



The Role of Family and Cultural Values in Young Adults' Perceptions of Ageism in Türkiye

Işıl Avşar Arık ¹

Abstract

This study examines young people's attitudes towards older adults in Turkey within the context of cultural and family values. The research aims to reveal how Kağıtçıbaşı's family exchange model, centered on autonomous, relational, and autonomous-relational self-dimensions, influences young people's perceptions of ageing and their attitudes towards ageism. This study, which highlights the family as the fundamental cultural arena where attitudes towards older people are formed, negotiated and transformed, fills an important gap by examining the impact of family-based self-structures, which have not been sufficiently explored in the literature, on ageism. In this study, 232 young individuals aged 18-25 studying at Hatay Mustafa Kemal University were reached using convenience sampling, one of the probability sampling techniques used in quantitative research. No significant differences were found in participants' attitudes toward older adults based on gender, nor between the frequency of communication with grandparents or providing care and the age discrimination scales. However, a significant relationship emerged between the frequency of contact with older adults and the subscales of restricting the elderly's life and positive discrimination. Higher family autonomy was associated with slightly more negative discriminatory attitudes, whereas a relational self within the family was linked to increased supportive behaviours and reduced negative ageist attitudes. Autonomous-relational self was related to greater support and lower ageism toward older adults. Overall, this study reveals that societies combining individualistic and relational characteristics exhibit more positive attitudes towards older people, thereby highlighting the limitations of the rigid individualistic-collectivist dichotomy often discussed in relation to ageism.

Keywords: Ageism, Aging, Youth, Family, Cultural Values.

Avşar Arık, I. (2026). The Role of Family and Cultural Values in Young Adults' Perceptions of Ageism in Türkiye. *Journal of the Human and Social Science Researches*, 15(1), 525-546. <https://izlik.org/JA39YR98HF>
<https://doi.org/10.15869/itobiad.1840374>

Date of Submission	11.12.2025
Date of Acceptance	19.03.2026
Date of Publication	31.03.2026
*This is an open access article under the CC BY-NC license.	



Türkiye’de Gençlerin Yaş Ayrımcılığına İlişkin Algılarında Aile ve Kültürel Değerlerin Rolü

Işıl Avşar Arık¹

Öz

Bu çalışma, Türkiye’deki gençlerin yaşlılara yönelik tutumlarını kültürel ve ailevi değerler bağlamında incelemektedir. Araştırma, Kağıtçıbaşı’nın aile değişim modeli etrafında özerk, ilişkisel ve özerk-ilişkisel benlik boyutlarının gençlerin yaşlanma algılarını ve yaş ayrımcılığına yönelik tutumlarını nasıl etkilediğini ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır. Aileyi yaşlılara karşı tutumların oluştuğu, müzakere edildiği ve dönüştürüldüğü temel kültürel bir alan olarak ön plana çıkaran bu çalışma, literatürde yeterince incelenmemiş aile temelli benlik yapılarının olumlu ve olumsuz anlamda yaşlı ayrımcılığı üzerindeki etkisini ele alarak literatüre katkı sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Nicel araştırma yönteminin tercih edildiği çalışmada kolayda örnekleme tekniğiyle Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi’nde örgün eğitim gören, 18-25 yaş arası 232 genç bireye ulaşılmıştır ve çevrimiçi anket yoluyla veriler toplanmıştır. Araştırmanın sonuçlarına göre katılımcıların yaşlı bireylere yönelik tutumlarında cinsiyete göre anlamlı bir farklılık bulunmamıştır. Benzer şekilde, anneanne, babaanne ve dedelerle iletişim sıklığı ya da yaşlılara bakım verme durumu ile yaş ayrımcılığı ölçekleri arasında anlamlı bir fark saptanmamıştır. Bununla birlikte, yaşlı bireylerle kurulan iletişim sıklığı ile yaşlının yaşamının sınırlandırılması ve yaşlıya yönelik pozitif ayrımcılık alt boyutları arasında anlamlı bir ilişki görülmüştür. Aile benliklerindeki yüksek özerklik, hafif düzeyde daha olumsuz ayrımcı tutumlarla ilişkilendirilirken; ilişkisel benlik yapısı, daha fazla destekleyici davranış ve daha düşük düzeyde olumsuz yaşlı ayrımcılığıyla ilişkili bulunmuştur. Buna karşılık ailede özerk-ilişkisel benlik yapısının ise, yaşlı bireylere yönelik daha fazla destek ve daha düşük yaşlı ayrımcılığı ile bağlantılı olduğu görülmüştür. Bu çalışma, bireyselci ve ilişkisel özellikleri bir araya getiren toplumların yaşlılara karşı daha olumlu tutumlar sergilediğini ortaya koyarak, yaş ayrımcılığı konusunda sıklıkla ele alınan katı bireyselci-kolektivist ikileminin sınırlarını ortaya çıkarmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Yaşlılık, Yaşlanma, Gençlik, Aile, Kültürel Değerler.

Avşar Arık, I. (2026). Türkiye’de Gençlerin Yaş Ayrımcılığına İlişkin Algılarında Aile ve Kültürel Değerlerin Rolü. *İnsan ve Toplum Bilimleri Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 15(1), 525-546. <https://izlik.org/1A39YR98HF>
<https://doi.org/10.15869/itobiad.1840374>

Geliş Tarihi	11.12.2025
Kabul Tarihi	19.03.2026
Yayın Tarihi	31.03.2026
*Bu CC BY-NC lisansı altında açık erişimli bir makaledir.	

¹ Dr. Öğr. Üyesi, Hatay Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi, Reyhanlı Sosyal Bilimler Meslek Yüksekokulu, Sosyal Hizmet ve Danışmanlık Bölümü, Hatay, Türkiye, isil.avsararik@mku.edu.tr, ORCID:0000-0002-3974-693X.

1. Introduction

The decline in birth rates, coupled with technological advances and progress in healthcare, has led to a rapid increase in the proportion of elderly people worldwide. According to the United Nations (UN) World Population Ageing Report, one in every eleven people is over the age of 65 and by 2050, it is estimated that one in every 6 people will be over the age of 65 (UN, 2019, p. 1). Similarly, the World Health Organisation (WHO, 2025) has stated that the elderly population, which was 1.4 billion in 2020, will reach 2.1 billion by 2050. However, the proportion of elderly people in societies varies significantly.

In some highly industrialized societies, such as the United States, the proportion of elderly people is quite high (Huang, 2013, p. 60). For example, in the US, the population aged 65 and over reached 16.8 % in 2020 (US Census Bureau, 2023, p. 1). On the other hand, in some high-income countries such as Japan, 30% of the population is over 65 (WHO, 2025). In Europe, older people make up one-fifth of the total population, with Italy, Bulgaria and Portugal having the highest rates (EuroNews, 2025). Turkey's elderly population currently stands at 10.2%. This population ratio is expected to rise to 12.9% by 2030 and 22.6% by 2060 (TurkStat, 2023, p. 1). With this ratio, Turkey is classified as a 'highly aged society' by the UN. According to UN criteria, societies where the elderly population constitutes 8-10% of the total population are defined as 'ageing societies', while those exceeding 10% fall into the 'highly aged society' category (TurkStat, 2018). However, it is insufficient to assess population ageing based solely on numbers. Ageing should be viewed as an important sociological phenomenon that also encompasses socio-cultural, economic and political dimensions.

This study evaluates the subject from the perspective of young people living in Turkey within a sociocultural context. Cultural norms and values are internalized and shape intergenerational relationships within the family, which is the most fundamental socializing agent. As cultural norms and values are constructed and transmitted within the family, ageing and ageism should also be examined within this context. Young people's perceptions are particularly important. Because they reveal how cultural values and norms are understood, transmitted, and sometimes debated across generations. While the family is the main place where people learn respect, responsibility, and care for older adults, it can also be a place where mixed or negative ideas about ageing are created again. Young people's attitudes toward older adults and their views on ageing can be studied to understand the cultural roots of ageism. Intergenerational attitudes in Turkish society can also be seen more clearly when the ways they are shaped and changed are examined.

In the cultural gerontology literature, especially in studies on ageism, Hofstede's distinction between collectivist and individualist societies has been used as a main framework to explain cultural differences in attitudes toward ageing. This dual perspective has been widely used to interpret how cultural values shape intergenerational relationships and the treatment of older people in societies. However, while this framework provides useful insights, it falls short in grasping the complexity of societies that do not fully fit this dichotomy.

Based on this framework, this study emphasizes that Hofstede's binary distinction between collectivist and individualist cultures does not adequately reflect the

sociocultural dynamics of societies in transition, such as Turkey. In these contexts, the family functions as the most fundamental agent of socialization and plays a decisive role in the transmission of cultural values across generations. Therefore, cultural values should be analysed through family models rather than simple collectivist-individualist dichotomies. Kağıtçıbaşı's (2002) autonomous-related self and family model is presented as an alternative approach that goes beyond this rigid distinction by showing how cultural change and synthesis can be explained.

Based on Kağıtçıbaşı's (2002) theoretical work, this study is designed to examine how cultural values in family structures shape young people's views of ageing. It is also examined how these values influence the development of ageism. In doing so, it highlights the family as the primary cultural arena where attitudes towards older people are formed, negotiated, and potentially transformed. Thus, the study aims to contribute to ageism research not only by relying on Hofstede's traditional cultural dichotomy but also by addressing a dynamic model of cultural values that better reflects Türkiye's sociocultural realities.

2. Literature and Hypothesis

2.1. From Tradition to Modernity: Cultural Perspectives on Aging and Family Models

Studies in the literature that address aging in a sociocultural context often refer to Hofstede's (1987) distinction. Hofstede (1987, p. 10) pointed out that societies can be classified as individualist or collectivist by their cultural attitudes and thoughts. According to this approach, in individualist societies, the ties between individuals are loose and the idea that everyone has to care only for themselves or their nuclear family is common. On the other hand, (quoted by Kağıtçıbaşı, 1999) in collectivist societies, individuals are bound to strong and tight groups from birth, and this commitment persists throughout lifespan as an unquestioned loyalty (Şah & Eroğlu Şah, 2022, p. 109). Collectivist societies, traditionally viewed as family and community oriented, emphasize filial piety, meaning obedience to elders and the duty of children to provide care, whereas modern individualistic societies stress autonomy and personal responsibility. This value in collectivist cultures emphasize interdependence between generations, rather than independence and individuality (Ayalon & Roy, 2022, p. 2) while individualist societies emphasize autonomy.

In this classification, USA or European countries are recognized as individualist whereas Asian countries such as Hong Kong, China, Japanese are considered to have collectivist cultures. On the other hand, Türkiye is mostly considered a collectivist culture due to its strong collectivist cultural values such as loyalty to the group and family and respect for elders and filial piety (Ayçiçeği-Dinn & Caldwell- Harris, 2011, p.10; İmamoğlu & İmamoğlu, 1992, p. 102). However, some studies indicated that Türkiye cannot be placed neither collectivist nor individualist. Rather, Türkiye is defined as a synthesis of collectivist and individualist cultures, combining traditional and modern elements. This situation shows that Türkiye is somewhere in the middle in terms of cultural balance, rather than being either "completely collectivist" or "completely individualist" (Göregenli, 1997). Because, Türkiye has been going through some major social changes in terms of family structure, urbanization, economic transformation, and working life (İmamoğlu & İmamoğlu, 1992, p. 102).

Hofstede's distinction between individualist and collectivist cultures/families can be evaluated in relation to modernization theory both generally and in the specific context of aging. According to main tenets of modernization theory, individualism is seen as a fundamental characteristic of Western societies, while collectivism is regarded as a defining feature of Eastern societies and families. Furthermore, from a modernist perspective, societies are assumed to progress along a single evolutionary path from traditional to modern, accompanied by process such as industrialization and urbanization. In other world, from the perspective of modernization theory, as Kağıtçıbaşı (2002, p. 3-4) stated, societies are moving closer to the Western-style nuclear family model, which is the essence of individualist society, with socio-economic development and increasing separation within families.

Within this broader framework, the modernization theory of aging posits that before industrialization, intergenerational ties were strong, but with industrialization and urbanization, these ties have weakened. These strong bonds are seen as a relational structure that includes emotional and practical interdependence, mutual support, care, and daily interactions between family members. However, modernization theory tends to present a one-sided perspective and overlooks the continuity of relational bonds in specific social and cultural contexts. The decline of agriculture as the main economic activity, the rise of urban mobility, and technological developments that reduce the role of older adults as knowledge carriers have been seen as factors that change family dynamics. Their removal from productive roles through retirement has also been described as a part of this change (Rhoads, 1984, p. 243; Tavernier, Naegele, and Hess, 2019, p. 54). However, in collectivist or relationally focused societies, intergenerational bonds may persist, indicating that modernization does not uniformly erode emotional and social ties within families. This persistence highlights the need for culturally sensitive theoretical approaches to ageing and family dynamics.

Building on this point, Kağıtçıbaşı provides a strong theoretical foundation for understanding how family structures can adapt to modernization without losing their relational structure. Refuting modern approaches that argue modernization inevitably transforms individuals/families into individualistic structures, Kağıtçıbaşı emphasises that autonomy and relational structures can coexist in collectivist societies, particularly among urbanized and educated segments (Özdemir & Çok, 2011, p. 158). From this perspective, a synthetic family model emerges, involving emotional and psychological interdependence in different contexts. This model addresses the two fundamental human needs of autonomy and relatedness, and Kağıtçıbaşı's (2002) relational autonomy model further elaborates on how family structures can maintain interdependence while adapting to modernization processes.

Kağıtçıbaşı (2002, p. 5-7) identified three family model. First is the total interdependence model, which is typically seen in the rural agrarian societies where interdependence in intergenerational is necessity. In such societies, children are seen as individuals who contribute to economic income and who will take on the responsibility of caring for their aging parents in the future. In other words, there is a structure in which material and emotional interdependence are intertwined. Second is independence model which represents the Western middle class nuclear family. In this societies, individuals have freedom and autonomy is in the foreground. While family interdependence is considered unnecessary for healthy individual development, older adults are also economically

independent. Therefore, there is material and emotional independence in this model. Third is emotional/psychological interdependence model in which individuals are materially independent but emotionally interdependent. Thus, this model produces the other two, combining both autonomy and relatedness and lead the development of autonomous-related self model.

2.2. The Cultural Dynamics of Ageism: Tradition, Modernity, and the Elderly

Ageism is a relatively new phenomenon relies on discrimination against people based on their chronological age. Ageism was first articulated by Butler (1980, p. 8) and has a special meaning just like racism and sexism. According to Butler, ageism can be addressed in three basic categories. Firstly, it is the prejudiced attitudes towards age, old age, and the aging process that is adopted even by the elderly themselves. Secondly, it is discriminatory practices and attitudes towards the elderly. Thirdly, it is institutional practices and policies that foster negative stereotypes about old age, reduce the chances of the elderly to live a fulfilling life, and damage their personal reputation, but usually without malicious intent. (Butler, 1980, p. 8-11). Ageism is internalized throughout the life span that people observe the attitudes and beliefs toward the elderly which are expressed in culture from their young ages. According to Stereotype Embodiment Theory (Levy, 2009), there are three distinct ageism predictors: age discrimination, negative age stereotypes, and self-perceptions of aging and each of them has a strong effect on older people's health in psychological and behavioural ways (Levy, 2009, p. 334; Levy and Leifheit-Limson, 2009). All these are related to the fact that aging is a cultural process, a social construction rather than a natural process (Butler, 1980, p. 8-11; Levy, 2009, p. 332-335). However, the limited number of studies examining the relationship between ageism and cultural values have shown that ageism is directly related to cultural norms and attitudes (Ng, Chow and Yang, 2021, p. 1812).

Based on Kağıtçıbaşı's (2002, p. 5-7) relational-autonomous family model, ageism stems not only from modernization but also from changes in cultural values related to family, intergenerational obligations, and the social roles of older adults. Classical modernization theory of aging is used for explaining the ageist attitudes of individuals that argues age discrimination increases as societies modernize (Tavernier et al. 2019, p. 54). However, this perspective alone is insufficient because it overlooks cultural nuances. Accordingly, individualistic cultural tendencies may trigger ageism by promoting autonomy rather than intergenerational harmony, while collectivist tendencies may mitigate ageism by emphasizing filial respect, but cannot eliminate it. Empirical evidence further illustrates this complexity.

Cross-cultural evidence also shows that societies with higher levels of individualism exhibit stronger implicit and explicit ageism, both in language use and in intergroup attitudes (Ng et al., 2021, p. 1812). At the same time, it is shown in comparative studies that cultural dimensions can lead to mixed results. Collectivism is often linked with warm views of older adults, but it can also be linked with seeing them as less competent. In addition to cultural orientations, demographic factors such as gender have also been found to shape young people's attitudes toward elderly. Female students generally show less ageist prejudice and more positive intergenerational attitudes compared to male students, possibly due to stronger socialization toward caregiving and empathy (Karahan et al., 2016, p. 63).

A cross-cultural study has shown that collectivist societies tend to see the elderly as incompetent but warm (Cuddy et al., 2005; Luo et al., 2013, p. 51). On the other hand, it was found that individuals in more individualist cultures tend to display ageist attitudes more frequently. For example, Allen et al. (2022, p. 6) point out that everyday ageism was prevalent (93.4%) among older US adults. Besides, Palmore (2004, p. 43) stated that 72% of American elderly and 68 % of Canadian elderly reported ageism whilst Canadians reported more incidents of ageism. Another study that compares ageist attitudes in the United States and Germany from the view of young adults has shown that German young adults tend to see aging much more negatively (McConatha et al., 2004, p. 171). However, contrary to popular belief, the latest studies have shown that ageism is also widespread in individuals who adopted collectivist values (Ayalon and Roy, 2023, p. 3-4). Indeed, recent studies have shown that individuals tend to be more critical and negative toward older people due to economic inconsistency, urbanization (Giles et al., 2003, p. 2). Moreover, studies conducted in both individualist and collectivist societies about aging show large differences in attitudes toward the elderly among young people in individualist cultures (Vauclair et al., 2017, p. 137).

Based on all this, it can be said that ageism is not just an individual attitude, but should be understood as a social phenomenon shaped by the intersection of cultural values, demographic changes, and family structures. However, only limited empirical evidence is available on how these processes occur in transitional societies such as Türkiye, where modernization and cultural values are combined in complex ways. In this context, researching individuals' attitudes toward aging provides a good way to examine how cultural, familial, and structural factors influence perceptions of aging and ageism. Thus, young people's attitudes toward older adults are shaped not only by cultural orientation but also by gender, socioeconomic status, and intergenerational contact patterns, highlighting the multidimensional nature of ageism. Thus, the study examined current understandings of ageism based on the relational-autonomous family structure.

Based on the above literature, the following hypotheses have been developed:

H1: Females will display more positive attitudes toward older adults and lower levels of ageism compared to males.

H3: There is a significant relationship between individuals' family-oriented autonomous and relational self and their attitudes toward elderly people.

H3a: Higher scores on the family-oriented autonomous self are associated with increased perceptions of limitations in elderly individuals' daily life, increased positive ageism, and decreased negative ageism.

H3b: Higher scores on the family-oriented relational self are associated with increased positive ageism toward elderly, decreased negative attitudes toward elderly, and increased perceptions of limitations in elderly individuals' daily life.

H3c: Higher scores on the family-oriented autonomous-relational self are associated with: increased positive ageism toward elderly, decreased negative attitudes toward elderly, and increased perceptions of limitations in elderly individuals' daily life.

3. Methodology

3.1. Research Design

The study has a quantitative research design. Information obtained from quantitative research is generated from numerical data. These measurements enable the researcher to analyse social structures and variables through quantitative data. Quantitative research is conducted on samples representing the research population to examine the relationships between dependent and independent variables; thus, the findings obtained are generalizable and comparable to the population as a whole (Tuncer & Urfa, 2024, p. 116). This study used convenience sampling used in quantitative research. An Ethics Committee Decision has been obtained with the decision of the Presidency of the Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at Mustafa Kemal University, dated 02.10.2025, No. 14.)

3.2. Participants, Population and Sampling

The study population consists of university students aged 18–25, consistent with previous studies exploring ageist attitudes in young adults (Vauclair et al., 2017, p. 136). However, the sample was obtained from a single university (Hatay Mustafa Kemal University) through convenience sampling, which limits the generalizability of the findings. Polat, Yalçınöz Baysal & Aktaş (2017, p. 285) investigated the attitudes of young people living in eastern and western Türkiye towards age discrimination and found no significant difference in their attitudes towards age discrimination based on their geographical location. Therefore, no specific criteria were sought for the sample in Türkiye and it was decided to select the sample from Hatay. Participants were recruited from multiple faculties to ensure variability in academic background and socioeconomic status. Both male and female students were included to allow comparisons based on gender. Demographic information, such as family background, living arrangements, and socioeconomic level, was also collected to examine potential moderating effects on ageist attitudes. The study employed a convenience sampling method, and data were collected from 232 young individuals through an online questionnaire. This constitutes a limitation of the study, and the results have been interpreted with this consideration in mind.

3.3. Instruments

Three different questionnaires administered to participants in the study. The first was a questionnaire prepared by the researcher containing basic socio-demographic information appropriate to the purpose of the study. For example, questions such as age, gender, number of siblings, and interaction with the elderly are included. Previous research indicates that these demographic variables can moderate ageist attitudes (Karahan et al., 2016; Wise & Kılıcı, 2023).

The other was the “Ageism Attitude Scale” (AAS) developed by Vefikuluçay Yılmaz and Terzioğlu (2011). Permission has been obtained from the authors for the use of this scale. The AAS consists of 23 items and three dimensions. These were a) Restricting the Elderly Person's Life, b) Positive Ageism Towards the Elderly, and c) Negative Ageism Towards the Elderly. The items in this scale were evaluated using a 5-point Likert scale with the options “Strongly Disagree,” “Disagree,” “Undecided,” “Agree,” and “Strongly Agree.”: Besides, there are reverse coded items. The maximum score students can achieve on the scale is “115,” and the minimum score is “23.” The highest score obtained on the scale indicates that the student has a positive attitude towards ageism, while the lowest score indicates that the student has a negative attitude towards ageism. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for the 23 items of the scale was found to be 0.80. In the analysis of

the internal consistency subscales, the Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient was found to be 0.70 for the "restricting the lives of older adults" and "positive age discrimination" subscales. The Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficient for the "negative age discrimination" subscale was found to be 0.67. These alpha values indicate that the scale has acceptable reliability and internal consistency.

The other scale was the "Autonomy-Relatedness in Family Scales" (ARFS) developed by Kağıtçıbaşı (2007), consisting of 22 items. Unfortunately, the author of this scale has passed away, so it was not possible to obtain permission, but the entire scale and how it was scored were specified in the relevant publication, this scale was used with reference. The scale consisted of three subscales: a) Autonomous Self in the Family Scale, b) Relational Self in the Family Scale, and c) Autonomous-Relational Self in the Family Scale. The first two subscales consisted of 9 items, and the third subscale consisted of 4 items, with internal consistency coefficients of .84, .84, and .77, respectively. These figures indicate that the scale has acceptable reliability.

When researching young people's attitudes toward older adults, it was important to examine how these attitudes are shaped within the context of Kağıtçıbaşı's family model (balance of relatedness-autonomy, mutual relatedness within the family, and the shaping of individuals' attitudes by cultural values). In this context, the AAS was suitable for this purpose. Because most of the AAS's items directly reflect perceptions of how individuals treat the elderly within the context of family and society; for example, statements such as "When decisions are made in the family the opinions of the elders should be considered." or "When the family budget is being developed the opinions of the elderly should be sought." reveal judgments linked to cultural values and family roles. Within Kağıtçıbaşı's cultural family model, emphasis was placed on young people's ability to maintain both their individual autonomy and their family ties. This also shapes their attitudes towards the elderly. For example, young people may view the elderly as both respectable and in need of protection. In particular, the positive ageism dimension of AAS directly corresponds to Kağıtçıbaşı's concepts of "attachment" and "mutual reliance" with items such as showing respect for the elderly, involving them in family decisions, and learning from them. On the other hand, the negative ageism and restricting life dimensions are related to tendencies to exclude the elderly from the family, restrict their independence, or view them as a burden. However, the scale does not directly measure cultural values. For example, it does not measure concepts such as "family approval" or "traditional norms." Therefore, in order to understand the impact of cultural values, certain demographic and cultural variables (family structure, intergenerational living, certain indicators of traditional-modernity, etc.) were also collected alongside the scale and included in the "demographic information form" created by the researcher.

3.4. Data Collection Procedure and Data Analysis

Data collected through an online survey. Participation was voluntary, and informed consent obtained from all participants. The survey was estimated to take approximately 15–20 minutes to complete.

Data analysis was conducted using the JASP 19 and SPSS statistical software packages. Within this scope, first, the McDonald's omega (ω) coefficient, which provides more consistent results in multidimensional structures, was used to examine the reliability findings of the scales (Dunn, Baguley & Brunnsden, 2014). The construct validity of the

scales was examined using Confirmatory Factor Analysis. After obtaining the validity and reliability findings of the scales, research variables were created using the scale items. The assumption of normal distribution, which is one of the analysis assumptions of the variables, was tested based on the criterion stated by George & Mallery (2010) (skewness and kurtosis coefficients being between ± 2). The Independent Samples t-test was used for the comparison of variables between two groups. In this analysis process, the assumption of homogeneity of variances, which is one of the analysis assumptions, was examined using the Levene Test. The relationship between the variables and the frequency of spending time and communication with older adults was examined using the Spearman Brown Rank Difference Correlation Analysis, one of the non-parametric analysis methods, due to sample limitations and ordinal-type scaling. The relationships between the variables were examined using the Pearson Product-Moment Correlation Analysis (Büyüköztürk, 2016).

4. Results

4.1. Descriptive statistics of sample

The table below shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the sample.

Table 1. Socio-Demographic variables

Variable	Category	Frequency	Percent
Age	18	68	29,3
	19	60	25,9
	20	64	27,6
	21-25	40	17,2
Gender	Female	173	74,6
	Male	59	25,4
Place of Residence	Rural	62	26,7
	Town	98	42,2
	Urban	72	31
Income (TL)	Less than 25.000	112	48,3
	25.000-49.999	87	37,5
	50.000-74.999	19	8,2
	75.000-100.000	8	3,4
	More than 100.000	6	2,6
Family Type	Nuclear	183	78,9
	Extended	41	17,7
	Other	8	3,4

The sample consisted of 232 participants with varying demographic characteristics. The majority of participants were 18 years old (29.3%), followed by 20 years old (27.6%), 19 years old (25.9%), and those aged 21–25 (17.2%). In terms of gender, most participants were female (74.6%), while males comprised 25.4% of the sample. This gender imbalance

is acknowledged as a limitation of the study. It may affect the robustness of gender-based comparisons and reduce statistical power for male participants. The observed distribution may reflect the characteristics of the convenience sample rather than the actual composition of the target population. Regarding place of residence, 42.2% lived in towns, 31% in urban areas, and 26.7% in rural areas. Nearly half of the participants (48.3%) reported a monthly income of less than 25,000 TL, 37.5% reported between 25,000 and 49,999 TL, 8.2% between 50,000 and 74,999 TL, 3.4% between 75,000 and 100,000 TL, and only 2.6% reported earning more than 100,000 TL. With respect to family type, the majority (78.9%) lived in nuclear families, 17.7% in extended families, and 3.4% in other family types. These descriptive statistics provide an overview of the sample's demographic distribution.

The table below provides descriptive information about young people's interactions with older people.

Table 2. Grandparents' Status, Co-residence, and Contact/Support

		Frequency	Percent
Status	Maternal Grandmother Alive	139	59,9
	Paternal Grandmother Alive	106	45,7
	Grandfather(s) Alive	95	40,9
	Both Deceased	48	20,7
	Not Sure	6	2,6
Co-residence Grandparents	with Lived together for some time in the past	81	34,9
	Currently living together	26	11,2
	Never lived together	125	53,9
Frequency of Contact with Grandparents	Very often	104	44,8
	Occasionally	77	33,2
	Rarely	25	10,8
	Never	26	11,2
Family Support for Elderly Care	Yes, for some time in the past	86	37,1
	Yes, ongoing	18	7,8
	No, never	128	55,2
Frequency of Contact with Elderly		Frequency	Percent
	Very Often	88	37,9
	Occasionally	129	55,6
	Rarely	12	5,2
	Never	3	1,3

The data indicate that most participants maintain some level of contact with their grandparents, although co-residence is relatively uncommon. A part of participants have had past experiences living with their grandparents, but only a small proportion currently live with them. In terms of providing care or support for elderly family members, most participants have limited or no ongoing involvement. Overall, while interactions with elderly relatives occur at least occasionally for the majority, direct caregiving remains relatively rare.

4.2. Validity and Reliability of the Scales

The table below shows the validity and reliability analyses of the scales and subscales used in this study.

Table 3. Validity and Reliability Analyses of the Scales

	Scale Name	Items	ω	χ^2	df	χ^2/df	RMSEA	CFI	GFI
Ageism Attitude Scale	A	23	0.725	616.00	227	2.713	0.086	0.764	0.976
	B	9	0.677						
	C	8	0.833						
	D	6	0.702						
Autonomy-Relatedness in Family	E	9	0.769						
	F	9	0.866	594.02	206	2.883	0.090	0.874	0.974
	G	4	0.918						

A = AAS Overall, B = Restricting the Elderly's Life, C = Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly, D = Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly, E = Autonomous Self in the Family, F = Relational Self in the Family, G = Autonomous-Relational Self in the Family

When the confirmatory factor analysis results and reliability coefficients were examined, it was seen that the AAS Overall scale consists of 23 items and that the McDonald's ω coefficient was .70. When the model fit indices were examined, $\chi^2(249) = 616.00$ and $\chi^2/df = 2.71$ were calculated. In addition, RMSEA = .086, CFI = .764, and GFI = .976 values were obtained. Since the χ^2/df value is below 3 and the RMSEA value was lower than .10, it was accepted that model–data fit was achieved (Kline, 2016).

When the reliability coefficients of the sub-dimensions were examined, the ω coefficient was found to be .677 for the Restricting the Elderly's Life sub-dimension, .833 for the Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly sub-dimension, and .702 for the Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly sub-dimension.

Within the scope of the Autonomy–Relatedness in Family Scales, the reliability coefficient of the Autonomous Self in the Family sub-dimension was calculated as $\omega = .769$, the reliability coefficient of the Relational Self in the Family sub-dimension was calculated as $\omega = .866$, and the reliability coefficient of the Autonomous–Relational Self in the Family sub-dimension was calculated as $\omega = .918$. According to the confirmatory factor analysis results of this scale, $\chi^2(206) = 594.02$ and $\chi^2/df = 2.88$ were found. In addition, RMSEA = .090, CFI = .874, and GFI = .974 values were obtained. Since the χ^2/df value is below 3 and

the RMSEA value is lower than .010, it was accepted that model–data fit was achieved (Kline, 2016).

Overall, it can be stated that the McDonald’s ω coefficients for the scales ranged between .67 and .92, and the confirmatory factor analysis results indicated that the model–data fit was at an acceptable level.

In order to determine whether the research variables met the assumption of normal distribution, the distributions of the variables (levels of skewness and kurtosis) were examined. The results obtained are presented in Table X4.

Table 4. Assessment of the Normality Assumption

Scale Name	Mean	Standard Deviation (SD)	Skewness	Kurtosis
A	3.521	0.427	-0.457	1.408
B	3.958	0.520	-0.774	1.535
C	3.523	0.796	-1.261	1.907
D	2.854	0.728	0.868	0.599
E	2.957	0.720	0.155	0.079
F	3.612	0.492	-0.908	0.688
G	4.117	1.002	-1.477	1.761

A = AAS Overall Validity, B = Restricting the Elderly’s Life, C = Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly, D = Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly, E = Autonomous Self in the Family, F = Relational Self in the Family, G = Autonomous-Relational Self in the Family.

When the findings in Table 4 were examined, it was determined that the skewness and kurtosis coefficients of all research variables were within the range of ± 2 . George & Mallery (2010) stated that when the skewness and kurtosis coefficients of variables were within ± 2 , there was no substantial deviation from normality. Therefore, throughout the analyses, it was assumed that the normality assumption was met, and parametric analysis methods were used.

4.3. Hypothesis Testing

4.3.1. Analysis of H1

In this part of the study, an Independent Samples t-test was conducted to examine whether ageism differed according to gender. Prior to the analyses, the assumption of homogeneity of variances was examined using the Levene Test. The results of the Independent Samples t-test are presented in Table 5.

Table 5. Independent samples T-test

Scale	Gender	N	Mean	t	df	p	95% CI
AAS Overall	Female	173	3.53	0.804	230	.422	-0.075 –
	Male	59	3.48				0.179
Restricting the Elderly’s Life	Female	173	3.99	1.712	230	.088	-0.020 –
	Male	59	3.86				0.287

Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly	Female	173	3.55	0.897	80.436	.373	-0.152	-
	Male	59	3.43					
Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly	Female	173	2.82	-1.092	230	.276	-0.336	-
	Male	59	2.94					

For the overall AAS score and its subscales- “Restricting the Elderly’s Life,” “Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly,” and “Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly” – the t-values were $t(230) = 0.804, p = .422; t(230) = 1.712, p = .088; t(80.436) = 0.897, p = .373;$ and $t(230) = -1.092, p = .276,$ respectively, showing no statistically significant differences between male and female participants. These findings suggest that gender did not have a significant effect on participants’ attitudes toward older adults.

4.3.2. Analysis of H2

In order to examine the effects of the frequency of communication with older adults, the frequency of communication with grandparents, and the provision of care support to older adults on young people’s attitudes toward the elderly, the Spearman Brown Rank Difference Correlation Analysis, a non-parametric method, was used due to insufficient sample size. The results of the analysis are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Spearman Brown Rank Difference Correlation Analysis

	frequency of communication with grandparents	the frequency of contact with elderly	Providing care support for the elderly
AAS Overall Validity	.092	.183*	-.040
Restricting the Elderly’s Life	.043	.115	-.047
Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly	.020	.186*	.010
Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly	.090	-.006	-.065

* = $p < .05$

According to the findings in Table 6, a low and significant relationship was found between the total AAS score and the frequency of communication with elderly ($r_s = .183, p < .05$). Similarly, a low and significant relationship was identified between the Positive

Discrimination Toward the Elderly sub-dimension and the frequency of communication with older adults ($r_s = .186, p < .05$).

In contrast, no significant relationship was found between the frequency of communication with grandparents and the total scale score or its sub-dimensions ($p > .05$). Similarly, no statistically significant relationship was identified between the frequency of providing care to older adults and the total scale score or its sub-dimensions ($p > .05$).

This suggests that individuals who communicate more frequently with older adults may exhibit slightly more positive attitudes, particularly in the dimension of positive discrimination. In contrast, the frequency of communication with grandparents and the frequency of providing care to older adults did not show a statistically significant relationship with the total scale score or its sub-dimensions, indicating that not all forms of contact with older adults influence attitudes, and that the quality of the interaction may be more determinative than mere frequency. However, given the weak magnitude of these relationships, the findings do not allow for strong inferences.

4. 3. 3. Analysis of H3

A correlation analysis was conducted between the Ageism Attitude Scale (AAS) and its subscales and the Family-Based Autonomous-Relational Self Scales. The analysis aimed to determine the degree and direction of association among the overall scales and their respective subscales. The results indicated significant positive correlations between certain subscales.

Table 7: Correlation Analysis Between the Scales

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
A	1	.755**	.651**	.385**	-.181**	.231**	.286**
B		1	.269**	.265**	-.010	.234**	.257**
C			1	-.336**	-.345**	.449**	.497**
D				1	.134*	-.339**	-.333**
E					1	-.380**	-.258**
F						1	.682**
G							1

A = AAS Overall Validity, B = Restricting the Elderly's Life, C = Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly, D = Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly, E = Autonomous Self in the Family, F = Relational Self in the Family, G = Autonomous-Relational Self in the Family

There was a low but statistically significant negative correlation was found between the AAS and Autonomous Self in the Family subscale ($r = -0.181, p < .01$). This finding indicates that individuals with a more autonomous self-structure within the family tend to exhibit slightly lower discriminatory attitudes toward older adults.

The correlation between the Autonomous Self in the Family and the "Restricting the Older Adult's Life" subscale was very close to zero and not statistically significant ($r = -.010, p > .05$), indicating that there was essentially no linear relationship between an individual's autonomous self-structure within the family and the tendency to limit or control the life of older adults. The correlation between the Autonomous Self in the Family and the "Positive Discrimination toward Older Adults" was negative and

statistically significant ($r = -0.345, p < .01$), indicates that individuals who report higher levels of autonomy within the family tend to exhibit lower levels of positive discrimination toward older adults. In other words, a more autonomous self-structure in the family context is associated with a lower tendency to demonstrate age-related positive discrimination. The correlation between the Autonomous Self in the Family and the “Negative Discrimination Toward Older Adults” subscale of the AAS was positive and statistically significant ($r = 0.134, p < .05$). This indicates that individuals with higher levels of autonomy within the family tend to exhibit slightly more negative discriminatory attitudes toward older adults.

The correlation analysis between the Relational Self in the Family and the subscales of the AAS revealed a nuanced pattern. There was a low but statistically significant positive correlation between the Restricting the Elderly’s Life sub-dimension and the Relational Self in the Family sub-dimension ($r = .234, p < .01$). This result indicates that individuals who report higher levels of relational self-orientation within the family tend to show slightly higher levels of attitudes related to limiting the lives of older adults. There is a moderate and statistically significant positive correlation between the Relational Self in the Family sub-dimension and the Positive Discrimination Toward the Elderly sub-dimension ($r = .449, p < .01$). This finding indicates that individuals who report higher levels of relational self-orientation within the family tend to exhibit higher levels of positive discrimination toward older adults. There is a moderate and statistically significant negative correlation between the Relational Self in the Family sub-dimension and the Negative Discrimination Toward the Elderly sub-dimension ($r = -.339, p < .01$). This finding suggests that individuals who report higher levels of relational self-orientation within the family tend to exhibit lower levels of negative discrimination toward older adults.

The correlation analysis between the family-based Autonomous-Relational Self in the Family subscale and the subscales of the Ageism Scale (AAS) demonstrated a clear pattern. A positive and statistically significant correlation was found with the “Restricting the Older Adult’s Life” subscale ($r = 0.257, p < .01$). Although there was a positive and statistically significant relationship between the two variables, this relationship was weak. A strong positive and significant correlation was observed with the “Positive Discrimination toward Older Adults” subscale ($r = 0.497, p < .01$), indicating that higher levels of autonomous-relational self were associated with more frequent preferential or protective behaviours. Conversely, a moderate negative and significant correlation was found with the “Negative Discrimination toward Older Adults” subscale ($r = -0.333, p < .01$), showing that individuals with a stronger autonomous-relational self tend to demonstrate fewer negative discriminatory attitudes. Overall, these results suggest that the autonomous-relational self within the family was related to increased supportive behaviours and reduced negative ageist behaviours toward older adults.

Conclusion

The literature on ageing studies demonstrates that family and cultural values have a significant impact on attitudes towards ageing and ageism. This is because ageism is a socially constructed phenomenon. Therefore, understanding the influence of family and cultural values is crucial in comprehending a society’s attitudes towards older people. For example, according to Yaghoobzadeh, Asgari, Nasrabadi, Mirlashari & Navab (2023, p. 7-9), the family emerges as the central determinant of the ageing process. This is

because the attitudes and behaviours of family members directly affect the self-esteem and autonomy levels of older adults, while neglect or belittlement increases feelings of rejection and loneliness. Conversely, family support and opportunities for active participation help older adults maintain their integrity by reducing the negative effects of ageing.

The combined results of correlation between family-oriented scales and AAS indicate that family-based self-structures are meaningfully associated with attitudes toward older adults, and the type of self-structure appears to be associated with the nature of these attitudes. The autonomous self is linked to a reduction in positive discrimination and a very weak increase in negative discrimination, suggesting that individuals with higher autonomy within the family are less likely to engage in preferential behaviours toward older adults while showing a slight tendency toward negative ageist attitudes. In contrast, the relational self is associated with increased positive discrimination and slightly higher tendencies to restrict the older adult's life, while concurrently reducing negative discriminatory attitudes, indicating that individuals who emphasize family relationships tend to be more protective and supportive yet less negatively biased. The autonomous–relational self combines these tendencies, showing higher levels of positive discrimination, a slight increase in life-restricting behaviours, and lower levels of negative discrimination. Overall, these findings suggest that the nature of family-based self-structures differentially shapes both supportive and discriminatory behaviours toward older adults.

Although studies directly measuring age discrimination in autonomous and relational selves within the family are limited in the literature, there are studies examining how different dimensions of the self-concept attitudes and behaviours. These provide important nuances in the discussion of existing research on how cultural attitudes towards ageism are formed. Previous research found that positive discrimination toward older adults was significantly associated with the altruism subdimensions of helping and responsibility, while negative discrimination was related to the family and responsibility dimensions of altruism. These findings suggest that individuals with strong family ties, high responsibility, and prosocial tendencies are more likely to hold favourable attitudes and less likely to exhibit negative ageist behaviours (Şahin, Kılıç & Günay, 2022, p. 317). Pritchard-Jones (2014, p. 2-5) examines the link between ageism towards older adults and autonomy and autonomous-relational self. The article addresses the effects of ageism in the decision-making processes of healthcare services for older individuals, adopting a perspective of 'relational autonomy' that goes beyond individual autonomy and considers psychological and social contexts. The study emphasises that ageism can undermine autonomy not only through direct restrictions but also through internal self-relationships such as self-esteem and self-perception. Consistent with this, the present study demonstrated that family-based self-structures—autonomous, relational, and autonomous–relational—are significantly related to both positive and negative discriminatory behaviours toward older adults. In particular, relational and autonomous–relational selves were linked to increased positive discrimination and decreased negative discrimination, highlighting that family-oriented self-structures and prosocial tendencies together are associated with more supportive and less discriminatory attitudes toward older adults.

In the field of ageism, attitudes and behaviours toward older adults are generally approached through a dual comparison between individualistic and collectivist societies (McConatha et al., 2004; Ng & Lim-Soh, 2021). Most studies indicate that negative stereotypes about older adults are more common in individualistic societies, whereas more positive views are found in societies that embrace relational and collectivist values (Ng et al., 2021, p. 1812-1813; North & Fiske, 2015, p. 993-005). Research also points out that in collectivist societies, protective attitudes toward older adults may inadvertently foster feelings of incompetence among them (Cuddy et al., 2005, p. 273-275; Lou et al., 2013, p. 51; Vaclair et al., 2017, p. 142). Conversely, many studies show that societies exhibiting individualistic characteristics demonstrate higher levels of ageism toward older adults (Palmore, 2014, p. 41-45). This study, however, focuses on how attitudes toward older adults take shape in societies like Türkiye, which cannot be neatly placed into either the individualistic or collectivist category and instead display both individualistic and relational features. This is because research shows that despite socioeconomic development, urbanization, and similar factors, the expected process of individuation/differentiation in human/family relations has not occurred in non-Western collectivist cultural contexts (Kağıtçıbaşı, 2002, 2007). Within the framework of Kağıtçıbaşı's three-dimensional model of family change, the study aims to reveal the cultural foundations of young people's attitudes by considering social structures in which psychological connectedness persists despite factors such as urbanization and socioeconomic development. In doing so, the study contributes to the literature by arguing that categorizing societies solely as individualistic or collectivist provides an incomplete framework for explaining reality, and by making visible the outcomes of this intermediate form.

The findings indicate that in these intermediate-form societies, positive discrimination toward older adults and the tendency to restrict their lives are higher. This suggests that even in structures combining autonomy and rationality, the boundary of protective behaviour may become blurred and transform into a controlling tendency. These attitudes carry the risk of undermining the subjective autonomy of older individuals, because on the one hand they impose restrictions on their lives, while on the other hand they create positive privileges that reinforce dependency.

Finally, when all these findings are considered together, no notable differences were observed in ageism based on gender, while the frequency and quality of communication with older adults may be related to ageist attitudes. However, in this study, this relationship could not be clearly distinguished due to the sample limitations, and a strong pattern did not emerge. On the other hand, the positive associations of relational and autonomous-relational selves with both tendencies to restrict the lives of older adults and positive discrimination suggest that young individuals may occasionally exhibit protective and consequently restrictive behaviours toward older adults, while still demonstrating generally more favourable attitudes.

Despite providing valuable insights, this study has several limitations. The sample was relatively small and drawn from a single university, limiting the generalizability of the findings. Moreover, the Cronbach's alpha coefficients for some of the ageism attitude subscales were at borderline levels. Therefore, future studies are recommended to employ larger and more heterogeneous samples to enhance the robustness and applicability of the results.

Değerlendirme	İki Dış Hakem / Çift Taraflı Körleme
Etik Beyan	Bu çalışmanın hazırlanma sürecinde bilimsel ve etik ilkelere uyulduğu ve yararlanılan tüm çalışmaların kaynakçada belirtildiği beyan olunur. *(Mustafa Kemal Üniversitesi Rektörlüğü, Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Bilimsel Araştırma ve Yayın Etiği Kurulu Başkanlığının 02.10.2025 Tarih, 14 Nolu kararı ile Etik Kurul Kararı alınmıştır.)
Benzerlik Taraması	Yapıldı – İthenticate
Etik Bildirim	itobiad@itobiad.com
Çıkar Çatışması	Çıkar çatışması beyan edilmemiştir.
Finansman	Bu araştırmayı desteklemek için dış fon kullanılmamıştır.
Yapay Zekâ Kullanım Beyanı	Bu çalışmanın dil düzenleme ve çeviri süreçlerinde kısmen yapay zeka destekli bir dil düzenleme asistanından yararlanılmıştır. Tüm bilimsel içerik yazara aittir.
Peer-Review	Double anonymized - Two External
Ethical Statement	It is declared that scientific and ethical principles have been followed while carrying out and writing this study and that all the sources used have been properly cited. * (An Ethics Committee Decision has been obtained with the decision of the Presidency of the Scientific Research and Publication Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences at Mustafa Kemal University, dated 02.10.2025, No. 14.)
Plagiarism Checks	Yes - İthenticate
Conflicts of Interest	The author(s) has no conflict of interest to declare.
Complaints	itobiad@itobiad.com
Grant Support	The author(s) acknowledge that they received no external funding in support of this research.
Artificial Intelligence Statement	An artificial intelligence-supported language editing assistant was partially used in the language editing and translation processes of this study. All scientific content belongs to the author.

Kaynakça | References

Allen, J. O., Solway, E., Kirch, M., Singer, D., Kullgren, J. T., Moïse, V., & Malani, P. N. (2022). Experiences of everyday ageism and the health of older US adults. *JAMA Network Open*, 5(6), e2217240-e2217240.

Ayalon, L. and Roy, S. (2023). Combatting ageism in the Western Pacific region. *The Lancet Regional Health - Western Pacific*, 35. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lanwpc.2022.100593>.

Ayçiçeği-Dinn, A., & Caldwell-Harris, C. L. (2011). Individualism–collectivism among Americans, Turks and Turkish immigrants to the U.S. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(1), 9–16. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2010.11.006>.

Butler, R. N. (1980). Ageism: A foreword. *Journal of Social Issues*, 36(2), 8-11.

Büyüköztürk, Ş. (2016). *Sosyal bilimler için veri analizi el kitabı: istatistik araştırma desni SPSS uygulamaları ve yorum*. (31. Baskı) Pegen akademi yayıncılık.

Cuddy, A. J. C., Norton, M. I., & Fiske, S. T. (2005). This old stereotype: The pervasiveness and persistence of the elderly stereotype. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2). <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.2005.00405.x>.

Dunn, T. J., Baguley, T., & Brunsten, V. (2014). From alpha to omega: A practical solution to the pervasive problem of internal consistency estimation. *British journal of psychology*, 105(3), 399-412.

Euro News (2025). Over 65 and rising: Is the EU facing a demographic crisis? Erişim tarihi: 21.08.2025.

George, D., & Mallery, M. (2010). *SPSS for windows step by step: A simple guide and reference*, Pearson.

Giles, H., Noels, K. A., Williams, A., Ota, H., Lim, T., Ng, S. H., Ryan, E. B. & Somera, L. (2003). Intergenerational communication across cultures: Young people's perceptions of conversations with family elders, non-family elders and same-age peers. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 18(1).

Göregenli, M. (1997). Individualist–collectivist tendencies in a Turkish sample. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 28(6).

Hofstede, G. (1987). The applicability of Mcgregor's Theories in South East Asia. *Journal of Management Development* 6, 3.

Huang, C.-S. (2013). Undergraduate Students' knowledge about aging and attitudes toward older adults in East and West: A socio-economic and cultural exploration. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*, 77(1), 59–76. [doi:10.2190/ag.77.1.d](https://doi.org/10.2190/ag.77.1.d).

İmamoğlu, E. O. & İmamoğlu, V. (1992). Life situations and attitudes of The Turkish elderly toward institutional living within a cross-cultural perspective. *Journal Of Gerontology: Psychological Sciences*. Vol. 47. No. 2, Pi02-İ08.

Kagıtcıbası, C. (2002). A model of family change in cultural context. *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture*, 6 (3). <https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1059>.

Kağıtçıbaşı, Ç. (2007). *Family, self, and human development across cultures, theory and applications* (2nd ed.). London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Karahan, F. S., Hamarta, E., & Karahan, A. Y. (2016). An anthropological contribution about ageism: Attitudes of elder care and nursing students in Turkey towards Ageism. *Studies on Ethno Med*, 10(1): 59-64. DOI:10.1080/09735070.2016.11905472.

Kline, R. B. (2016). *Principles and practice of structural equation modeling*. Guilford publications.

Levy, B. (2009). Stereotype embodiment: A psychosocial approach to aging. *Current Directions In Psychological Science*, 18(6), 332-336.

Levy, B. R., & Leifheit-Limson, E. (2009). The stereotype-matching effect: greater influence on functioning when age stereotypes correspond to outcomes. *Psychology And Aging*, 24(1), 230.

Luo, B., Zhou, K., Jin, E. J., Newman, A., & Liang, J. (2013). Ageism among college students: a comparative study between U.S. and China. *Journal of Cross Cultural Gerontology* 28:49–63. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10823-013-9186-5>.

McConatha JT, Schnell F, Volkwein K, Riley L, Leach E. (2004). Attitudes toward aging: a comparative analysis of young adults from the United States and Germany. *The International Journal of Aging and Human Development*. 2003;57(3):203-215. <https://doi.org/10.2190/K8Q8-5549-0Y4K-UGG0>.

Ng, R., Chow, T. Y. J., And Yang, W. (2021). Culture linked to increasing ageism during COVID-19: Evidence From A 10-billion-word corpus across 20 Countries. *J Gerontol B Psychol Sci Soc Sci*, 2021, Vol. 76, No. 9, 1808–1816 <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbab057>.

Ng, R., & Lim-Soh, J. W. (2021). Ageism linked to culture, not demographics: Evidence from an 8-billion-word corpus across 20 countries. *The Journals of Gerontology: Series B*, 76(9), 1791-1798. <https://doi.org/10.1093/geronb/gbaa181>.

North, M. S. and Fiske, S. T. (2015). Modern attitudes toward older adults in the aging world: a cross-cultural meta-analysis. *psychological bulletin*, American Psychological Association, Vol. 141, No. 5, 993–1021. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1037/a0039469>.

Özdemir, Y., & Çok, F. (2011). Ergenlikte özerklik gelişimi. *Turkish Psychological Counseling & Guidance Journal*, 4(36).

Palmore, E. B. (2004). Research note: Ageism in Canada and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology* 19: 41–46.

Polat, H., Yalçınöz Baysal, H., & Aktaş, B. (2017). Determination of ageism attitudes of adults in two different provinces. *Turkish Journal of Geriatrics/Türk Geriatri Dergisi*, 20(4).

Pritchard-Jones, L. (2014). Ageism and autonomy in health care: Explorations through a relational lens. *Health care analysis*, 25(1), 72-89. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10728-014-0288-1>.

Rhoads, E. C. (1984). Revaluation of the aging and modernization theory: The Samoan evidence. *The Gerontologist*, 24(3), 243-250.

Şah, U. & Eroğlu Şah, D. (2022). "Individualism-Collectivism" As a cultural dimension and the studies in Turkey. *EUL Journal of Social Sciences*, (Xiii-li): 108-121.

Şahin, H., Kılıç, C., & Günay, G. (2022). Bireylerin yaşlı ayrımcılığı algıları üzerinde özgeciliğin etkisinin incelenmesi. *Unika Sağlık Bilimleri Dergisi*, 2(3), 308-320. <http://dx.doi.org/10.47327/unikasaglik.75>.

Tavernier, W. D., Naegele, L., & Hess, M. (2019). A critical perspective on ageism and modernization theory. *Social Inclusion*, 7(3), 54-57.

TurkStat (Turkish Statistical Institute) (2018). Statistics on the elderly.

TurkStat (Turkish Statistical Institute) (2023). Statistics on the elderly. Publication Date: March 27, 2024. <https://veriportali.tuik.gov.tr/tr/press/53710>.

Tuncer, N. & Urfa, S. (2024). Sosyal çalışmada nicel araştırma, Hatiboğlu-Kısat B. Ve Özateş Gelmez, Ö. (ed.). Sosyal çalışmada araştırma içinde. Ankara: Nika Yayınevi.

United Nations. (2019). World population aging, Highlights. <https://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/publications/pdf/ageing/WorldPoWorldPopulatio2019-Highlights.pdf>.

United States (US) Census Bureau (2020). The older population: 2020. <https://www2.census.gov/library/publications/decennial/2020/census-briefs/c2020br-07.pdf>.

Vauclair, C. M., Hanke, K., Huang, L. L., & Abrams, D. (2017). Are Asian cultures really less ageist than Western ones? It depends on the questions asked. *International Journal of Psychology*, Vol. 52, No. 2, 136–144, <https://doi.org/10.1002/ijop.12292>.

Vefikuluçay Yılmaz, D., & Terzioğlu, F. (2011). Development and psychometric evaluation of ageism attitude scale among the university students. *Turkish Journal of Geriatrics/Türk Geriatri Dergisi*, 14(3).

Yaghoobzadeh, A., Asgari, P., Nasrabadi, A. N., Mirlashari, J., & Navab, E. (2023). Explaining the process of formation of ageism among the Iranian older adults. *BMC psychology*, 11(1), 123. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40359-023-01153-y>.

Wise, R., & Kilci, B. (2023). Exploring The benefits of frequent and positive intergenerational contact on young adults'behavioral intentions toward older adults: the moderating role of optimism and aging attitudes. *International Journal of Social And Humanities Sciences*, 7(2), 47-74.

World Health Organisation (WHO) (2025). Ageing and health. https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/ageing-and-health?utm_source