more married children prefer a nuclear family household. Elderly parents also choose to live

independently not because they want to pursue their autonomous life (Chang, 1997) but because they want to avoid conflicts with or abuse by their children or children-in-law. This Westernized trend results in reduced interaction between grandparents and grandchildren. More and more elderly are forced to be severed and alienated from their children and grandchildren (Chang, 1997). There is a growing concern that the infrequent contact between grandparents and grandchildren can lead young adults to adopt negative stereotypes of older adults (Yoon, Eun, & Park, 2000). Contemporary South Korea has already experienced the rapid aging of the population which comes from an increase in life expectancy and a sharp decline in fertility (Kwon, 2010). The proportion of the elderly (person over 65) in South Korea was only 9.9 percent in 2010 (South Korea National Statistical Office, 2001), but it is expected to reach 20 percent by 2026 and 38 percent by 2050 (National Statistics Office, 2007). More recent statistic showed that the number of persons aged 65 and over in the South Korean population increased from less than a million in 1970 to 5.4 million in 2010 and is expected to be nearly 18 million by 2050 (Korean Statistic Information Service, 2012). Considering the increasing elderly population, negative attitudes toward older adults will produce harmful consequences on Korean society. However, positive relationship with grandparents is expected to alleviate the negative stereotypes given the fact that grandchildren view communication with their grandparents as most frequent and beneficial intergenerational contact (William & Giles, 1996).

An influx of Western culture brought substantial changes in Korea but it is not possible to abandon the long-standing tradition of Confucianism (Yum, 1988). Despite the change, the traditional value is upheld in South Korea. Young Koreans nowadays endorse independence and individualism, but they also strive to practice filial piety and retain collectivistic values, which engender more positive attitudes toward older adults and aging. If they do not use honorific

language and show polite manners when they address elders, they cannot avoid harsh criticisms that they are disrespectful and ungrateful. Tamai and Lee's study (2002) demonstrated that Korean college students had strong filial attitude. Korean parents teach their children the importance of filial piety from an early age and through the socialization of filial piety from childhood, children develop filial responsibility for their parents (Lee & Sung, 1997). Maehara and Takemura's study (2007) examined the difference in relationships between grandparents and grandchildren in Japan and South Korea. Their results showed that compared with their Japanese counterparts, Korean elementary school children learn social norms and values more highly from their grandparents, and their filial responsibility for their grandmother is also much higher. Respect for the aged has been deeply rooted in Korean minds despite dynamic social changes. Filial piety is still the most important value which guides young generations' attitudes and behaviors toward their parents and grandparents (Sung, 2000). Lee and Sung's study (1997) showed that the Korean daughters scored significantly higher on filial responsibility than American daughters. Lee and Sung's study (1998) found that Korean adult children endorsed more filial responsibility compared with American adult children and felt less burden when they cared for their elderly parents with dementia. It is also argued that Korean adult children maintain close relationships with their elderly parents but they do practice filial piety to growing numbers of parents who live separately by telephone, mail and visiting (Sung, 1998). While Koreans have experienced substantial social changes, the norms of filial piety are deeply embedded in their minds. Therefore, it can be argued that in South Korea, grandparent and grandchildren feel a strong intergenerational solidarity toward each other.

Attitudes toward One's Own Aging

As young adults gradually become older, they will belong to the group they have

considered their outgroup. When they have positive perceptions of older adults which would be their future ingroup, they are more likely to be positive about their own aging. Having positive attitudes toward aging has a significant impact on one's lifespan. Levy, Slade, Kunkel, and Kasl's study (2002) proved that those with more positive self-perceptions of aging had stronger will to live and lived longer. Unfortunately, most young adults have negative views about aging (Silverstein & Parrott, 1997) and feel anxiety about their own aging (Yan, Silverstein, & Wilber, 2011). Giles, Fortman, Honeycutt, and Ota's study (2003) found that Japanese and American college students perceived themselves as being more vital than the typical 65-year-old, which they perceived as being more vital than the typical 85-year-old. However, those with frequent childhood contact with grandparents had positive views about aging (Silverstein & Parrott, 1997). Contact with older adults reduced aging anxiety as well (Yan et al., 2011). Age salience and their perceived grandparent overaccommodation and underaccommodation, were negatively related to attitudes toward one's own aging (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). Young adults who are not satisfied with communication with their grandparents are expected to have negative attitudes toward themselves growing older as well as toward older adults. With heightened age salience, they will feel more intergroup anxiety, which will engender negative attitudes towards their own aging. Jang, Poon, Kim, and Shin's study (2004) indicated that social support from friends and families was positively associated with self-perception of aging among older adults in Korea. The cultural context influences self-perception of aging more than any other factor (Giles et al., 2003). Giles et al.'s study (2003) showed that Japanese undergraduates perceived fewer differences between themselves and those typically older compared with their American counterparts in terms of personal vitality, benevolence and accommodation. Ota, Giles, and Gallois' study (2002) found that Japanese college students had less positive stereotypes for both middle-aged and older adults

and perceived both of groups as less vital than their Australian counterparts. The current study examines grandparent-grandchild relationships in South Korea to determine how specific perceived grandparent communication dimensions influence attitudes toward aging, while taking cultural aspects in Korea into account.

Communication Accommodation Theory

Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) explains the way speakers modify their speech patterns to increase, decrease or maintain social distance from their conversational partners. CAT assumes that speakers belong to different group memberships and their speech styles reflect their social identities. When individuals converge to their conversational partners, they make their speech styles similar to those of their partners to gain social approval. On the other hand, individuals diverge to their partner by making their speech styles different from their partners' when they want to emphasize their own group memberships. Convergence tends to be evaluated more favorably in intergroup contexts than in interpersonal contexts. Australian students who see themselves in intergroup terms rather than interpersonal terms gave more positive ratings in terms of solidarity to Chinese speakers who converge than those who maintain their speech styles (Hornsey & Gallois, 1998).

Based on these concepts, CAT explains accommodation, overaccommodation and underaccommodation. Overaccommodation is a "category of miscommunication in which a participant perceives a speaker to exceed the sociolinguistic behaviors deemed necessary for synchronized interaction" (Shepard, Giles, & Le Poire, 2001, p.38). Underaccommodation is "a category of miscommunication in which a speaker is perceived to insufficiently utilize the sociolinguistic behaviors necessary for synchronized interaction" (Shepard et al., 2001, p.39). Speakers overaccommodate to one another when they excessively depend on their stereotypes

while they underaccommodate when they insufficiently pay attention to their speaking partners' actual needs. While appropriate accommodation is associated with satisfaction and both overaccommodation and underaccommodation are associated with dissatisfaction (William & Giles, 1996). The Communication Predicament Model of Aging (Ryan, Giles, Bartolucci, & Henwood, 1986) is based on CAT. According to the predicament model, young adults make patronizing speech in addressing older adults when they stereotype older listeners as incompetent and cognitively deficient. The overaccommodation reinforces the negative stereotypes for the older adults and produces the vicious cycles, leading to negative effects such as lowered self-esteem on older adults. Consistent with the model, negative stereotypes of older adults influence intergenerational communication. Hummert, Shaner, Garstka, and Henry's study (1998) found that all age groups produced more patronizing messages to the Despondent target than the Golden Ager. Harwood's study (1998) demonstrated that young adults more frequently produced the *learning*, *gerontophilic*, and *polite* ICSs in the perfect grandmother condition but the *helping* and *pity* ICSs in the despondent condition.

Communication Accommodation

Accommodation creates positive attitudes toward outgroups in various contexts of intergroup communication. Japanese sojourners' perceived accommodation from their most frequent American contact enhanced their attitudes toward Americans (Imamura, Zhang & Harwood, 2011). Soliz, Ribarsky, Harrigan, and Tye-Williams's study (2010) investigated communication of families with gay and lesbian members. Their results indicated that appropriate accommodation decreased intergroup anxiety whereas topic avoidance increased intergroup anxiety and intergroup anxiety was negatively associated with current attitudes towards homosexuality.

Accommodation has a positive influence on grandparent-grandchild relationships. Perceived grandparent accommodation was positively associated with communication satisfaction, while perceived grandparent overaccommodation and underaccommodation negatively associated with communication satisfaction (Harwood, 2000; William & Giles, 1996). Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini, and Voci's study (2005) revealed that accommodation is positively related to attitudes toward older adults. Accommodation is associated with positive perceptions of older adults whereas nonaccommodation is associated with negative perceptions of older adults (William et al., 1997). Painful self-disclosures (PSDs) on the part of older adults are considered underaccommodation by young adults and PSDs are associated with negative views of older adults (Bonnesen & Hummert, 2002; Fowler & Soliz, 2009). Patronizing speeches by older adults are viewed as overaccommodation by young adults. Young adults include condescending, patronizing, overparenting, and being critical of youth as overaccommodation (Williams & Giles, 1996). Both painful self-disclosures and patronizing speech on the part of grandparents are positively associated with age salience and negatively associated with relational closeness (Harwood, Raman, & Hewstone, 2006), which will have negative consequences on attitudes toward older adults. Soliz and Harwood's study (2003) showed that perceived grandparent overaccommodation and underaccommodation were negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults. In addition, Soliz and Harwood's study (2006) demonstrated that perceived grandparent overaccommodation and underaccommodation are positively related with age salience. William and Garret's study (2012) found that teenagers saw interactions with other age groups in intergroup terms and they were aware of the age difference more when communicating with older adults than young adults, and their perceived inappropriate accommodation significantly affected their communicative satisfaction with older adults but not

young adults. The current study examines the influences of perceived grandparent overaccommodation and underaccommodation on attitudes toward older adults and their own aging among young adults in South Korea.

H1: Korean grandparents' intergroup communication (i.e., overaccommodation and underaccommodation) will be negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging (H1a). This association will be stronger when age salience is high (H1b).

Intergroup Contact Theory

Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis argues that prejudice can be reduced most effectively through direct contact and the process can be facilitated when the contact meets Allport's four conditions (equal status, cooperative interaction, acquaintance potential and institutional support). Contact reduces prejudice by increasing perceived outgroup variability and positive attitudes toward outgroups. Park, Ryan, and Judd's study (1992) demonstrated that individuals tend to see ingroup members as more variable than outgroup members. On the contrary, people tend to perceive outgroup member as homogeneous (Brauer, 2001; Jones, Wood, & Quattrone, 1981; Linville, Fisher, & Yoon, 1996). Both contact frequency and quality affect intergroup attitudes. Pettigrew and Tropp's study (2006) performed meta-analysis of 515 studies and the meta-analysis proved that intergroup contact generally reduces intergroup prejudice. Christian and Lapinski's study (2003) investigated American high school students' attitudes toward Muslims. Their results showed that the number of Muslims students they knew, the number of Muslim friends they had and the amount of their interactions with Muslims were all associated with positive attitudes towards Muslim people. Pettigrew's study (1997) demonstrated that those who have intergroup friendships are more likely to have positive attitudes for outgroup members than

those who have intergroup coworkers and neighbors. Pettigrew (1998) also suggested that contact in long-term relationships more strongly influences attitudes toward outgroups.

Contact Frequency

Frequent contact is essential to developing close relationships between grandparent and grandchild (Pecchioni & Croghan, 2002). Adult grandchildren who had less contact with their grandparents felt less emotional closeness to their grandparents (Folwell & Grant, 2006). Young adults who involved more frequent contact with their grandparents developed more closeness with them (Harwood, 2000). Lin and Harwood's study (2003) showed that contact frequency had a significant positive association with emotional closeness for both grandchildren and grandparents. Close relationships reduce anxieties and uncertainties from intergroup contact and are associated with more positive attitudes (Harwood et al., 2006). Pecchioni and Croghan's study (2002) revealed that young adults rated their closest grandparent more positively in terms of aging stereotypes than their least close grandparent. Frequency of contact in intergenerational relationships can be a determinant in changing attitudes towards older adults. Contact quality affected attitudes when age salience was high only in grandparent –grandchild relationships involving more frequent contact (Harwood et al., 2005). Tam, Hewstone, Harwood, Voci and Kenworthy's study (2006) found that quantity of contact with older people, other than grandparents, had a direct positive relation with implicit attitudes toward older people and both quantity and quality of contact was associated with reduced intergroup anxiety, which in turn was positively associated with explicit attitudes toward older people. The current study examines how contact frequency affects attitudes toward older adults and their own aging among young adults in South Korea.

H2: Korean young adults' contact frequency with grandparents will be positively

associated with attitudes toward older adults and their own aging (H2a). This association will be stronger when age salience is high (H2b).

Age Salience

Group salience has been emphasized as an additional facilitating condition to allow people to generalize to group as a whole through individual contact (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). Harwood et al. (2006) defined group salience as “an individual’s awareness of group members and respective group difference in an intergroup encounter.” (p.182). It is argued that group salience is necessary for generalization from one’s attitude toward individual out-group members to the overall outgroup (Brown & Turner, 1981; Hewstone & Brown, 1986). When group membership is not salient, individuals are viewed in interpersonal terms, and contact with them will have no effect on attitudes towards the group as a whole (Hewstone, 1996). Islam and Hewstone’s study (1993) showed that both Muslims and Hindus in Bangladesh had more negative attitudes toward each other when group salience was accentuated. Brown, Vivian, and Hewstone’s study (1999) revealed that cooperative contact produced more favorable attitudes toward the outgroup as a whole under high group salience. However, negative intergroup contact rather than positive contact is more likely to cause group salience, leading to more chance that negative contact influences attitudes toward the outgroup (Paolini, Harwood, & Rubin, 2010). In the context of multiracial/ethnic families, ethnic group salience reduced relational satisfaction (Soliz, Thorson, & Rittenour, 2009). Within intergenerational contexts, the age salience is more likely to be associated with negative attitudes towards older adults given the fact that high levels of age salience activate negative stereotypes of older adults (William & Giles, 1996). The current study examines how age salience moderates the relationships between perceived grandparent communication and attitudes toward older adults and aging in the context of Korean family.

Intergroup Anxiety

Intergroup anxiety is defined as the anxiety which comes from contact with someone from another group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). People feel more anxiety in intergroup encounters than they do in interpersonal ones (Gudykunst & Shapiro, 1996). Intergroup anxiety is shown to mediate the relationship between intergroup contact and intergroup attitudes in that reduced intergroup anxiety can enhance positive attitudes toward the outgroup. Those who feel high anxieties are unable to process personal information and more susceptible to stereotyping, which leads to reduced perceived outgroup variability and negative attitudes toward the outgroup. Perceived variability is associated with reduced stereotyping and contributes to reduced prejudice (Hewstone & Hamburger, 2000). Voci and Hewstone's study (2003) confirmed that contact had a direct positive effect on both perceived outgroup variability and attitudes toward the outgroup in their investigation of Italians' attitudes towards African immigrants. Shim, Zhang, and Harwood's study (2012) examined Korean young adults' direct and mediated contact with an American individual and their attitudes toward Americans and the mediating role of intergroup anxiety between them. Their results indicated that direct contact quality had a positive association with behavioral attitudes, and the number of American friends had a positive association with the affective and behavioral attitudes. All of contact frequency, contact quality and the number of American friends had negative associations with intergroup anxiety, which again had negative associations with affective and behavioral attitudes.

Greenland and Brown's study (1999) found that intergroup categorization decreased quality of contact and increased intergroup anxiety while interpersonal categorization increased quality of contact and decreased intergroup anxiety. They also suggested that intergroup categorization leads to a stronger association between contact and attitudes. Islam and

Hewstone's study (1993) examined how contact is related to intergroup anxiety, perceived outgroup variability and attitudes toward the outgroup for both Hindus and Muslims in Bangladesh. Their findings indicated that the quantity of contact had a direct positive association with both perceived outgroup variability and attitudes toward outgroup and intergroup anxiety mediated the relationships between them. The quality of contact had a direct positive association with attitudes toward outgroup and intergroup anxiety mediated the relationship between them. Intergroup anxiety also mediated the relationship between the quality of contact and perceived outgroup variability. Voci and Hewstone's study (2003) confirmed that intergroup anxiety mediated the relationship between contact and attitudes, and the relationship was stronger when salience was high than when salience was low. Intergroup anxiety in intergenerational contacts also mediated the relationship between quality of contact and attitudes towards older adults when age salience was high (Harwood et al., 2005). The current study examines how intergroup anxiety mediates the relationships between perceived grandparent communication and attitudes toward older adults and aging in the context of Korean family.

H3: Grandparents' intergroup communication will be positively associated with age salience and intergroup anxiety

H4: Contact frequency will be negatively associated with intergroup anxiety.

H5: Intergroup anxiety will be negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging.

H6: Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging.

H7: Intergroup anxiety will mediate the relationship between contact frequency and attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging.

CHAPTER THREE

METHOD

Participants

Three hundred and one participants were recruited from four universities in South Korea ($N=301$; 110 males, 188 females; M age= 21.90, $SD = 1.79$). Three participants did not indicate their gender. Participants finished paper and pencil survey in Korean individually. The survey was created in English and then translated into Korean. In order to make sure the validity of the measurements, back translation from Korean to English was also used.

Procedures

Participants answered demographic questions and then completed questions measuring their general attitudes toward their own aging and older adults as well as intergroup anxiety. Following that, participants were asked to give a brief description about the grandparent they had contact with during their life regardless of the nature or length of the relationship. Participants were instructed to include their step-grandparents if they perceived them as grandparents, and deceased grandparents if they could remember the relationship. Finally, participants were asked to answer a series of questions for the grandparent with whom they had the most frequent communication. These questions included frequency, perceived grandparent overaccommodation and underaccommodation, age salience, and intergroup anxiety.

Major Measures

General attitudes towards older adults. Nine items were used to measure general attitudes toward older adults. Participant indicated their feelings toward older adults (people older than 65) other than their grandparents ($\alpha = .90$) on six 7-point semantic differentials. Six items were adopted from Knox, Gekoski, and Johnson's (1986) scale (e.g., foolish-wise).

Three items were adopted from Wright, Aron, McLaughlin-Volpe, and Ropp's (1997) study and Tropp and Pettigrew's (2005) study (e.g., cold-warm).

Attitudes towards one's aging. Nine items were used to measure attitudes towards one's own aging. Participants indicated their feelings toward their own aging (e.g., "Once you get to a certain age, life inevitably goes downhill"; $\alpha = .76$) on 7-point scales (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). The items were adopted from the Attitudes Towards Aging scale (Braithwaite, Lynd-Stevenson, & Pigram, 1993).

Intergroup anxiety. Seven items were used to measure intergroup anxiety. Participants reported their feelings in conversation with older adults (e.g., "I might feel awkward if I were to meet an older adult"; $\alpha = .73$) on 7-point scales (1 = not at all and 7 = a great deal). The items were developed from previous research on intergroup contact (Turner, Crisp, & Lambert, 2007; Voci & Hewstone, 2003).

Contact frequency. Four items were used to measure frequency of contact with the grandparent. Three items were adopted from Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern's study (2002) (e.g., "How often do you talk to and engage in informal conversation with this grandparent?"; $\alpha = .88$) on 7-point scales (1 = not frequently at all and 7 = very frequently).

Grandparent intergroup communication. Sixteen items were used to measure grandparent overaccommodation (e.g., "My grandparent negatively stereotypes me as a young person"; "Talks down to me") and underaccommodation (e.g., "My grandparent complains about his/her health"). Participants indicated the degree to which the grandparent was perceived to accommodate the grandchild too much or not enough ($\alpha = .94$) on 7-point scales (1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree). The items were developed based on prior work on grandparent-grandchild communication (Lin & Harwood, 2003; Soliz & Harwood, 2003).

Age salience. Three items were used to measure age salience. Participants reported their awareness of age difference between themselves and their grandparents (e.g., “How much do you think about this grandparent’s age when communicating with them?”; $\alpha = .82$) on 7-point scales (1= not at all and 7 = a great deal). The items were developed based on Harwood et al.’s study (2005).

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

Hypothesis 1a predicted negative associations between grandparent's intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging. In order to test Hypothesis 1a, correlation analyses were conducted (See Table 1). Results indicated that the grandparents' intergroup communication was significantly and negatively correlated with attitudes toward older adults ($r = -.20, p < .001$), but not correlated with attitudes toward Korean young adults' own aging ($r = -.03, p > .05$). For all the analyses, the effects of sex and age were controlled for by considering them as covariates.

Hypothesis 2a predicted positive associations between contact frequency and attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging. In order to test Hypothesis 2a, correlation analyses were conducted (See Table 1). Results indicated that contact frequency was significantly and positively correlated with attitudes toward older adults ($r = .14, p < .05$) and Korean young adults' own aging ($r = .12, p < .05$). For all the analyses, the effects of sex and age were controlled for by considering them as covariates.

Hypothesis 3 predicted positive associations between grandparent's intergroup communication and age salience and intergroup anxiety. In order to test Hypothesis 3, correlation analyses were conducted (See Table 1). Results indicated that grandparents' intergroup communication showed a significant and positive relationship with age salience ($r = .37, p < .01$) and intergroup anxiety ($r = .24, p < .01$). For all the analyses, the effects of sex and age were controlled for by considering them as covariates.

Hypothesis 4 predicted negative associations between contact frequency and age salience and intergroup anxiety. In order to test Hypothesis 4, correlation analyses were conducted (See

Table 1). Results indicated that contact frequency showed a significant and negative relationship with intergroup anxiety ($r = -.17, p < .01$) but did not have any significant relationship with age salience ($r = .00, p > .05$). For all the analyses, the effects of sex and age were controlled for by considering them as covariates.

Hypothesis 5 predicted that negative associations between intergroup anxiety and attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging. In order to test Hypothesis 5, correlation analyses were conducted (See Table 1). Intergroup anxiety showed a significant and negative relationship with attitudes toward older adults ($r = -.36, p < .01$) and Korean young adults' own aging ($r = -.25, p < .01$). For all the analyses, the effects of sex and age were controlled for by considering them as covariates.

Age salience as a moderator

Moderation is said to occur when the interaction between the moderator and the independent variable significantly predicts the dependent variable (Aiken & West, 1991; Baron & Kenny, 1986; Hayes, 2013). Hypothesis 1b predicted the significant moderator effects of age salience on the associations between grandparent's intergroup communication and the criterion variables. In order to test Hypothesis 1b, two separate regression analyses were conducted using Hayes (2013) PROCESS on mediation and moderation. Results showed that the interaction between grandparent's intergroup communication and age salience significantly predicted attitudes toward older adults ($b = .07, SE = .03, t = 2.08, p < .05$), indicating that age salience was a significant moderator.

Table 1

Correlations between Major Variables

<i>Variables</i>	<i>Mean s</i>	<i>Standard Deviations</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>
1.Frequency of Contact	3.85	1.50					
2.Intergroup Communication	2.85	1.19	.06				
3.Age Salience	3.73	1.44	.00	.37**			
4. Intergroup Anxiety	3.38	0.89	-.17**	.24**	.14*		
5. Attitudes toward Older Adults	4.91	0.98	.14*	-.20**	-.04	-.36**	
6.Attitudes toward One's Own Aging	3.96	0.92	.12*	-.03	-.03	-.25**	.13*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$.

The following figure illustrates the decomposed interaction by depicting the relationship between grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults at lower (-1 SD), moderate (mean), and High (+1 SD) levels of age salience (Aiken & West, 1991). The relationship between grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults was significant when age salience was at lower and moderate levels, but was non-significant when age salience was at a higher level. Hence, Hypothesis 1b was not supported. Age salience was a significant moderator, however, unlike what was predicted by H1b, the predicted strength of the relationship between grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults was in the opposite direction.

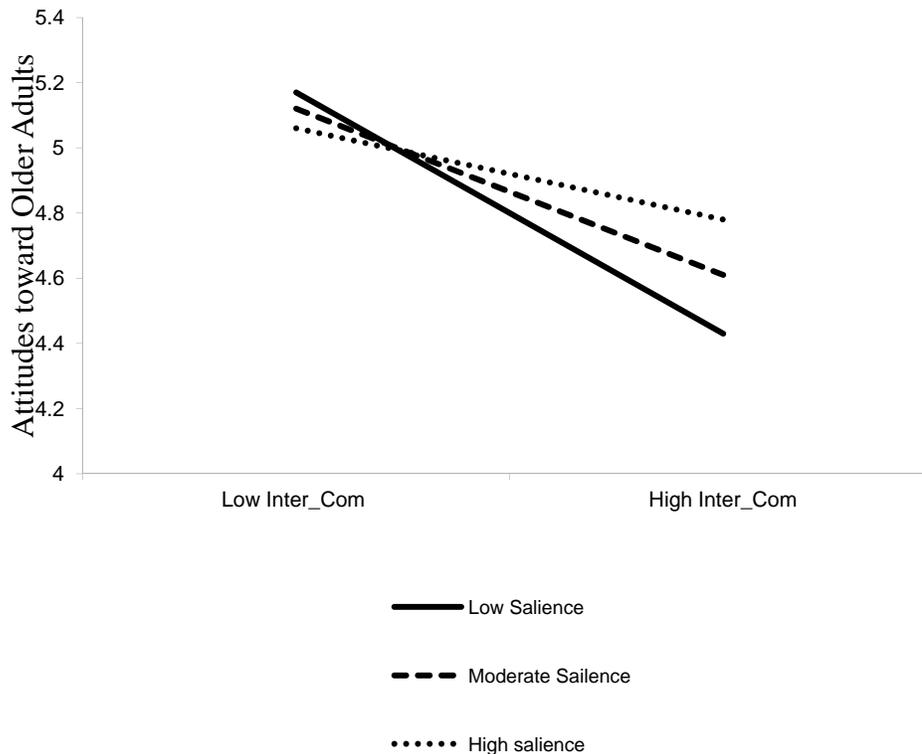


Figure 1. Interaction Between Intergroup Communication and Age Salience

Hypothesis 2b predicted the significant moderator effects of age salience on the associations between contact frequency and the criterion variables. In order to test Hypothesis 2b, two separate regression analyses were conducted using Hayes (2013) PROCESS on mediation and moderation. Results indicated that the interactions between contact frequency and age salience significantly predicted attitudes toward older adults ($b = .06$, $SE = .02$, $t = 2.33$, $p < .05$), indicating that age salience was a significant moderator. There was no significant interaction effect between contact frequency and age salience in predicting Korean young adults' own aging ($b = -.02$, $SE = .02$, $t = -.72$, $p > .05$).

The following figure illustrate the decomposed interaction by depicting the relationship between young adults' contact frequency and attitudes toward older adults at lower (-1 SD), moderate (mean), and High (+1 SD) levels of age salience (Aiken & West, 1991). The relationship between young adults' contact frequency and attitudes toward older adults was significant when age salience was at moderate and higher levels, but was non-significant when age salience was at a lower level. Hence, Hypothesis 2b was supported.

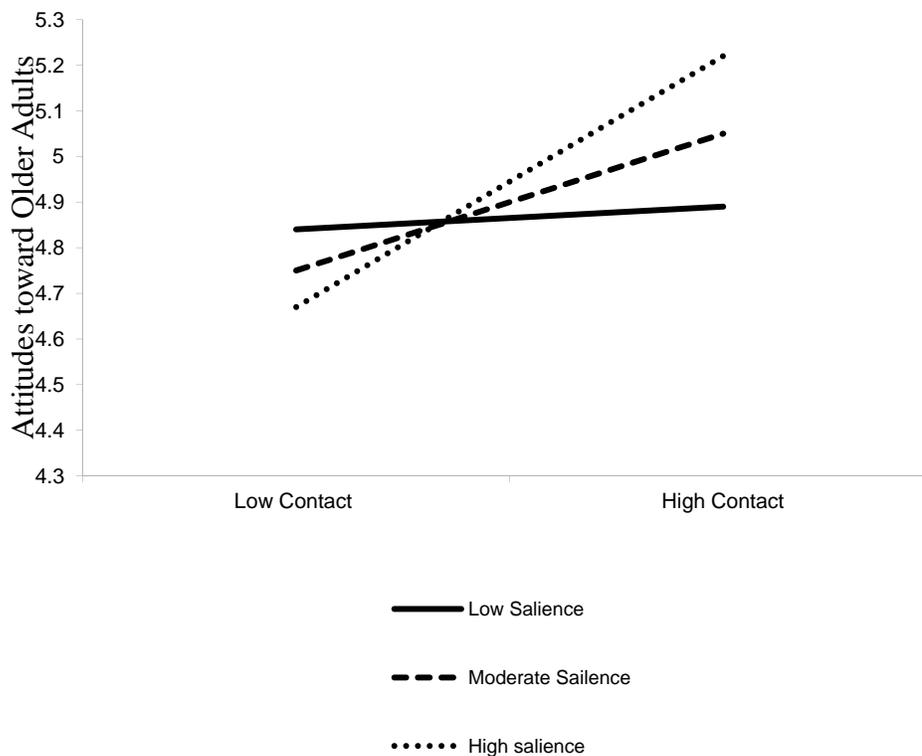


Figure 2. Interaction Between Contact Frequency and Age Salience

Intergroup anxiety as a mediator

Mediation hypotheses examine “how, or by what means, an independent variable (X) affects a dependent variable (Y) through one or more potential intervening variables, or mediators (M)” (Preacher & Hayes, 2008, p. 879; see also Preacher, Rucker, & Hayes, 2007). Partial mediation was said to occur if the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is still significant when the mediator is included, and full mediation was said to occur if the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is non-significant when the mediator is included (Baron & Kenny, 1986; Preacher & Hayes, 2004).

Hypothesis 6a predicted the significant mediator effects of intergroup anxiety in the relationships between grandparent’s intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults’ own aging. In order to test Hypothesis 6a, two separate regression based mediation analyses were conducted using Hayes (2013) PROCESS on mediation and moderation analysis with 5000 Bootstraps. For each analysis, effects of sex, age, and contact frequency were controlled for by considering them as covariates. Bootstrap results indicated that there were total indirect effects of grandparent’s intergroup communication on attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults’ own aging ($b = -.06$ _[95%CI = -.11; -.03], $SE = .02$, $z = -3.30$ for the attitudes toward older adults; $b = -.04$ _[95%CI = -.08; -.02], $SE = .02$, $z = -2.66$ for the attitudes toward Korean young adults’ own aging). The total effects of the grandparent’s intergroup communication on attitudes toward older adults was significant ($b = -.17$, $t = -3.40$, $p < .001$) but the total effects of the grandparent’s intergroup communication on attitudes toward Korean young adults’ own aging was non-significant ($b = -.02$, $t = -.41$, $p > .05$) after the mediators were included in the path. Hence, hypothesis 6 was supported.

Hypothesis 7a predicted the mediation effect of intergroup anxiety in the relationships between contact frequency and attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults' own aging. In order to test Hypothesis 7a, two separate regression based mediation analyses were conducted using Hayes (2013) PROCESS on mediation and moderation analysis with 5000 Bootstraps. For each analysis, effects of sex, age, and grandparent's intergroup communication were controlled for by considering them as covariates. Bootstrap results indicated that there were total indirect effects of contact frequency on attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults' own aging ($b = .04$ _[95%CI = .02; .08], $SE = .01$, $z = 2.81$ for the attitudes toward older adults; $b = .03$ _[95%CI = .01; .06], $SE = .01$, $z = 2.40$ for the attitudes toward Korean young adults' own aging). The total effects of contact frequency on attitudes toward older adults ($b = .09$, $t = 2.25$, $p < .05$) and Korean young adults' own aging ($b = .09$, $t = 2.37$, $p < .05$) was significant after the mediators were included in the path. Hence, hypothesis 7 was supported.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

Summary of the Major Findings

The current study investigated the associations between Korean young adults' perceptions of grandchild-grandparent communication and reduction of prejudice toward aging. Specifically, participants were asked to report their intergenerational communication experience with the grandparent with whom they had the most frequent contact. This study first examined the associations between Korean participants' perceptions of intergroup communication and contact frequency with the grandparent and attitudes toward older adults and their own aging. As predicted by Hypothesis 1a, results from correlation analyses revealed a significant negative association between perceptions of the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults in general. However, there was a non-significant association between the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward their own aging. Hence, Hypothesis 1a was partially supported. Supporting Hypothesis 2a, Korean young adults' contact frequency with the grandparent was positively associated with both attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging.

Second, this study examined the associations between Korean participants' perceptions of the grandparents' intergroup communication and contact frequency with the grandparents and age salience and intergroup anxiety. Supporting Hypothesis 3, results from correlation analyses showed significant positive associations between the grandparents' intergroup communication and age salience and intergroup anxiety. As predicted by Hypothesis 4, results also demonstrated a significant negative association between contact frequency and intergroup anxiety. However,

there was non-significant association between contact frequency and age salience. Thus, Hypothesis 4 was partially supported.

Third, this study examined the associations between intergroup anxiety and attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging (Hypothesis 5). As predicted by Hypothesis 5, results indicated that intergroup anxiety was negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults and Korean young adults' own aging. Hence Hypothesis 5 was fully supported.

Fourth, this study examined the moderating effects of age salience on associations between the grandparents' intergroup communication and contact frequency and the two criterion variables (Hypotheses 1b and 2b). Results indicated that the interactions between the grandparents' intergroup communication and age salience and between contact frequency and age salience significantly predicted attitudes toward older adults. The interaction between contact frequency and age salience failed to predict Korean young adults' own aging significantly. Hence, Hypotheses 1b and 2b were both partially supported.

Last, this study examined the mediating effects of intergroup anxiety between the grandparents' intergroup communication and contact frequency and the two criterion variables (Hypothesis 6 and 7). Results indicated that intergroup anxiety partially mediated the relationships between contact frequency and the two criterion variables and between the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults, but fully mediated the relationship between the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward Korean young adults' own aging.

Contact Frequency

Results in the current study demonstrated that contact frequency was positively associated with attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging. Results also showed that contact frequency had an indirect effect through intergroup anxiety on the attitudinal measures. In other words, Korean young adults' contact with their most frequent grandparent directly contributed to positive attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging. Contact frequency also reduced intergroup anxiety, which enhances attitudes toward older adults and aging. In this respect, the current study has demonstrated the critical role contact frequency plays in intergenerational communication in Korean family context. Moreover, findings in this study has demonstrated that Korean young adults' contact with their grandparents plays a positive role at both intergroup and personal levels, given the fact that contact contributed to reduced anxiety and improved attitudes toward older adults in general and one's own aging. This result illustrates the unique characteristics of grandparent and grandchild relationship in South Korea where shared family identity and filial piety significantly influence communication between family members.

Grandparents' intergroup communication

According to CAT, over and underaccommodation reflect intergroup communication as opposed to person-centered communication. Intergroup communication is associated with relational dissatisfaction, high group salience and negative intergroup attitudes. Young people tend to perceive dissatisfying conversations in more intergroup terms than satisfying conversation (Williams & Giles, 1996). In intergenerational contexts, intergroup communication occurs when the elderly and the young see each other in terms of their respective age group and rely on age stereotypes when communicating with each other. Nonaccommodation includes making angry complaints, negatively stereotyping youth, complaining about health, and talking down to the young. Young adults are more likely to feel discomfort when communicating with

elder targets and teenager targets; their out-groups than their same-age peer targets; their ingroups (Williams & Garrets, 2002). They cite reluctant young accommodation as dissatisfying communication such as restraining themselves by “biting their tongues” and “putting a cap” on their emotions (Williams & Giles, 1996) when older people are patronizing to youth and stereotyping the young as irresponsible and naïve (Williams & Garrets, 2002). The current study has revealed that the grandparents’ intergroup communication was a significant negative predictor of attitudes toward older adults and a significant positive predictor of age salience and intergroup anxiety. Based on these findings, it can be said that young people who repeatedly experience negative intergenerational communication with their grandparents are highly likely to develop negative attitudes toward older adults and their own aging. It is a natural result given the fact that young adults in general perceive underaccommodation and overaccommodation dissatisfying communication (Williams & Giles, 1996).

Age salience

The current study has demonstrated that perceived the grandparents’ intergroup communication had a significant and negative relationship with age salience, but contact frequency did not have any significant relationship with age salience. However, the interaction between the grandparents’ intergroup communication and age salience, and the interaction between contact frequency and age salience significantly predicted attitudes toward older adults, indicating that age salience was a significant moderator. In various family contexts, age salience was associated with age stereotypes, relational dissatisfaction, low contact quality and minimized in-group perception (Harwood et al., 2005; Harwood et al., 2006; Soliz & Harwood, 2006; Soliz et al, 2009). From the young adults’ perspective, prior literature has revealed some age salient communication behaviors. They include painful self-disclosure, talk about age, and talk about

health, cognitive deficiency, patronizing grandchildren, and hearing problems (Harwood et al, 2006).

The current study did not find any significant relationship between age salience and intergroup attitudes. Results indicated that age salience was associated with intergroup communication but did not lead to negative intergroup attitudes in general. It may suggest that among Korean young adults, age salience might create empathy and sadness but is not accompanied by negative emotions strong enough to provoke negative relational outcomes and negative attitudes toward outgroup. For example, other communication dimensions (talk about the past, not understanding the world today, and moral disapproval) are significantly and positively associated with age salience but they are not associated with relational closeness (Harwood et al, 2006). In short, age salience is associated with negative effects but is not sufficient for outgroup generalization.

Although age salience is not a sufficient condition for generalization to occur, it is an ultimately necessary condition for generalization to occur. Shared family identity improved attitudes toward older adults only when age salience was high (Soliz & Harwood, 2006). The association between contact quality and attitudes toward older adults was significant only when age salience was high (Harwood et al, 2005). The current study proved that age salience moderated the relationships between contact frequency and attitudes toward older adults, and between perceived grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults in Korean family context. In the former case, contact frequency was significantly and positively associated with intergroup attitudes only when age salience was high. On the contrary, the grandparents' intergroup communication had a significant and negative association with attitudes toward older adults only when age salience was low. When age salience was high, the

association between the grandparents' intergroup communication and attitudes toward older adults was non-significant. It can be said that age salience buffered negative attitudes toward older adults given the fact that young adults who are highly aware of age difference also tend to have more positive attitudes toward older adults in general. When young adults consider age based hierarchy natural and normal, their dissatisfying intergroup communication with grandparents does not translate to their negative attitudes toward older adults, which is the case in South Korea.

Intergroup Anxiety

This study examined the mediating role of intergroup anxiety plays between contact and attitudes toward older adult and aging from Korean young adults' perspective. The results indicated that intergroup anxiety was shown to mediate the relationship between contact and intergroup attitudes in the Korean intergenerational context. Intergroup anxiety comes from contact with someone from another group (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). It is expected that young adults regard older adults as outgroup and experience a high level of anxiety when they communicate with their older counterparts. For example, young adults should meet older adults' communicative needs. They should speak slowly and louder when they talk to older adults because some older adults have bad hearing. They should listen more carefully because some older adults cannot speak comfortably and normally. It requires much effort on the part of young adults when they communicate with older adults. The young might be highly anxious that they will be unable to hear the elderly talk or the elderly will have difficulties in hearing them talk. The young also should be cautious that they do not speak fast because they are considered impolite if they talk fast even when their old conversation partners do not have hearing problems. Moreover, it is taken for granted that old people criticize young people but the young should

obey them. In Korean society, Confucianism is the cardinal cultural norm to Koreans and it demands respect and obedience from the young to the elderly. Experiencing a certain level of anxiety is natural and normal for the young people when they meet with the elderly in that they have to accommodate to the elderly while they should endure underaccommodation on the part of the elderly at the same time ($M = 3.38$).

Many studies revealed that intergroup anxiety is the important mediator in both intercultural and intergroup contexts (e.g., Harwood, Hewstone, Paolini & Voci, 2005; Islam & Hewstone, 1993; Shim, Zhang & Harwood, 2012; Soliz et al, 2010; Voci & Hewstone, 2003). Intergroup contact decreases intergroup anxiety which leads to positive attitudes toward outgroup. Furthermore, reducing anxiety is a necessary step to enhance positive attitudes toward outgroups. We experience anxiety when we encounter new people and environments, and the anxiety is natural human emotion as well as a survival mechanism. However, the anxiety is a barrier to enhancing positive attitudes toward outgroups. Intergroup anxiety blocks processing information about outgroup, which contributes to reduced perceived variability and increased stereotyping and prejudice (Stephan & Stephan, 1985; Wilder & Simon, 2001). How reduction of anxiety and uncertainty prompts effective communication is well explained by Gudykunst's (1985, 1993) anxiety/uncertainty management theory (AUM). This study has demonstrated that that intergroup anxiety functions as an important mediator in intergeneration communication. Contact decreased intergroup anxiety while over/underaccommodation increased intergroup anxiety, which was negatively associated with attitudes toward older adults and one's own aging in Korean family context. The results suggested that contact between grandparent-grandchild benefits attitudes toward older adults and aging on the part of young adults by lessening

intergroup anxiety. On the contrary, over/underaccommodation contributes to negative attitudes toward older adults and aging by heightening intergroup anxiety.

Attitudes toward Older Adults

Attitudes toward older adults have been positive in South Korea where proverbs which describe older adults in a negative way are rarely found. Traditional Korean elderly have been considered wise, respected and benevolent. However, negative images of older adults as weak, poor and ignorant is also prevalent nowadays. It is rarely seen that older Koreans managed their health properly or they saved money for later in their life. Many South Korean elderly worked hard although they did not make much money and spent what they earned for their families when they were middle aged. Unfortunately, they cannot depend on their children because their children are busy living their own lives and supporting their own children but do not have enough resources for taking care of their own parents. The Korean government also does not have a good welfare system for the aged. Many Korean old people do not have enough money to visit hospitals and skip their meals. The Korean aged tends to be recognized as burden on the society as a result of losing their status and jobs.

Lookism also contributed to negative attitudes toward older adults. Lookism is rampant among young people in modern Korean society. Those with good looking bodies and face have advantages when they seek jobs and get more salaries. Those who do not look good are considered incompetent. Young people spend a lot of money to look younger and even rich older adults invest much money to restore their youth. In modern Korean society, how not to look old is so important, which creates negative attitudes toward older adults.

In the current study, results indicated that attitudes toward older adults are not negative ($M = 4.91$) overall in spite of their mixed images of elder Koreans. Moreover, it is more positive than attitudes toward one's own aging ($M = 3.96$) in modern Korean society. Contact frequency

decreased negative attitudes toward older adults while the grandparents' intergroup communication and intergroup anxiety increased negative attitudes toward older adults. Results suggested that frequent contact is beneficial to enhancing positive attitudes toward adults. On the contrary, the grandparents' intergroup communication and intergroup anxiety on the part of young adults have negative effects on attitudes toward older adults.

Attitudes toward one's own aging

Aging is the inevitable process no one can avoid over the lifespan. As young adults finally will be older adults, they will regard young age group as an outgroup and old age group as an ingroup. Despite this fact, there is a high tendency for them to see each other in terms of their respective outgroup. Young age group might think that they will be doing better than typical older adults when they are old, while old age group might think that young people these days are not polite to the elderly like them. For example, Ota et al's study (2002) found that both Japanese and Australian college students evaluated themselves at projected ages of 65 and 85 more favorably than the typical 65-year-old and the typical 85-year-old in terms of vitality, benevolence, accommodation and nonaccommodation. It seems that young adults in both collectivistic and individualistic cultures have more positive attitudes toward their own aging even when their attitudes toward older adults are negative. People have a tendency to see themselves more positively than others. For example, young people who negatively stereotype older people expect them to like older people as they are older (William & Garret, 2002). However, it is the not case in South Korea.

In contemporary South Korea, both collectivism and individualism are prevalent as a result of modernization and industrialization. At the same time, collectivism has been an important basic value in Korean society where the elderly should be revered and venerated. Moreover, the elderly should not be worried about preparation for their future in later life

because they should be taken care of by their children. In this regard, attitudes toward one's own aging must be positive in Korean society. However, attitudes toward one's own aging are more negative than attitudes toward older adults in general. Industrialization and urbanization greatly affected attitudes toward the aged and aging. Korean young adults are more likely to adopt individualism and they do not want to sacrifice their resources for taking care of their elderly parents. To make it worse, the welfare system for the elderly has been barely developed because the social welfare policy in Korea is fairly recent (Yoon, Eun & Park, 2000). Also, the notion is still prevalent that adult children should support their elderly parents as a way to practice filial piety, and they are not allowed to rely on the government. It is assumed that industrialization deprives the elderly of many important values and social roles (Cogwill, 1972; Goode, 1963) because the young consider knowledge they learn in school valuable but they do not cherish wisdom from the elderly any more. In modern Korean society, the elderly are regarded as recipients of welfare programs (Harbar & Gratton, 1994) and being dependent on their children both financially and emotionally at the same time. These factors make it difficult for young people to have positive attitudes toward their own aging in contemporary Korean society.

Contributions and practical implications

The current study is meaningful in that it contributes to the growing body of intergenerational research by applying intergroup perspectives in Korean family context because most of intergenerational research has examined in Western contexts. This study examines intergenerational communication from Korean young adults' perspective, with Western theories such as social identity theory, accommodation theory and intergroup theory. Second, the current study demonstrated that intergroup anxiety played a key role as an intervening variable between contact frequency and intergroup attitudes, and between intergroup communication and

intergroup attitudes. Third, the current study revealed that intergenerational communication is associated with perceptions of age salience. Age salience interacted with contact frequency and the grandparents' intergroup communication in predicting attitudes toward older adults.

The current study offered practical implications in terms of how to improve intergenerational communication of which goal is enhance positive intergroup attitudes in intergenerational contexts. First, findings from the current study have provided insights which reveal that the grandparents' intergroup communication significantly and negatively influences attitudes toward older adults in general in Korean family context. This finding suggests that Korean young adults' negative communication experiences with their grandparents directly lead to negative attitudes toward older adults in general, indicating that how Korean young adults perceive their grandparents' intergroup communication plays an important role in intergenerational communication. However, it is unlikely for Korean grandparents to change their communication patterns given the fact that they are already used to their communication styles for a long time. In addition, it might have harmful consequences for older adults such as frustration and reduced self-esteem if they are asked to correct their communication styles when they communicate with their grandchildren. Therefore, effort on the part of Korean young adults is more effective and important. Korean young adults' effort to understand their grandparents' intergroup communication in a positive way will produce significantly positive outcomes in improving intergenerational communication and intergroup attitudes toward older adults.

Second, findings from current study have provided an explanation for how frequent contact directly results in positive attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging. Results indicate that frequent contact plays a critical role in enhancing intergroup attitudes in intergenerational contexts. Effort to frequently communicate with their

grandparents on the part of Korean young adults' is required to improve attitudes toward older adults in general and their own aging.

Third, findings from current study have revealed that intergroup anxiety contributes to negative attitudes toward older adults in general and Korean young adults' own aging. Therefore, reducing intergroup anxiety also can be a key to increasing positive intergroup attitudes in intergenerational context. Viewing grandparents' intergroup communication from a new perspective can result in reduced intergroup anxiety. For example, Korean young adults can understand their grandparents' intergroup communication as a way for their grandparents to express their love and concern for their own grandchildren. Seeing their grandparents' intergroup communication from a more positive view will reduce intergroup anxiety and increase positive intergroup attitudes in Korean intergenerational context. Moreover, frequent contact will make Korean young adults' contact experiences with their own grandparents more familiar to them, resulting in reduced intergroup anxiety and enhanced attitudes toward older adults in general and their own aging.

The current study included only Korean college students, thus this study is limited in terms of sampling and generalization. Future study should include more diverse samples of Korean young adults. Self-construal should be considered in future research in that how we define ourselves in relation to others decides our attitudes toward outgroups. The difference between those with interdependent self-construal and those with independent self-construal might lead to difference in intergroup attitudes toward older adult in general and aging. This study investigated only intergroup anxiety and age salience as intervening variables. Future research should study shared family identity and filial piety as positive intervening variables to enhance our understanding of intergenerational communication. On top of that, self-disclosure

and social support should be examined as positive communication variables. Finally, longitudinal study will advance our understanding of the contact and attitude link, given the fact that grandparent-grandchild relationships might change over time, affecting attitudes toward older adults in general and aging. Despite of those limitations, the current study has offered insights from Korean young adults' perspective about an intergenerational family dyad. The outcomes clearly demonstrated that how contact frequency and the grandparents' intergroup communication are associated with attitudes toward older adults in general and aging, factoring into age salience as a moderator and intergroup anxiety as a mediator.

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Appendix 1

I. Demographics for Grandchildren Participants

Thank you for your participation. Please complete this survey independently.

[Instructions: Please answer all of the following questions by checking the appropriate box or filling in the corresponding blank.]

1. Sex: [] male [] female

2. Age: [] years old

3. Years of Education: [] years
(if you are a freshman, it's 12 years)

3. Marital Status: [] single [] married

II.1 [Instructions: For the following questions, consider your thoughts about aging and growing older. To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements? Please circle one number for each statement (1= Strongly Disagree, 4= Neutral, and 7= Strongly Agree).]

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I do not feel that there is very much to be scared of when I think of myself as an older person.							
Once you get to a certain age, life inevitably goes downhill.							
Old age for me will be the most enjoyable time of my life.							
I worry that I may not be able to avoid many of the difficulties that come with growing older.							
I am afraid that old age could present problems that could make life unbearable.							
I feel I will be more than able to cope with any of the problems that may accompany growing older.							
I really do not like the thought of growing older.							
It worries me that in growing older I will not be able to enjoy life nearly as much as I do now.							
There is a lot to look forward to when you are older.							

II.2 [Instructions: Please mark on the scale below indicating how you feel about **older adults in general**. If you mark somewhere between 1 and 3, that indicates you feel cold or negative towards older adults, marking 4 means that you feel neutral, and marking between 5 and 7 means that you feel warm or positive towards older adults.]

	Neutral							
cold	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	warm
negative	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	positive
hostile	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	friendly
insensitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sensitive
insincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	sincere
foolish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	wise
inconsiderate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	considerate
dishonest	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	honest
selfish	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	generous

II.3 [Instructions: If you were to meet an older adult, how do you think you would feel? Please indicate the extent of how you feel by circling a corresponding number (1 = Not At All, 4 = Moderate, and 7 = A Great Deal).]

	Not at all				A great deal		
I might feel awkward if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I might feel happy if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I might feel self-conscious if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I might feel relaxed if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I might feel competent if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I might feel anxious if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
I might feel frustrated if I were to meet an older adult.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.1 Grandparent Relationship Questionnaire

Please give a brief description about the grandparents you have had contact with during your life regardless of the nature or length of the relationship. You can describe anything you remember and are comfortable with disclosing to others. Please include step-grandparents if you perceive them as grandparents, and grandparents who are deceased if you could recall the relationship.

1. Maternal grandmother

2. Maternal grandfather

3. Paternal grandmother

4. Paternal grandfather

5. Step-grandmother

6. Step-grandfather

III.2 Grandparent Questionnaire

Circle the grandparent with whom you had the most frequent communication with.

1. Maternal grandmother
2. Maternal grandfather
3. Paternal grandmother
4. Paternal grandfather
5. Step grandmother
6. Step grandfather

What is this grandparent's age or approximate age? []

Do you currently live with this grandparent? Yes No

If yes, approximately how long have you been living with this grandparent? [] years [] months

If no, have you ever lived with this grandparent? Yes No

If yes, approximately how long have you lived with this grandparent? [] years [] months

III.2.1 [Instructions: As for your relationship with this grandparent, approximately how often did you communicate with each other? Please circle one response.]

Less than yearly	Yearly	Every six months	Monthly	Weekly	Almost daily
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III.2.2 [Instructions: Please answer the following questions based on your relationship with this grandparent. Please circle one number for each statement (1 = Not Frequently at all, 4 = Moderate, and 7 = Very Frequently).]

	Not Frequently at all				Very Frequently		
How often do you talk to and engage in informal conversations with this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How often do you contact this grandparent in non-face-to-face manners? (e.g., telephone, email, etc.)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How often do you do things socially with this grandparent (e.g., sharing meals, going to movies, etc.)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.2.3 [Instructions: Please answer the following questions based on your relationship with this grandparent. Please circle one number for each statement (1 = Not at all, 4 = Moderate, and 7 = A great deal).]

	Not at all				A great deal		
How much do you value the time that you spent with this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, how pleasant your contact has been with this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
In general, how friendly your contact has been with this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.2.4 [Instructions: To what extent do you agree/disagree with the following statements about your relationship with this grandparent? Please circle one number for each statement (1= Strongly Disagree, 4= Neutral, and 7= Strongly Agree).]

	Strongly Disagree				Strongly Agree		
This grandparent negatively stereotypes me as a young person.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent talks down to me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent complains about his/her life circumstances.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent complains about his/her health.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is close-minded.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

This grandparent talks about his/her health.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent expresses racist/prejudiced opinions.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent makes angry complaints.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent gives unwanted advice.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is bossy.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is demanding.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is meddlesome.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is disapproving.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is critical.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is self-centered.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
This grandparent is nagging.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.2.5 [Instructions: Please answer the following questions based on your relationship with this grandparent. (1 = Not at all, 4 = Moderate, and 7 = A great deal). Please circle one number for each statement.]

	Not at all				A great deal		
How aware are you of the age difference between yourself and this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much do you think about this grandparent's age when communicating with this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
How much does age matter when communicating with this grandparent?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix 2

I. 인구통계학적 정보

해당란에 표시하시고 빈칸에 정보를 기입하여 주시기 바랍니다.

1.성: [] 남성, [] 여성

2.나이: [] 세

3.학력:

[] 고졸, [] 대학재학중(____학년)

[] 대졸

[] 석사과정 (____년차)

[] 석사마침

[] 박사과정 (____년차)

[] 박사마침

4.결혼여부: [] 미혼, [] 기혼

II. 1 [나이가 드는 것에 대한 자신의 생각을 고려해 질문에 답해주세요. 각 항목에 대한 동의 정도를 표시해 주세요. 각 항목당 하나의 숫자만 선택해 주세요 (1=전적으로 동의 안함, 4=중간, 7=전적으로 동의함).]

	전적으로 동의안함				전적으로 동의함		
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
내 자신이 노인이 되었을 때를 생각해 보았을 때 그다지 겁낼 것이 없다고 생각한다.							
일정한 나이에 이르면 인생은 어쩔 수 없이 내리막길을 걷게 된다고 생각한다.							
노년은 내 인생에서 가장 즐거운 시간이 될 것이다.							
나이가 들면 따라오는 많은 문제들을 피할 수 없을 것 같아 걱정 된다.							
나이가 들면 생기는 문제들로 인생이 고통스러워 질 것이 두렵다.							
나이가 들어 감에 따라 생길 수 있는 어떤 문제라도 잘 견뎌낼 수 있을 것이다.							
나이가 든다는 생각이 정말 싫다.							
나이가 들면 인생을 지금만큼 즐길 수 없게 될 것이 걱정된다.							
나이가 들면 기대되는 일들이 많다.							

II. 2 [조부모님 외의 다른 노인들 (65 세 이상) 에 대한 자신의 감정을 생각해보고 각 항목에 대해서 노인들에 대한 자신의 감정을 표시해 주세요. 1 에서 3 은 부정적인 태도로 그 중 1 이 가장 강하며, 4 는 중립(중간)적인 태도, 5 에서 7 은 긍정적인 태도로 7 이 가장 강함을 의미합니다. 각 항목당 하나의 숫자만 선택해 주세요.]

	중간							
차가움	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	따뜻함
부정적임	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	긍정적임
적대적임	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	우호적임

세심하지 못함	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	세심함
진실하지 못함	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	진실함
어리석음	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	현명함
사려 깊지 못함	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	사려 깊음
부정직함	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	정직함
이기적인	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	관대함

II. 3 [노인들과 대화한다면 어떤 느낌이 들 것 같습니까? 각 항목에 대한 자신의 의향을 표시해 주세요. 각 항목당 하나의 숫자만 선택해 주세요 (1=전혀 아님, 4=중간, 7=매우 큼).]

	전혀 아님		중간		매우 큼		
어색할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
즐거울 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
남의 이목을 의식할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
편안할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
자신감 있을 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
불안할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
좌절할 것이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III. 1 조부모 관계 설문

관계의 성격과 기간에 관계 없이 자신의 생애 동안 만난 조부모님에 대해 간단히 설명해 주세요. 기억할 수 있으며 편안하게 공개할 수 있는 것에 대하여 설명해 주세요.

양조부모님, 그리고 돌아가신 조부모님의 경우에도 관계를 회상할 수 있다면 그분들에 대해서도 묘사해 주세요.

1. 외조모님

2. 외조부님

3. 조모님

4. 조부님

5. 양조모님

6. 양조부님

III. 2 조부모 설문

해당되는 조부모님에 대하여 질문지를 작성해주세요.

가장 자주 연락하는 조부모님을 선택하세요.

1. 외조모님

2. 외조부님

3. 조모님
4. 조부님
5. 양조모님
6. 양조부님

해당되는 조부모님의 대략적인 나이를 적어 주세요. []

해당 조부모님과 현재 같이 살고 있습니까? 예 아니오

해당 조부님과 현재 같이 살고 있다면 언제부터인지 그 기간을 대략적으로 적어주세요.

[]년[]개월

같이 살고 있지 않다면, 해당 조부님과 같이 산 적이 있습니까? 예 아니오

해당 조부님과 같이 산 적이 있다면 그 기간을 대략적으로 적어주세요

[]년[]개월

III.2.1 [해당 조부모님과 관계에 있어서 대략적으로 서로 얼마나 자주 소통하였습니까?]

일년에 한번 이하	매년	6 개월 마다	매월	매주	거의 매일
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III.2.2[해당 조부모님과 본인과의 관계에 따라 다음의 질문에 답해주세요. 각 항목당 하나의 숫자만 선택해 주세요 (1=전혀 안함, 4=중간, 7=매우 자주).]

	전혀 안함				매우 자주		
해당 조부모님과 얼마나 자주 대화합니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님과 얼마나 자주 연락합니까(전화, 이메일 등)?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님과 얼마나 자주 어울리십니까? (식사를 같이 하거나 영화를 같이 보는 등)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.2.3 [해당 조부모님과 본인과의 관계에 따라 다음의 질문에 답해주세요. 각 항목당 하나의 숫자만 선택해주세요 (1=전혀 아님, 4=중간, 7=매우 큼).]

	전혀 아님				매우 큼		
해당 조부모님과 같이 보낸 시간을 얼마나 소중하게 여기십니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님과의 만남이 얼마나 소중합니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님과 만남이 얼마나 우호적입니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.2.4 [해당 조부모님과 본인과의 관계에 따라 다음의 질문에 답해주세요. 각 항목에 대한 동의 정도를 표시해 주시기 바랍니다. (1=전적으로 동의안함, 4=중간, 7=전적으로 동의함).]

	전적으로 동의안함		중간			전적으로 동의함	
해당 조부모님은 나에게 어린 사람이라는 부정적인 편견을 가지고 있다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 나에게 말을 함부로 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 자신의 삶에 대해 불평을 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 자신의 건강에 대해 불평한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 편협한 사고를 가지고 있다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 자신의 건강에 대해 이야기 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 인종차별적인/편견에 갇힌 의견을 표한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 분노에 찬 불평을 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 원치 않는 조언을 해 준다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 거드름을 피운다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 요구가 많다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

해당 조부모님은 간섭하기를 좋아한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 탐탁잖아 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 비판적이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 자기중심적이다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님은 잔소리를 한다.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

III.2.5 [해당 조부모님과 본인과의 관계에 따라 다음의 질문에 답해주세요. 각 항목당 하나의 숫자만 선택해주세요 (1=전혀 아님, 4=중간, 7=매우 큼).]

	전혀 아님				매우 큼		
자신과 해당 조부모님의 나이차에 대해 얼마나 인식하고 있습니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님과 소통할 때 나이차에 대해 얼마나 생각합니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
해당 조부모님과 소통할 때 나이가 얼마나 중요합니까?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7