

TESTING POLITICAL BIAS SHOWN TOWARDS OLDER GENERATIONS FROM YOUNG
INDIVIDUALS

By

STEVEN JAMES GIAMPAPA

A Thesis Submitted to The Honors College

In Partial Fulfillment of the Bachelors degree
With Honors in

Political Science

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

M A Y 2 0 2 0

Approved by:



Dr. Samara Klar

Abstract

In this paper I will provide the results to a survey experiment that I conducted which seeks to show the level of bias that young people show towards the political positions of older individuals, specifically concerning the Colin Kaepernick kneeling controversy. I walk through previous research and literature regarding intergenerational political conflict and explain what my experiment can offer. Then, I discuss my research questions and hypotheses. Next, I go over my research design and provide the hypothetical articles that participants were given and how the treatment differed between each of the six groups. Lastly, I analyze the data and make some conclusions as well as investigate what elements of the experiment could be modified for better results in future study.

Literature Review/Background Research

There has always appeared to be noticeable and apprehensive attitudes between generations in American culture. The popular ‘ok, boomer’ meme that emerged in 2019 is a prime example of the existing tension between the Millennial and Baby Boomer generations. The generational battle seems to follow a repetition of arguments: the Boomers attack Millennials for their attachment to technology while Millennials ridicule Boomers for undeserved entitlement or out-of-date views. Regardless of the factuality of any of those common critiques, it is of importance to look into existing research and understanding into the relationships between opposing generations. Moreover, research that primarily showcases what issues younger individuals have against older generations, such as Boomers, is advantageous in understanding the results of my experiment.

Younger generations holding negative attitudes towards older generations isn't a phenomenon respective to the United States. Even in countries such as Japan, where there is constant artificial facilitation of respect towards the elderly that is often over romanticized in the United States, younger individuals still hold negative attitudes towards their elders (Koyano 1989). In his analysis, Koyano found that the forced mechanics of respecting Japanese elders did not showcase how younger people actually felt about them. Though this analysis is helpful in proving that intergenerational conflict occurs throughout the globe, it is important to look into modern research concerning the United States or countries similar to the United States.

The question of my experiment is whether young people show bias towards a political position of an older individual simply because they are older. It doesn't take much browsing through social media platforms to discover the intense animosity that many Gen Y and Millennial individuals have against Boomers for allegedly leaving behind several problems that have resulted in difficulty for young adults to prosper in the same ways many of their parents or grandparents did. The Intergenerational Commission of the UK argues that there is an intergenerational contract by which the older generation is supposed to better society for the new generation and the generation takes care of the old later on, and that the older generation has broken this contract. The Intergenerational Commission posits that young adults are not finding the same success as Boomers, specifically with economic issues such as housing, work, and pensions (et al., 2018). With other issues plaguing Millennials – low house ownership rates, high living costs, employment opportunities – it is no mystery why Millennials hold anger and blame towards the older generation which appears to have left behind nothing but problems (et al., 2018). This final report of the Intergenerational Commission is extremely helpful in explaining in precise and elaborate detail the persisting intergenerational conflict between old and young.

Though this report specifically focuses on Britain, the results adequately address the general intergenerational issues prevalent in the United States.

Given the plentiful reasons young people have to be resentful towards older generations, it makes sense why there is a constant call from young people for there to be a demographic shift in American politics given the majority of Congressional members are the same generation that has caused significant damage to the livelihoods of young voters. Looking at the 115th Congress, the average age of a representative is 57.8 years and the average age of a senator is 61.8 years (Manning, 2018). Comparingly, the median age of an American is 37.8 years, which is quite younger than the average age of a legislator (though older age groups typically represent voting demographics disproportionately) (Painter, 2018). Such statistics seem to give way for political opposition towards older politicians from younger voters who might think that politics is ran by older folks for the only the interests of older folks; a gerontocracy, if you will. Though this conclusion seems logically sound on its face, some commentators hold that OECD welfare states, including the United States, are, by evaluating public pension spending programs, not on a path to gerontocracy and that the elderly do not hold as much political power as it seems (Tepe and Vanhuyse 2009). Though there is an argument to be made that Boomers and older citizens do not hold a disproportionate amount of power, it would be ill-founded to hastily come to such a conclusion simply by referring to the demographic layout of Congress. Moreover, I hesitate to agree with Tepe's and Vanhuyse's (2009) conclusion that the elderly do not hold a disproportionate amount of political power solely by analyzing pension programs, which are only a fragment of public policy and political conversation.

One fact that young people will take and run away with is the fact that Millennials are much better educated than any other previous generation (Fry, Igielnik, and Patten, 2018).

According to Pew Research, 29% of Millennials are educated while 24% of Gen X's are educated, 22% of Boomers are educated, and 15% of the Silent Generation are educated (2018). Though more Millennials are educated than preceding generations, great caution should be exerted in applying undue weight to the word 'educated', as education through schooling does not always correlate with intelligence, especially when discussing education attainment between generations, as entering college as a Millennial is nearly mandatory, compared to a Boomer who did not need to go to college for a good paying job. Even if it is assumed that higher education attainment correlates with overall wisdom and intelligence, there endures an apparent discrepancy when it comes to politics: older citizens are more informed than younger ones (Carpini, 2005). It should not be forgotten that American citizens in aggregate simply tend to be uninformed, on average, when it comes to politics (Carpini, 2005). Nonetheless, according to Carpini's research, wealthy and older white males ended up with the highest average percentage of correct questions on the political knowledge survey; the same group that is representative of the majority of Congress and that is often criticized by Millennials as having too much power in the political world and being misguided on political positions (Carpini, 2005). However, I am mildly skeptical of Carpini's conclusions given the test used to assess political knowledge. The test includes a multitude of subjects (definitions of key terms, Constitutional rights, names of official positions, the stances of party issues, social conditions, unemployment rate, percentage of poverty with or without health insurance, etc.), without delineating which questions were answered correctly by respective age groups. This is important because Millennials might be more educated on social conditions, while older citizens might be more educated on Constitutional rights, and those respective topics are not necessarily as important as each other given what one might assign more importance to. As well, Carpini argues that differences in

levels of political knowledge do, in fact, depend on general class groups such as age, while dismissing the possibility of a need for civil engagement dependent on an individual's personal needs or interests (Carpini, 2005). Despite my qualms with Carpini's arguments, his research does contain empirical results concluding that older individuals are more educated on political matters, and it brings about some thought-provoking questions. How is it that Millennials can be better educated than previous generations yet perform worse on a test of political knowledge? Why is there such a movement from Millennials to be rid of Boomers in politics, yet it doesn't seem like Millennials are as informed as they say? Most importantly, do Millennials criticize the political beliefs of Boomers for other reasons regardless of the possibility that a Millennial might share the political position of a Boomer? Does Boomer animosity parallel a rebellious teenager going against a parent's wishes, simply to be rebellious regardless of the validity of those wishes?

In conjunction with my aforementioned questions of interests, results from a survey study conducted at the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University found that Millennials understood the importance of being civically engaged just as much as prior generations, but show no clear commitment to stay politically engaged or keep up with political events, despite more than 50% of Millennials viewing the news at least 6 days of the week (Cannon and Mackay 2017). Though the conclusion of this study is insightful, I do hesitate to take more from it than as it is presented for similar reasons as the Carpini essay. Lacking knowledge in current political events does not necessarily equate a lack of knowledge when it comes to policy decisions or social matters, as is what Millennials criticize Boomers for. My counterpoint to Cannon and Mackay's (2017) study is echoed in Bray's (2018) thesis. Bray argues that Millennials don't civically engage via traditional modes due to rampant skepticism of politics (as is noted by

Cannon and Mackay), but instead engage digitally by utilizing social media platforms more so than previous generations. However, Bray does contend that such political engagement is not as effective compared to traditional modes of civic engagement.

All this research begs questions yet to be unanswered regarding the Millennial and Boomer relationship, and the bewilderment continues in other research. As mentioned, older folks tend to be more up to date on political events despite Millennials being more educated and engaging with news and social media on a regular basis. Though a relatively rare occurrence overall, a research study found that social media users over the age of 65 were nearly seven times as likely to share articles from fake news domains (Guess, Nagler, Tucker 2019). The researchers of this study shared a similar question as me: How does the spread of fake news relate to the belief of this fake content? If older individuals are more vulnerable to becoming victims of fake news, how is it that they tend to be more politically informed? It is possible, however, that the latter question is answered by the fact that the study doesn't account for the entire population of individuals over 65 and that the spread of fake news is still a relatively uncommon occurrence. Moreover, it is possible that older individuals do maintain informed on real political topics while also falling victim to the fake news stories.

Another point of interest to discuss is the actual political cohesiveness of the Boomer generation. This matters in assessing the validity of Millennial criticism of Boomers, as would be illogical for Boomers to blame Boomers for specific problems if the Boomer generation really isn't a cohesive body of likeminded individuals. Millennials often characterize Baby Boomers as being representative of regressive politics in totality, at least in the manner that Millennials would deem a type of political view as regressive. Duane (1998) offers an answer to this question by arguing that Boomers have continuously grown more conservative, and continue to

grow more conservative, by interviewing 1,500-2,000 voters from 1952-1994. Though this research came out in 1998, Duane's predictions for an uphill movement of conservatism within the Boomer generation appears correct. Duane (1998) even states the Boomers expressed liberal viewpoints when it comes to gender-role attitudes, but what made a Boomer more "liberal" in the late 90's is not the same as what a Millennial would consider "liberal" currently within the progressive movement towards gender equality. Though Boomers have gradually shifted to the right, Lynch (2005) suggests that there are mixed findings when it comes to generational consensus, given that Boomers were split in the 2008 presidential election and share sociological divisions. However, Boomers tend to be distrustful of the government overall and show apprehension towards government spending and programs, while Millennials push for enlarged and interactive government to promote the progressive agenda (Lynch 2005).

The current literature and study that exists towards understanding Millennial attitudes towards Boomers, and vice versa, and differences between and within generations is rife with discrepancies and apparent contradictions that prove that it is difficult to categorize individuals simply based upon the year they were born in. At the same time, however, both generations have continued to criticize one another by building off of the notions and norms of the time they grew up in, often making it difficult to find understanding and middle ground. Many observers claim that intergenerational conflict is a product of ageism, while others argue that the conflict is overstated, and ageism isn't on the rise in the United States (Neugarten 1974). However, I would contend that Neugarten's (1974) prediction that young groups and old groups would come together to enact social change in an "age-irrelevant society" did not play out as is illustrated in the modern context. This intergenerational conflict, as Bristow (2019) argues, is well documented and observable in everyday life, though many argue that Millennials are unfairly

placing blame on Boomers by characterizing Boomers as one single evil entity, dramatizing the social issues, not civically engaging, and misguidedly fearing “tyranny of future generations”. Though Bristow (2019) fairly characterizes the nature of the blame that Millennials project unto Boomers, Bristow characterizes Millennials in the same manner as he accuses Millennials of characterizing Boomers.

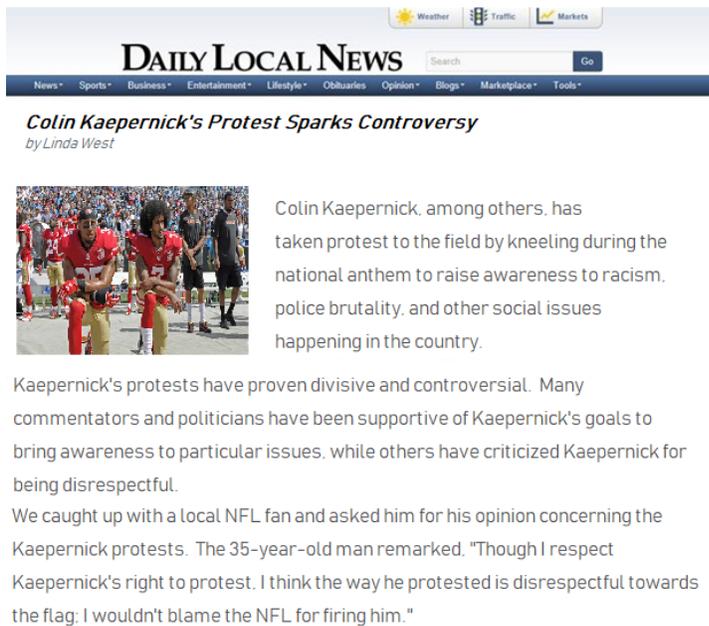
With many of these aforementioned analyses falling victim to gross characterizations and separate conclusions, there rests proof that intergenerational conflict in the United States between Millennials and Boomers is difficult to simplify. If there is one factful conclusion that can be extracted from this research is that at least *some* percentage of (to be conservatively estimate) Millennials display negative attitudes towards older generations and, at some level, these negative attitudes may translate into intergenerational political conflict, as I hope to discover with my experiment.

Survey Questions

Every participant, after consenting to take the experiment, provided their age. Additionally, all participants were asked to provide some information that could illustrate some patterns in the data. This information includes their general political leaning, political party affiliation, race, and their affinity for football and the NFL.

The experiment required six different groups of participants; two control groups and four test groups. Each group received a hypothetical article involving the Kaepernick kneeling during the national anthem controversy. In the article, the interviewer finds an NFL fan (who is described as a male) and asks that individual how they feel about the situation. The response of the NFL fan and the other components of the article are the same across all groups, however,

there is no mention of the NFL fan's age in the control groups, while two of the test groups received an article where a 35 year old was interviewed and the other two received an article where a 71 year old was interviewed. The articles appeared to the participants as is displayed below:



DAILY LOCAL NEWS Search Go

News* Sports* Business* Entertainment* Lifestyle* Obituaries* Opinion* Blogs* Marketplace* Tools*

Colin Kaepernick's Protest Sparks Controversy
by Linda West

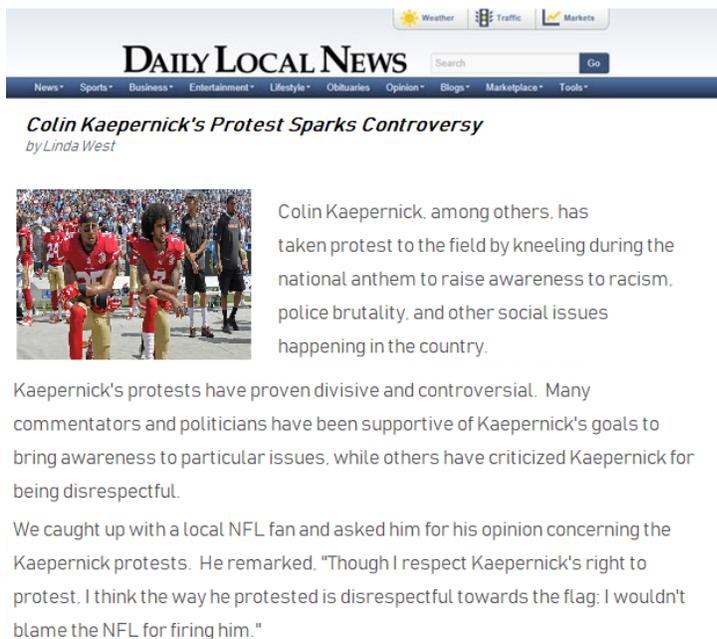


Colin Kaepernick, among others, has taken protest to the field by kneeling during the national anthem to raise awareness to racism, police brutality, and other social issues happening in the country.

Kaepernick's protests have proven divisive and controversial. Many commentators and politicians have been supportive of Kaepernick's goals to bring awareness to particular issues, while others have criticized Kaepernick for being disrespectful.

We caught up with a local NFL fan and asked him for his opinion concerning the Kaepernick protests. The 35-year-old man remarked, "Though I respect Kaepernick's right to protest, I think the way he protested is disrespectful towards the flag; I wouldn't blame the NFL for firing him."

Test Group: 35-Year-Old



DAILY LOCAL NEWS Search Go

News* Sports* Business* Entertainment* Lifestyle* Obituaries* Opinion* Blogs* Marketplace* Tools*

Colin Kaepernick's Protest Sparks Controversy
by Linda West



Colin Kaepernick, among others, has taken protest to the field by kneeling during the national anthem to raise awareness to racism, police brutality, and other social issues happening in the country.

Kaepernick's protests have proven divisive and controversial. Many commentators and politicians have been supportive of Kaepernick's goals to bring awareness to particular issues, while others have criticized Kaepernick for being disrespectful.

We caught up with a local NFL fan and asked him for his opinion concerning the Kaepernick protests. He remarked, "Though I respect Kaepernick's right to protest, I think the way he protested is disrespectful towards the flag; I wouldn't blame the NFL for firing him."

Control Groups: No Age Mentioned



Colin Kaepernick's Protest Sparks Controversy

by Linda West



Colin Kaepernick, among others, has taken protest to the field by kneeling during the national anthem to raise awareness to racism, police brutality, and other social issues happening in the country.

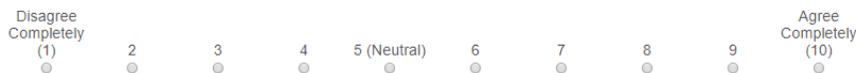
Kaepernick's protests have proven divisive and controversial. Many commentators and politicians have been supportive of Kaepernick's goals to bring awareness to particular issues, while others have criticized Kaepernick for being disrespectful.

We caught up with a local NFL fan and asked him for his opinion concerning the Kaepernick protests. The 71-year-old man remarked, "Though I respect Kaepernick's right to protest, I think the way he protested is disrespectful towards the flag; I wouldn't blame the NFL for firing him."

Test Group: 71-year-old

Each group, however, was supplemented with another group that received a moderating variable in the form of a primer aimed to get participants thinking about age and generational differences within politics prior to reading the article. The questions participants in the moderating variable groups received are as follows:

I believe that political positions differ significantly among age groups.



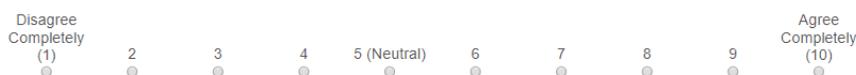
I think that older citizens are oftentimes misinformed or out of touch with current social and political norms.



I think that my generation is the most politically conscious generation.



Would you agree or disagree that you think your own political beliefs are better informed than most?



Questions asked to those who received the moderator

Every participant, after reading the article, was asked on a scale of 1-10 (1 being completely disagree and 10 being completely agree) how much they agreed with the opinion provided by the NFL fan, how much they supported the way Kaepernick protested, and if their parents would agree with the way that Kaepernick protested.

Research Design

The questions and design of this experiment were designed in a manner to control for any unreliability in data and to ensure that any variation in response between groups was due to the change in age of the interviewee. In order to fulfill this goal, the hypothetical article appears exactly the same among all groups, except for the age of the NFL fan. Since the opinion of the NFL fan is the same across all groups, the results of the control group provide what respondents strictly feel about the opinion offered by the NFL fan. The results of the control group help to reveal whether the treatment groups were affected in any meaningful way by the treatment (age of the interviewee). The order and position of the survey questions depending on the randomly assigned group was the same for all participants.

The experiment was administered through the Social and Behavioral Sciences Research Lab via Qualtrics. Conducting this experiment within the SBS Lab ensured that most of the responses I received would be young individuals. This controlled environment alleviates the possibility of physical factors affecting a respondent's honesty in their responses. Additionally, no identifying information was asked of participants which ensures that their responses will in no way be connected with them. Moreover, conducting the experiment in one location minimizes the possibility of other factors affecting the study. However, it is important to note that towards the end of the data collection period of the study some responses were gathered online via a

participant's location of choice given the introduction of the COVID-19 pandemic. All participants were randomly assigned to a group via the randomization function on Qualtrics.

The age of the individual being questioned in the article was carefully selected based upon the ages of millennials and baby boomers. 35-years-old is roughly the upper end of millennials and 71-years-old is roughly the upper end of baby boomers. I chose 35 to see how participants responded to somebody within their generation (or close to it for individuals 18 or 19-years-old). For the baby boomer being interviewed, I chose 71 in hopes that participants would actually notice the age and recognize the NFL fan as somebody considerably older than themselves and potentially illicit a change in response.

Moving on, it is important to address why I gave the NFL fan the opinion that he expresses. In the articles, the NFL fan says that Kaepernick disrespected the flag and that he wouldn't blame the NFL for firing him. This is an opinion more typically espoused by older individuals rather than young. Since I expect most participants to disagree with the NFL fan and that the Kaepernick controversy response is divided clearly among generational lines, using the typical response of 71-year-old and an atypical response of a 35-year-old will hopefully reveal if young people show more leniency towards the 35-year-old rather than the 71-year-old, and how these responses relate to the control groups.

The groups with the moderator aimed to prime participants to think about generational differences and age in politics will serve to see if making people think about age prior to responding to the treatment will affect responses in any meaningful way. As well, if the treatment alone may not be strong enough to illicit useful responses – such as if respondent barely notice an age mentioned – the groups presented with the moderator prior to the treatment

would most likely notice the age of the NFL fan given the four questions regarding age they responded to.

Lastly, no other descriptions, such as race, personal history, or appearance, were made of the interviewee to ensure that participants would only change their approval of the opinion (if they altered it at all) based upon age. Though adding such descriptors would be helpful if implemented in a more comprehensive study, that would require significantly more groups, variables to account for and participants, which was simply not feasible given my resources.

Hypothesis

First, I hypothesize that, overall, approval for the opinion expressed by the NFL fan is going to be extremely low given the young age of the sample pool. This is expected as most young people have expressed their approval of Kaepernick's method of protest, especially compared to older individuals who voiced their disapproval.

For the two control groups, I do not think there will be any difference between them, primarily because the group given the primer to think about age won't actually be introduced to an article mentioning age, thus, the two groups should respond with a similar level of disapproval for the opinion used in the article.

For the four test groups, I have a few predictions. First, I hypothesize that participants will, on average, show a higher amount of approval for the 35-year-old rather than the 71-year-old because young participants feel more connected to people their age and believe that they are more politically informed than older individuals. Even though participants, on average, are not going to agree with the opinion, they will likely exhibit leniency with the 35-year-old rather than the 71-year-old.

For the other two test groups primed to think about age prior to reading the article, I hypothesize that the 75-year-old group, as a result of the primer, will become conscious of their negative bias towards older individuals and thus show a higher level of approval for the opinion shared. For those in the 35-year-old group, my assumption is that they approve more of the NFL fan's opinion and, as a result, the primer will cause the participants in this group to decrease their approval for the 35-year-old, thus lowering the level of approval compared to the non-primed 35-year-old group. I do not think that the level of approval will deviate significantly from the baseline level of approval measured in the non-primed groups, but it will be significant enough to illustrate an existence of bias.

Results/Discussion

a.) Demographics of Sample

The experiment consisted of 106 respondents with an average age of 21.04 (though ~150 took the survey, many respondents neglected to provide their age and respond to every question and those responses were dismissed).

Table 1

BREAKDOWN OF RESPONDENTS BY AGE / NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	
<i>Age</i>	<i>Number of Respondents</i>
18	6
19	25
20	25
21	16
22	14
23	7
24	4
25	3
26	1
27	3
30	1

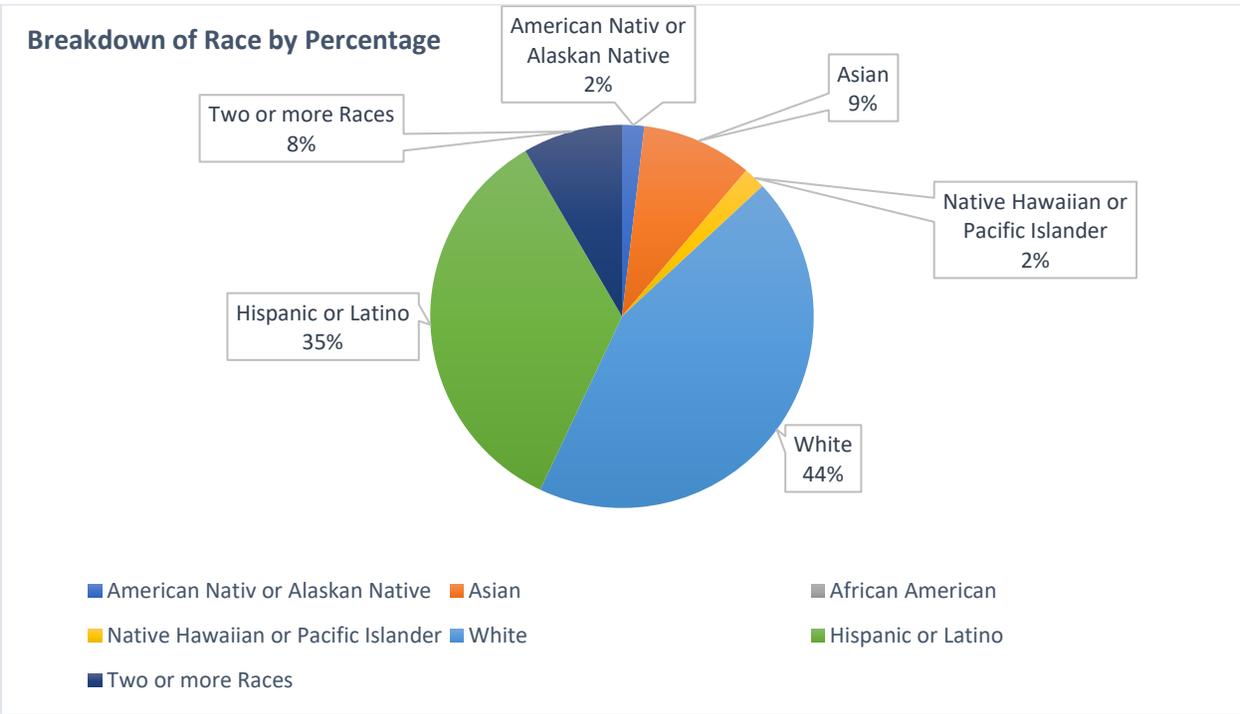
34	1
<i>Average Age: 21.04</i>	<i>Number of Respondents: 106</i>

Most of the respondents were either white (44%) or Hispanic/Latino (35%). Provided below is a table and graph of the racial composition of the sample.

Table 2

BREAKDOWN OF RACE IN SAMPLE POOL	
<i>Race</i>	<i>Number</i>
American Native or Alaskan Native	2
Asian	10
Black or African American	0
Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander	2
White	47
Hispanic or Latino	37
Two or more races	9

Graph 1



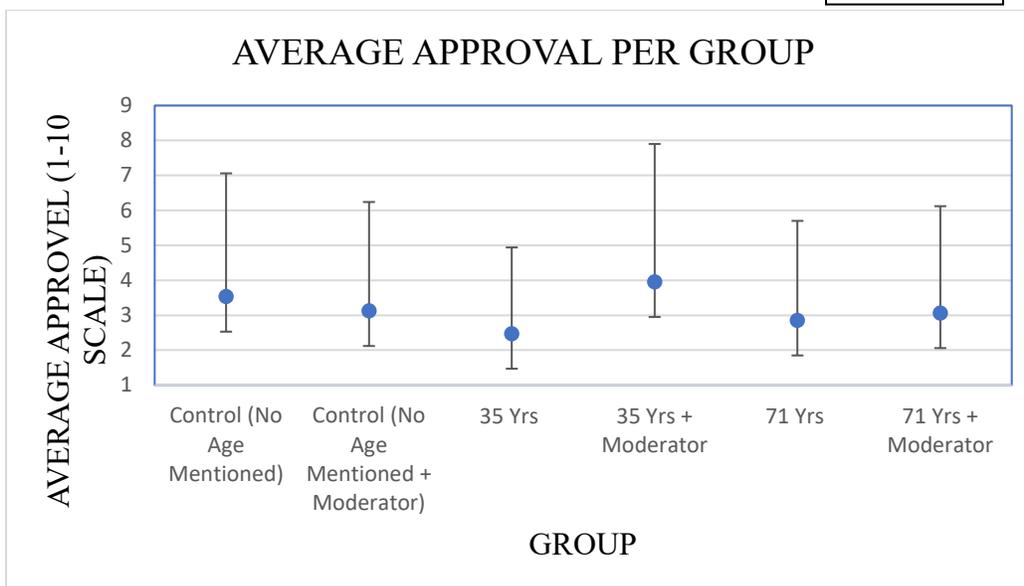
b.) Overall Results

The resulting data is not statistically significant given the relatively high standard deviations per group and lack of required respondents to ensure reliable data, though there are observational differences in the responses that show substantive significance.

Table 3

RESULTS (AVERAGE APPROVAL PER GROUP)		
<i>Group</i>	<i>Average Response</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
Control (No Age Mentioned)	3.53	1.62
Control (No Age Mentioned + Moderator)	3.12	1.58
Test Group (35 Yr.)	2.47	1.11
Test Group (35 Yr. + Moderator)	3.95	2.04
Test Group (71 Yr.)	2.85	2.29
Test Group (71 Yr. + Moderator)	3.06	2.23

Graph 2



Though the data is not statistically significant, there are a few observations to be made to indicate that respondents responded in a manner that indicates a presence of bias. First, as was expected, respondents did not agree with the opinion expressed by the NFL fan. Though this does not affect or contribute to the results of my primary research question, it does reaffirm the results of previous surveying efforts concerning the Kaepernick controversy.

As per my prediction, there was an extremely slight average increase in approval between the 71-year-old group to the 71-year-old group with the primer. Oddly enough, however, the 35-year-old group presented with the primer increased quite noticeably compared to the 35-year-old group without the primer, and to a higher degree compared to the 71-year-old groups. In fact, the 35-year-old group presented with the primer had the highest average approval of the NFL fan's opinion. A possible explanation behind this is that respondents primed to consciously think about age and how it relates to politics showed leniency to the 35-year-old fan because they saw the fan as closer to their generation and more in touch, despite espousing an opinion that was approved of less amongst every other group. Additionally, the increase can be explained by a reluctance to suspend bias and instead buckle-down on a political viewpoint and align with an individual whose age would put them on their generational team.

Quite peculiarly, given the 35-year-old group with the primer had the highest average approval, the 35-year-old group without the primer had the lowest average approval. This is the most perplexing data point within this study because it actively goes against my predictions predicated upon previous research and the previous surveying efforts concerning the Kaepernick controversy which revealed the younger generations approved of the protest method the most. The low average is most likely a result of a small sample pool. However, an interesting possibility is that the young respondents reacted more negatively towards the 35-year-old rather

than the 71-year-old because the 35-year-old politically departed significantly from their own age group, while the 71-year-old expressed a view expected from his generation. A departure from the political norms within one's own generation can garner more backlash from that age group than the group would otherwise respond with towards other generations. Thus, the respondents in the 35-year-old group without the primer may have viewed the 35-year-old as a traitor to the group, while those in the 35-year-old group with the primer chose generational allegiance.

For the 71-year-old groups, the miniscule increase in approval from the primed group may indicate that young individuals suppress their bias towards older individuals if made conscious of it. Though this explanation is plausible, the slight increase realistically comes from slight variances in responses and such a theory could only be validated by a larger sample.

Another point of interest is that the average approval from the control group with no age mentioned is higher than every other group, except the 35-year-old group with the primer. It is quite possible that when age is inserted into the equation while assessing an individual's political position, respondents consider their viewpoint differently given the introduction of another variable.

c.) Comparing Responses Between Race

As shown in **Graph 1** and **Table 2**, Hispanics/Latinos (35%) and Whites (44%) make up the majority of participants in the study. Given the similarity of size of the groups, it is worthwhile to compare the responses between them and look for any differences in results.

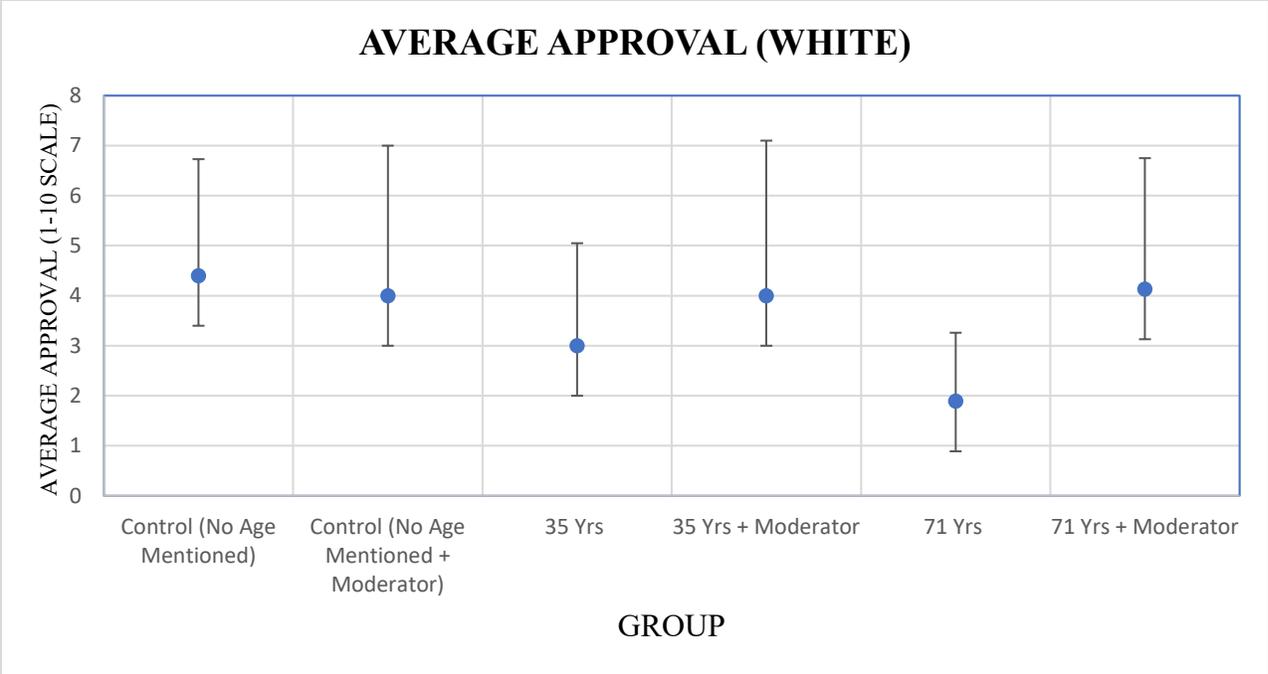
Table 4

AVERAGE APPROVAL (WHITE)		
<i>Group</i>	<i>Average Response</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
Control (No Age Mentioned)	4.4	2.33
Control (No Age Mentioned + Moderator)	4	3
Test Group (35 Yr.)	3	2.05
Test Group (35 Yr. + Moderator)	4	3.1
Test Group (71 Yr.)	1.89	1.37
Test Group (71 Yr. + Moderator)	4.13	2.62

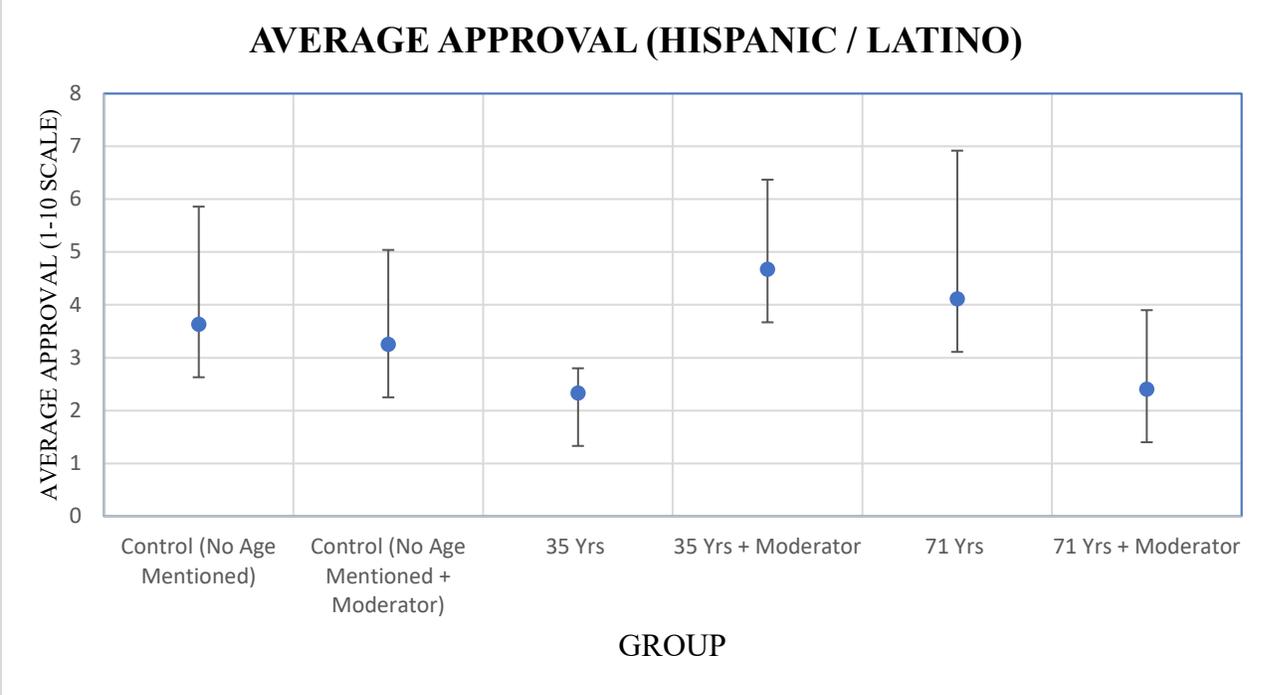
Table 5

AVERAGE APPROVAL (HISPANIC OR LATINO)		
<i>Group</i>	<i>Average Response</i>	<i>Standard Deviation</i>
Control (No Age Mentioned)	3.63	2.23
Control (No Age Mentioned + Moderator)	3.25	1.79
Test Group (35 Yr.)	2.33	.47
Test Group (35 Yr. + Moderator)	4.67	1.7
Test Group (71 Yr.)	4.11	2.81
Test Group (71 Yr. + Moderator)	2.4	1.5

Graph 3



Graph 4



There are noticeable differences between the Hispanic/Latino and white responses.

Within the Hispanic/Latino demographic, the 35-year-old group with no moderator, the 35-year-old group with moderator, and 71-year-old group with moderator have smaller standard

deviations compared to the overall sample, while whites have similar standard deviations to the overall sample. This suggests Hispanics/Latinos react more uniformly to the treatment as well as the Kaepernick controversy at large compared to whites.

The data from the Hispanic/Latino participants reveals a stark increase in the average approval from the 35-year-old group with no moderator to the 35-year-old group with moderator (2.33 → 4.67). In conjunction with this increase, there is a noticeable decrease in the average approval from the 71-year-old group with no moderator to the 71-year-old group with moderator (4.11 → 2.4). However, unlike the two 71-year-old treatment groups, the standard error bars of the 35-year-old treatment groups do not intersect. When introduced to the primer, Hispanic/Latino respondents approved of the 35-year-old the most compared to any other group, which is the case for the averages of the entire sample.

Where the Hispanic/Latino group does deviate significantly from the trends of the overall sample is within the 71-year-old treatment groups. Rather than an increase in approval when introduced to the primer (as is the case for whites), Hispanic/Latino respondents lowered their approval for the 71-year-old. In fact, given their majority makeup of the sample, the average approval of 3.06 in the total sample is essentially the average of the gap in approval between whites and Hispanics/Latinos (4.13 and 2.4). The difference in responses between whites and Hispanics/Latinos could potentially be explained via cultural differences towards elders or political differences. However, such explanations would need to be investigated more thoroughly through sociological research and more properly tailored sampling methods.

Limitations/Conclusion

Though some worthwhile inferences can be made towards the specific amounts of bias shown towards age in politics from young individuals, it is important to note the limitations of this experiment which limit the possibility of making definitive conclusions.

Unfortunately, a future experiment regarding this topic would obviously benefit from a higher number of respondents to ensure reliable data. As well, strengthening the treatment and implementing additional descriptors of the individual being interviewed (such as race, gender, physical appearance, or party affiliation) would assist in viewing how particular characteristics of an individual interact with an individual's bias. Moreover, retrieving equal percentages of racial identities would reveal how different races show bias within particular political questions more clearly.

Despite the limitations of the experiment and lack of statistical significance, the relevancy of bias towards age from younger individuals is still illustrated within the data. Though such a finding seems to be self-explanatory, it's important to remember that experiments on this topic do not exist. The differing responses between whites and Hispanics/Latinos within the 71-year-old groups elucidates the types of fascinating differences that exist between groups. Moreover, the data, as illustrated via comparing the control groups to the treatment groups, emphasizes that age does indeed play a role in how young people assess political positions and that, when primed to consciously think about age, young people agree most with individuals closer to their age.

Works Cited

- Alwin, D. F. (1998). The political impact of the baby boom: Are there persistent generational differences in political beliefs and behavior? *Generations*, 22(1), 46-54. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.arizona.edu/login?url=https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy1.library.arizona.edu/docview/60078301?accountid=836>
- Bray, Mararita Jade. (2018). Deteriation of Civic Engagement: Millennial Behavior in Contemporary Politics. Johns Hopkins University. 1-127.
<https://jscholarship.library.jhu.edu/bitstream/handle/1774.2/59299/BRAY-THESIS-2018.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>
- BRISTOW, J. (2019). *Stop Mugging Grandma: The 'Generation Wars' and Why Boomer Blaming Won't Solve Anything*. NEW HAVEN; LONDON: Yale University Press.
Retrieved from www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctvhrcxvg
- Cannon, D. F., & Mackay, J. B. (2017). Millennials fail to embrace civic duty to keep informed. *Newspaper Research Journal*, 38(3), 306–315.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0739532917722972>
- Carpini, Michael Delli. (2005). An Overview of the State of Citizens' Knowledge About Politics. University of Pennsylvania. 27-38. Retrieved from https://repository.upenn.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1053&context=asc_papers
- Fry, Richard & Igielnik, Ruth & Patten, Eileen. (2018). How Millennials today compare with their grandparents 50 years ago. Pew Research Center. Retrieved from <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2018/03/16/how-millennials-compare-with-their-grandparents/>

- Guess, Andrew & Nagler, Jonathan & Tucker, Joshua. (2019). Less than you think: Prevalence and predictors of fake news dissemination on Facebook. *Science Advances*, 5(1). Doi: 10.1126/sciadv.aau4586.
- Koyano, W. J Cross-Cultural Gerontol (1989) 4: 335. <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00120577>
- Lynch, Frederick. (2005). The New Politics of Old Age Policy. Political Power and the Baby Boomers. Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore. 87-107.
- Manning, J. E. (2018). Membership of the 115th Congress: A Profile. Retrieved from <https://www.senate.gov/CRSpubs/b8f6293e-c235-40fd-b895-6474d0f8e809.pdf>
- Neugarten, B. L. (1974). Age Groups in American Society and the Rise of the Young-Old. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 415(1), 187–198. <https://doi.org/10.1177/000271627441500114>
- Painter, E. (2018). How old is the average American? Retrieved from <https://www.quora.com/How-old-is-the-average-American>
- TEPE, M., & VANHUYSSSE, P. (2009). Are Aging OECD Welfare States on the Path to Gerontocracy?: Evidence from 18 Democracies, 1980–2002. *Journal of Public Policy*, 29(1), 1-28. doi:10.1017/S0143814X0900097X
- Willets et al. (2018). A New Generational Contract: The final report of the Intergenerational Commission. The Intergenerational Commission. Retrieved from <https://www.resolutionfoundation.org/app/uploads/2018/05/A-New-Generational-Contract-Full-PDF.pdf>