



8-2014

## Ageism and experience bias in employment interviews

Dustin Grant Williams

[How does access to this work benefit you? Let us know!](#)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://commons.und.edu/theses>



Part of the [Counseling Psychology Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Williams, Dustin Grant, "Ageism and experience bias in employment interviews" (2014). *Theses and Dissertations*. 413.

<https://commons.und.edu/theses/413>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, and Senior Projects at UND Scholarly Commons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of UND Scholarly Commons. For more information, please contact [und.common@library.und.edu](mailto:und.common@library.und.edu).

AGEISM AND EXPERIENCE BIAS IN EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEWS

by

Dustin Grant Williams  
Bachelor of Arts, University of Missouri-Kansas, 2001  
Master of Arts, University of Missouri-Kansas, 2007

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

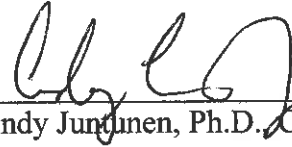
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Grand Forks, North Dakota

August  
2014

This dissertation, submitted by Dustin Grant Williams in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.



Cindy Juntunen, Ph.D., Chairperson



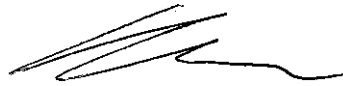
David Perry, Ph.D.



Alan King, Ph.D.

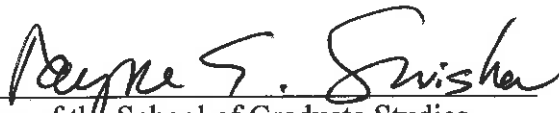


Rachel Navarro, Ph.D.

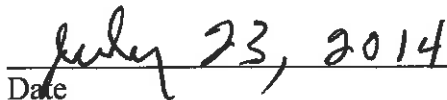


Enru Wang, Ph.D.

This dissertation is being submitted by the appointed advisory committee as having met all of the requirements of the School of Graduate Studies at the University of North Dakota and is hereby approved.



Dean of the School of Graduate Studies



Date

## PERMISSION

Title           Ageism and Experience Bias in Employment Interviews

Department    Counseling Psychology

Degree         Doctor of Philosophy

In presenting this dissertation in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a graduate degree from the University of North Dakota, I agree that the library of this University shall make it freely available for inspection. I further agree that permission for extensive copying for scholarly purposes may be granted by the professor who supervised my dissertation work or, in her absence, by the Chairperson of the department or the dean of the School of Graduate Studies. It is understood that any copying or publication or other use of this dissertation or part thereof for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission. It is also understood that due recognition shall be given to me and to the University of North Dakota in any scholarly use which may be made of any material in my dissertation.

Dustin Grant Williams  
July 1, 2014

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|  |      |
|--|------|
| LIST OF TABLES.....  | vii  |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....   | viii |
| ABSTRACT.....  | ix   |
| CHAPTER  |      |
| I. INTRODUCTION .....  | 1    |
| Statement of the Problem.....                                  | 1    |
| Significance of the Study.....                                 | 5    |
| II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE .....                             | 7    |
| Definitions and Prevalence of Ageism and Experience Bias ..... | 8    |
| Ageism .....   | 8    |
| Prevalence.....  | 12   |
| Work Experience .....  | 16   |
| The Modern Expression of Ageism in Employment .....            | 17   |
| Commonly Held Beliefs about Ageism and Employment.....         | 21   |
| Higher Pay and Promotion.....                                  | 24   |
| Productivity and Training .....                                | 26   |
| Impact of Age Discrimination .....                             | 29   |
| The Relationship between Ageism and Experience .....           | 32   |
| Ageism and Employment Hiring Process .....                     | 33   |

|      |                                    |    |
|------|------------------------------------|----|
|      | The Purpose of this Study .....    | 36 |
|      | Hypotheses.....                    | 36 |
|      | Hypothesis 1 .....                 | 36 |
|      | Hypothesis 2 .....                 | 37 |
|      | Hypothesis 3 .....                 | 37 |
| III. | METHODS .....                      | 38 |
|      | Study 1 (Preliminary Study) .....  | 38 |
|      | Methods .....                      | 39 |
|      | Participants.....                  | 39 |
|      | Instrument .....                   | 39 |
|      | Procedure .....                    | 40 |
|      | Results.....                       | 40 |
|      | Discussion.....                    | 42 |
|      | Study 2 (Pilot Study).....         | 43 |
|      | Methods .....                      | 43 |
|      | Participants.....                  | 43 |
|      | Measures .....                     | 44 |
|      | Results.....                       | 44 |
|      | Discussion.....                    | 45 |
|      | Study 3 (Main Study) Methods ..... | 45 |
|      | Procedure .....                    | 48 |
|      | Measures .....                     | 49 |
|      | Analysis of Results .....          | 52 |

|     |  |    |
|-----|--|----|
| IV. | RESULTS .....                          | 53 |
|     | Preliminary Findings.....              | 53 |
|     | Hypothesis 1 .....                     | 55 |
|     | Hypothesis 2 .....                     | 55 |
|     | Hypothesis 3 .....                     | 56 |
| V.  | DISCUSSION.....                        | 60 |
|     | Limitations .....                      | 63 |
|     | Future Consideration.....              | 66 |
|     | Implication for Hiring Personnel ..... | 66 |
|     | Implications for Future Research.....  | 67 |
|     | Conclusion .....                       | 69 |
|     | APPENDICES .....                       | 71 |
|     | REFERENCES .....                       | 87 |

## LIST OF TABLES

| Table   | Page |
|---|------|
| 1. Discrimination by Year .....   | 15   |
| 2. Similarities of Interview Excerpts .....   | 40   |
| 3. Differences in Age of Interviewees .....   | 41   |
| 4. Belief in Competency of Interviewees .....   | 42   |
| 5. Hiring Experience and Length of Stay at Present Company in Years.....  | 46   |
| 6. Type of Industry Participants were Employed in .....   | 47   |
| 7. Candidate Characteristics EFA (n = 202).....   | 50   |
| 8. Correlation between Modified Fraboni Ageism Scale and Candidate<br>Characteristics (N=201).....  | 54   |
| 9. Means, Standard Deviations and Differences in Candidate Interview<br>Ratings by Participant Age Category .....   | 58   |
| 10. Means, Standard Deviations and MANOVA to Compare the Effects of<br>Participant Responses towards a Younger, Less Experienced Interviewee and an<br>Older, More Experienced Interviewee..... | 59   |



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would first and foremost like to thank my advisor, Cindy Juntunen, who without her help, encouragement, cajoling and faith in me I couldn't even begin to imagine this process coming to fruition. I would also like to thank my dissertation committee: Dr. Perry, Dr. King, Dr. Navarro and Dr. Wang for their support, flexibility and assistance. The University of North Dakota's Career Services whose help was invaluable. My parents: Donna, Larry and Sally have guided and supported me to this point in my life and continue to remain a source of strength for me. I would also like to thank my children: Savannah and Graham for being who they are, they were and are a constant source of amazement to me. And for Traci, always for Traci who without, none of this would be possible or as important.

## ABSTRACT

The present study explored the effects of employment interviewee's age and work experience on hiring manager's recommendations to hire. It was hypothesized that interviewees who were older and therefore had more work experience would receive significantly fewer recommendations to be hired than interviewees with less experience and therefore younger. Furthermore, it was proposed that hiring managers with higher ageist attitudes, as measured by the Fraboni Scale of Ageism, would be less likely to recommend older interviewees with extensive years of work experience be hired than younger interviewees with less work experience. The population was comprised of employment hiring manager from hiring personal from a broad range of companies' sizes. Of the 360 returned surveys, 201 were fully completed and useable. The hypotheses of the study were supported. Participants gave more recommendations for hire to younger, less experienced interviewees than to older, more experienced interviewees. Participants also rated younger and less experienced applicants more favorably on a variety of candidate characteristics. In addition, the higher a participant scored on the modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism, the less positively they rated an older more experienced interviewee.

## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

The goal of the present study is to increase our understanding of how an employment seeker's age and work experience is perceived by recruiters, and how such perceptions may contribute to hiring bias against older workers. This research question is important because many skilled older workers are facing negative workplace stereotypes which are only exacerbated in the current economic environment. The present study is focused on examining the impact of age and experience biases during employment interviews in an effort to identify real world solutions for leveling the playing field for older job seekers.

#### **Statement of the Problem**

In the last several years employment has begun to come under scrutiny. This is in part because of the economic crisis in the United States and the unemployment rate ranging from 10% to as high as 60% in some parts of the United States as of April 2011 (United States Bureau of labor Statistics.) Traditionally, the field of psychology has looked at how individuals choose careers or majors rather than the job search process. (Bluestein, 2006). While the field of vocational psychology has long focused on assisting individuals with what career path to take there can be a very large disconnect between knowing what career or careers an individual is interested in pursuing and

actually taking the steps necessary to establish themselves within such a career or careers.

The world's demographics are changing quite dramatically and the number of older adults is growing rapidly (Maday, 2000). In 2008, people 65 and older across the globe increased 10.4 million since the year 2007 and reached 506 million globally. By 2040, the number of people within this age group is expected to escalate to 14% of the earth's population (Kinsella & Wan, 2009).

In 2030, 70 million or 20% of the United States population will be over 65, which is two times as many from what it consisted of in 2000 (Hedge, Borman, & Lammlein, 2006). Kinsella and Wan (2009) predicted that by 2020 there will be as many 60 year olds as 20 year olds in the United States. Correspondingly, worker demographics characteristics in the United States are on the cusp of a significant change. Hedge, Borman, and Lammlein, (2006) effectively predicted that because workers born between 1946 and 1964 (i.e. Baby boomers) reached their predicted retirement age of 65 in 2010; there will be significant changes in worker demographics. According to the United States Department of Labor-Statistics in 2000, nearly 13% (18.2 Million) of the United States workforce was 55 or older and by 2010 this age group increased to almost 17% (26.6 million) of the workforce, a 46% increase. This trend highlights another critical issue with the baby boomers declining presence within the workforce: the loss of highly skilled and experienced workers. According to Penner, Perun and Steuerle (2002), this trend will increase as a result of the decline in the United States fertility rates from 1965 to 1979 following the post WW-II baby boom.

Cox and Smolinski (1994) argued that effectively managed diversity in the workplace increases organizational productivity and ultimately increased profits and research supports their assertions. In a study by the US Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) of 500 Standard and Poors (S&P) organizations found that organizations ranked in the top 5<sup>th</sup> in terms compliance with regulatory requirements held an average stock return of 18.3% whereas organizations in the lower 5<sup>th</sup> held average stock returns of 7.9% (“Affirmative Action,” 1996).

Viewed in the light of the looming dearth of skilled and experienced workers the issues surrounding the procurement and retention of experienced workers has become a vital strategy for the survival of organizations. Rupp, Vodanovich, and Credé (2005) stress that the recruitment and retention of workers high in skills and expertise is an advantageous strategy for organizations wishing to remain competitive. This premise is based on the idea that organizations which follow such a strategy would be able to integrate the skills such individuals bring across their organizations which would then allow organizations to heighten their overall skill and knowledge levels.

However, poor treatment and negative stereotypes of older workers (i.e. that they are slow, unable to train or lacking in technical ability) abound in organizations. According to the American Association of Retired Persons (AARP) (Wells, 2004), organizations eagerly make policy in an effort to combat racism and sexism within their organizations yet incidents of ageism are often unpunished. McCann (2002) stated that although hiring discrimination is the most common type of age discrimination it is not always seen in statistics because it is incredibly difficult for victims to identify and ultimately prove hiring discrimination has taken place.

Bennington (2004) stated that some of the reasons age discrimination is so difficult to prove is because older job applicants without ardent legal supports need to prove that they are qualified and able to perform the job in question if hired. To compound matters, older job applicants who have never been hired and then subsequently worked for an organization have never lost wages as a result. Without the actual loss of wages, it is difficult for an older applicant who is the victim of age discrimination to argue what kinds of actual damages they have, or could have suffered as a result of age discrimination during the hiring process.

The recent nationwide financial crisis and the ensuing employment recovery have brought the importance of work supports to the attention of the nation and the field of psychology (Quinterno, 2011). Access to work has become a significant challenge to many as a direct result of the massive job losses and unemployment across the nation that has defined the nation in the last few years. Even in the best of economic times, marginalized populations are not guaranteed equal access to jobs (Gilbert & Stead, 1999) and during the current economic difficulty these same populations struggle even more. Central to the issue of access to work is the job search process and a central component to the job search process for any group of people is the employment interview and marginalized groups have an even more difficult time with the job search process including but not limited to the interviewing process.

Perceptions made during the interview process about the suitability of a candidate are most often the deciding factor in determining whether or not a candidate is hired (Buckley, Jackson, Bolino, Veres, & Field, 2007). Application materials are often initially screened to weed out undesired candidates and while some marginalized

groups have the potential to camouflage attributes that mark them as members of a marginalized group (Piwinger & Ebert, 2001) on their application material, in a face to face interview their membership in such a category is increasingly difficult, if not impossible, to mask.

### **Significance of the Study**

This study has the potential to contribute significantly to both research professionals and to those individuals whose employment actively or peripherally involves the employment interviewing decision making process. In addition this study contributes to applied vocational research which has the potential to improve the manner in which employment interviews could be conducted. The most significant contribution this study has the potential to make is with individuals involved in the employment interviewing process by the examination of the intersections of ageism, perceptions of experience and employment interviewing decisions. Few studies to date have explored hiring personnel's perceptions of age or distinction between age and experience, nor has there been any literature which combines these factors within the concept of hiring decisions based upon the interviewing process.

Furthermore, the need for quantitative research to determine the extent to which ageism and individual employer cultural competence is well documented in the research work (Hawthorne 1997; Perrin 2005; Sargeant 2001; Taylor and Unwin 2001). This study strives to increase understanding in ageism, employer characteristics, potential employee characteristics, and the employment interviewing process quantitatively.

Employment interviews are one of the most commonly used methods of employee selection in both the public and private sector (Buckley, Jackson, Bolino, Veres, & Field, 2007). The majority of corporations have used the interview process to screen applicants as well as to determine their suitability to work effectively and successfully within their individual corporate culture (Walsh 1966, p. 554). The present study seeks to link psychological research of interviewer attitudes with interview outcome decisions by addressing the following questions:

1. To what degree do age biased attitudes among hiring and recruiting professionals impact their hiring practices?
2. Is there a difference in hiring decisions based on perceived age and experience of job candidates?

In addition, by centering the attention on a particular minority – older employees – this study has the potential to provide material useful to people interested in the employment interviewing decision making processes as well as applied research which has the potential to improve the manner in which employment interviews could be conducted. It should be noted that while technically a definition of ageism includes both young and old individuals who are discriminated against as a result of their age the focus of this study will be concerned with studying the effects of this trend solely on older individuals.



## **CHAPTER II**

### **REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE**

A search of PsycINFO identified only 170 articles published between the years 1919 to 2012 using the search criteria “employment interviewing” and “psychology”. Interviewing is one, if not the, major milestone in the job search process (Buckley, Jackson, Bolino, Veres, & Field, 2007) yet little attention has been directed at how hiring professionals make their decisions. The world’s population is getting older, and as it ages older individuals are being faced with new challenges in the world of work. The present writer’s survey of the literature on employment interviewing suggests that very little is known about how ageism affects hiring decisions based on the employment interviewing process. The purpose of this dissertation is to help fulfill that need by seeking answers to three questions: (1) To what degree does ageism or experience bias effect a hiring professional’s decision to hire or not hire potential employees? (2) To what degree does ageist and experience bias of hiring professionals influence the evaluation of job candidate characteristics relevant to the position being filled?, and (3) What is the relationship between ageist attitudes and hiring professionals hiring decisions?

The literature supporting this project is organized into six main sections. The first section will provide an overview of the definitions and prevalence of ageism and experience bias. The second section investigates the modern expression of employment

and ageism. The third section looks at commonly held beliefs about ageism, experience bias and employment. Section four explores the impact of age discrimination. Section five will discuss the relationship between ageism and experience, and the challenges in separating respective biases. Finally, ageism, experience bias and the employment process is examined.

### **Definitions and Prevalence of Ageism and Experience Bias**

#### **Ageism**

Broadly defined ageism is discrimination towards someone as a direct result of their age. Frazer and Wiersma (2001) state discrimination comes out of prejudice, which they define as a fact-less prejudgment regardless of whether or not it is favorable. Prejudice becomes discrimination when prejudicial attitudes become actions through treating people who are the object of prejudicial attitudes unequally when compared to individuals who are not the target of prejudicial attitudes. Frazer and Wiersma (2001) note the importance of external governmental sanctions to treat employment applicants equally “because suppressed attitudes may manifest themselves in other domains where sanctions for failing to comply do not yet exist, or are less stringent.” (p. 174).

Ageism, like many forms of discrimination, is subtle at times to the point of being seemingly ubiquitous. Butler (1969) was among the first to define ageism as “a process of systematic stereotyping and discrimination against people because they are old” (p. 22). Currently, ageism refers to a set of ideas and beliefs which are associated with discriminatory attitudes and actions directed towards older or younger adults. (Quadagno, 2008; Palmore, 1999; Duncan, Loretto, & White, 2000; Snape & Redman,

2003). Ageism implies stereotypes or negative beliefs about older adults as a group and can become apparent through a variety of interactions. However, age discrimination can affect any age: for example, middle aged workers can be depreciated for appearing to fail in making an arbitrarily assumed progress believed to be the norm for their age (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick 1997) such as a promotion or a level of status within a company. The term “ageism”, as intended throughout this dissertation, refers to negative stereotypes, attitudes or actions directed towards older individuals typically above or around the age of 55 years old. The method of age discrimination can take many forms making it difficult to identify as well as prove.

Ageism affects everyone and has features which other forms of discrimination do not. Palmore (2001) describes ageism as the third greatest “ism” in the United States, following racism and sexism. However in contrast to racism and sexism everyone has the potential to become the target of ageism provided they live long enough. Nelson (2004) notes that ageism is one of the more accepted forms of discrimination within westernized culture as evidenced by the lack of social sanctions against expressing negative beliefs and attitudes about the elderly and further states: “the widespread occurrence of socially acceptable expressions of negativity towards the elderly have been well documented” (Nelson, 2004 p. 50). While Chou and Chow (2005) note that there is an increased interest in combating ageism they attributed it mainly to labor shortages and the spiraling costs of social welfare.

Ageism is not always easy to identify. The term “Older Worker” can vary greatly from industry to industry. For example: in advertising and information technology individuals as old as 40 can be considered “too old” (Duncan and Loretto 2004, p. 96).

Moreover, every worker has the potential to eventually play dual roles of oppressor or oppressed at some point in their working life as they age (Duncan and Loretto, 2004), which often makes describing ageism in the workplace as difficult as delineating what is meant by “older worker.”

Intolerance of others, as exemplified by ageism, is a significant problem in today’s societies. Prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination are facets of intolerance which acts to oppress a wide range of minority or marginalized groups (Lott & Maluso, 1995). It is the lack of a willingness to tolerate an “other”, or someone not part of a majority group, which makes room for inequality between groups of people. Systematic oppression is maintained through an intolerance of others at an individual level and eventually leads to the silencing of the oppressed group (Lott & Maluso, 1995).

Intolerance is often looked at as a single entity but in fact it takes many forms including, but not limited to: racism, classism, sexism, ageism and religious intolerance. There are a bevy of theories which suggest there may be an undergirding construct to intolerances (Allport, 1954; Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswick, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Sidanius, Pratto, van Laar, & Levin, 2004), there is also evidence to suggest there are distinct but related facets or forms of intolerance. For instance, Avosved and Long (2006) found that the constructs of racism, sexism, ageism, sexual prejudice and religious intolerance were strongly interrelated. These distinct facets of racism form unique combinations which effect different work environments in a number of ways.

American culture historically perpetuates ageism through values, language and the mass media (Wikinson & Ferraro, 2002). A common example of this is when older

individuals are depicted by the mass media as helpless or befuddled. The process by which people observe, accept and eventually mirror others behavior is explained by social learning theory (Bandura, 1978). Ageist attitudes and stereotypes are built into the bedrock of childhood, and based on social learning theory; this tendency could greatly influence individuals' automatic acceptance or even adoption, of negative older adult stereotypes (Montepare & Zebrowitz, 2002). As a result, ageist beliefs and behaviors are passed from generation to generation through societal and cultural traditions and language.

Butler (1980) initially offered the perspective that there were three core affective and cognitive dimensions of ageism: 1) damaging attitudes towards older individuals, old age and the ageing process overall; 2) social discriminatory practices against older adults, specifically in regard to employment; 3) broad organizational practices and policies which have a tendency to perpetuate negative stereotypic beliefs or ideas concerning the elderly. Butler (1980) further proposed that these negative beliefs, discriminative behaviors and attitudes concerning older individuals are interrelated and each element compounds one another.

Ageism can be expressed behaviorally as, but not limited to: ageist jokes, expressions, insults and avoidance of individuals viewed as elderly and can be expressed through discriminatory practices in the workplace such as denying promotions to, limiting training opportunities for and refusing to hire older workers (Palmore, 1999). In addition to the adverse effects ageist beliefs have on older workers, such beliefs often have a tendency to conform to acting as society expects and assumes the elderly should behave (Whitbourne & Sneed, 2002)

## **Prevalence**

In the United States, laws have been created to ensure equal access to work. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission defines employment discrimination through the enforcement of laws surrounding employment. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is responsible for enforcing federal laws which outlaw discriminatory hiring practices based upon a potential employees race, color, religion, sex (in which they include pregnancy), national origin, age (specifically individuals over 40), disability or genetic information. Organizations in the United States have traditionally been forced into complying with equal hiring practices (Frazer & Wiersma, 2001) and it is therefore important to understand how the United States Federal Government protects American workers by law.

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission mandates by federal law the following federal regulations:

- Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Title VII), which prohibits employment discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin;
- The Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA), which protects men and women who perform substantially equal work in the same establishment from sex-based wage discrimination;
- The Age Discrimination in Employment Act of 1967 (ADEA), which protects individuals who are 40 years of age or older;

- Title I and Title V of the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, as amended (ADA), which prohibit employment discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities in the private sector, and in state and local governments;
- Sections 501 and 505 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, which prohibit discrimination against qualified individuals with disabilities who work in the federal government;
- Title II of the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act of 2008 (GINA), which prohibits employment discrimination based on genetic information about an applicant, employee, or former employee; and
- The Civil Rights Act of 1991, which, among other things, provides monetary damages in cases of intentional employment discrimination.

These laws protect potential employees from discrimination in any aspect of employment, including: “hiring and firing; compensation, assignment, or classification of employees; transfer, promotion, layoff, or recall; job advertisements; recruitment; testing; use of company facilities; training and apprenticeship programs; fringe benefits; pay, retirement plans, and disability leave; or other terms and conditions of employment.” (“Federal laws prohibiting,” 2009). Although Federal law prohibits employment discrimination against these classes of people there are gaps in the coverage of laws and as a result also lists discretionary practices:

“Harassment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, national origin, disability, genetic information, or age; retaliation against an individual for filing a charge of discrimination, participating in an investigation, or opposing discriminatory practices; employment decisions based on stereotypes or assumptions about the

abilities, traits, or performance of individuals of a certain sex, race, age, religion, or ethnic group, or individuals with disabilities, or based on myths or assumptions about an individual's genetic information; and denying employment opportunities to a person because of marriage to, or association with, an individual of a particular race, religion, national origin, or an individual with a disability. Title VII also prohibits discrimination because of participation in schools or places of worship associated with a particular racial, ethnic, or religious group.” (Source: <http://www.eeoc.gov/facts/qanda.html>)

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2010) reports showed a record number of plaintiffs filing employment bias suits against private sector employers (2008 and 2010) for employment bias for both 2008 and 2010. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission chronicles the annual number of individual charges filled by individuals for employment discrimination. Complaints are not broken down according to specific occurrences, such as age, in a workers search for employment. However, the statistics do offer a global picture of the prevalence of the types of discrimination reported in the United States workplace and are offered in Table 1.

Age discrimination charges are a significant portion of federal discrimination suits filed over the last decade, and this may well increase in response to an aging population. By the year 2020, one third of the population will be composed of people over sixty-five in a number of countries across the globe (Gunderson, 2003; McDonald & Potton, 1997). To compound matters, retirement or pension benefits have been declining, with a prodigious number of companies discontinuing clearly defined benefit



plans outright (Nuemark, 2003) which compels older workers to remain in the workforce longer.

Table 1

*Discrimination by Year*

|                 | Fiscal Year<br>2001 | Fiscal Year<br>2005 | Fiscal Year<br>2009 | Fiscal Year<br>2010 |
|-----------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Total Charges   | 80,840              | 75,428              | 93,277              | 99,922              |
| Race            | 28,912              | 26,740              | 33,579              | 35,890              |
| % of Whole      | 35.80%              | 35.50%              | 36.00%              | 35.90%              |
| National Origin | 8,025               | 8,361               | 11,134              | 11,304              |
| % of Whole      | 9.90%               | 10.50%              | 11.90%              | 11.30%              |
| Age             | 17,405              | 16,585              | 22,778              | 23,264              |
| % of Whole      | 21.50%              | 22.00%              | 24.40%              | 23.30%              |

Source:<http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/statistics/enforcement/charges.cfm>

The widening age gap of workers is becoming more apparent in the number of US companies being pushed to retain older and more experienced personnel as a result of a lack of skilled junior employees. This trend is exacerbated by the increasing trend as US workers attempt to stave off retirement longer and longer (e.g., Dychtwald, Erickson, & Morison, 2004; Tempest et al. 2002). Currently in the United States over half of its 147 million-member workforce is aged 40 years or older. Workers aged 55-64 are expected to rise by 36.5% until 2016; in contrast, workers aged 25-54 will likely rise only 2.4% in the same timeframe (U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010). This phenomenon, referred to as the “demographic time bomb” (Tempest, Barnatt, & Coupland, 2002, p. 487) and the impending “age quake” (Tempest et al., p. 489) delineate an emerging challenge that most developing countries are currently experiencing: simultaneously shrinking youth and ageing human populations as a result of low birth rates and increased lifespan (Kunze, Boehm & Bruch, 2011). This systemic

population shift has important implications for employers and for discrimination policies.

### **Work Experience**

The term “work experience” is one of the most familiar and vexing terms in personal research and practice (Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). The difficulty in extricating the concept of work experience from the concept of age discrimination often sparks a heated chicken and the egg argument and to compound matters, no one agreed upon definition of “work experience” is to found with any consistency within the literature (Panek, 1997; McVittie, McKinley, & Widdicombe, 2003; McGregor, & Gray, 2001; Singer, & Bruhns, 1991; Rupp, Vodanovich, & Credé, 2005). To further muddle the issue, despite its great importance in employment training, selection, promotional issues and performance there is a dearth of literature, much less current literature which has researched age and experience effects on job performance (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998).

Research has commonly defined work experience as a time-based capacity, as in tenure in a job (Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). However, some researchers measured work experience as an amount while others have measured or attempted to quantify the type of work experience. For example, work experience has been defined as: the content of the actual work experience (Mumford & Stokes, 1992); the number of times a task has been performed by a worker (Lance, Hedge, & Alley, 1989); as well as by the purported lessons a worker has reportedly gained from work experience (Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995).

## **The Modern Expression of Ageism in Employment**

Ageism has been present in employment for a great many years but was exacerbated when the world of work underwent a fundamental shift from mass production, labeled Fordism (Hassard, 2002), to the more modern expression of work that focuses on business and service industries. Fordism is a sociological theory of industry which refers to Henry Ford's belief that increased production efficiency is due to assembly-line methods. Fordism was most active globally from the post-war 1950s to the 1970s (Hassard, 2002). During this time work was more plentiful and opportunities for older workers were easier to come by.

During Fordism workers were buffered from economic shift by systems that made it easier for older workers to maintain jobs. During Fordism's heyday, workers were commonly protected from becoming unemployed as the result of a lack of suitable work or being deemed unnecessary through the last-in, first-out system (Snape & Redman, 2003). However, it is important to note that older workers were still being discriminated against. Even during Fordism's boom-time, older workers were still commonly believed to be susceptible to illness or physically incapable of performing all but the most basic job functions (Snape & Redman, 2003) and were often subject to age discriminatory hiring practices as a consequence. Although older workers had less difficulty maintaining and finding work during Fordism, they still struggled with discrimination as a whole.

The breakdown of Fordism had some advantages for older workers. The main benefit of the collapse of Fordism, while marginal, was the general loosening of the structure of employment, which made room for more flexible expressions of work to

come into prevalence (Jessop, 2001). However, the benefits of the general collapse of Fordism were outweighed by difficulties for older workers who very often spent the majority of their lives toiling within industries which relied heavily upon Fordism ideals (Taylor & Walker, 1997). Once out of such industries they quickly found similar jobs scarce and often lacked the training and experience to transition to other industries.

Once Fordism collapsed, discrimination against older workers began to become more pronounced. Wood, Wilkinson and Harcourt (2008) point to age discrimination becoming more commonplace following Fordism's crisis in the 1970's. The general collapse of Fordism represented the ending of an extended period of generally boisterous economic growth on a large scale characterized largely by conspicuous consumption (Hassard, 2002). This breakdown heralded a collapse of steadily increasing wages and consumption on a large scale. In response companies cut costs and worker flexibility, which eventually translated to a general worsening in employment conditions for workers (Kelly, 1998). For example, the percentage of male British workers aged 60-64 from 1975 to 1994 dropped from 84% to 79% and for workers aged 55-59 the number of male workers dipped from 94% to 79% (Jessop, 2001).

Older workers fare worse in today's working world. Engleman and Kleiner (1998) noted that by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, although workers were becoming increasingly aware of their working rights under federal law there was a simultaneous increase in the prevalence of age discrimination. Wood, Wilkinson, and Harcourt (2008) note that an increased emphasis on flexibility and leaner organizational structures have particularly negatively impacted older workers. Arrowsmith and

McGoldrick (1997) have argued the rupture of any employment relationship particularly impacts individuals in disadvantaged positions such as age. Taylor and Walker (1997) note that during capitalism's structural changes some groups bear more of the brunt of the costs than others and that it is more acceptable, even among themselves, for older workers to suffer job losses during these times.

Taken together, these observations make it clear that the present level of employment discrimination against older workers is a symptom of larger issues. Glover and Branine (1997) note that over the last few decades the rules of modernity have stripped the past values of meaning and as a part of this process, the value of older individuals has been denigrated. In the process of recreating social constructions of old age, cultural negativities replace cultural values. Interestingly, often older individuals can agree with these cultural negativities as well as contribute to this new reality and only occasionally react to it through outbursts of heavy conservatism (Featherstone & Hepworth, 1989). These shifts in the nature of discrimination, and the processes by which individuals internalized responses, are only a smattering of the many products of a loosening of existing cultural frameworks and constantly shifting power relations in society.

As noted earlier, age employment discrimination is gaining attention and is not only localized in the United States. Currently, a great deal of research focuses on discrimination against older workers in redundancy situations (Walker, 2005). At the same time the AARP (The American Association of Retired Persons) has actively tracked older workers longitudinally and found that older workers consistently are proportionally underrepresented in the labor market, although their participation rate

has slowly increased (Rix, 2005). Couple that with the average rate of retirements and gradual decline in the United States and Great Britain during the 1960s to 1995, from 66.5% to 66.2% to 63.6% and eventually to 62.7% years (Auer & Fortuny, 2000; OECD 2004). Nor is this a trend only localized to the United States or Great Britain; there has been mounting evidence of widespread age discrimination in New Zealand (McGregor & Gray, 2003) and Australia (Bennington & Weir, 2002).

There are many difficulties in finding and proving ageism in the workplace due to the subtle nature of discrimination and ageism (Wood, Wilkinson & Harcourt, 2008). For example, employers can, and often do, assert complex changes to a company's financial situation as a reason to make job cuts or layoffs and use evidence to back up their claims which employees cannot easily verify (Taylor & Walker, 1997). In addition, such companies can claim new skill requirements as reasons to layoff or fire aged workers (Barry & Boland 2004; Gunderson 2003). The relatively widespread nature of ageism coupled with the inherent diversity work offers often combine to make identifying ageism as well as combating it difficult (Gunderson, 2003). What is easier to identify is commonly held beliefs about older workers and their potential effects.

Younger workers have traditionally viewed older workers as obstacles. One contributing factor to this attitude is the perceptions that as long as older workers remain in the workforce, younger workers are not able to move up the corporate ladder or even be hired while older workers continue to work (McNaught & Barth, 1992). In addition, this view is commonly held by younger workers and has only been exacerbated during the recent economic troubles.

In the past, older workers leaving or retiring from the workforce created a vacuum which could then be filled by younger workers and over time this practice became accepted as conventional norm (Whitley & Kite, 2010). The result has been to add to people's stereotypical belief that workers are or should be young people (Gregory, 2001). To compound matters, the tradition of older workers retiring at a certain age has supported the idea that older workers are less productive (Gregory, 2001).

Older workers have been perceived and labeled as having less performance and developmental capacity (Weiss & Maurer, 2004; Gregory, 2001; Snape & Redman, 2003; Snir & Harpaz, 2002). To compound matters, older workers perceived or presumed higher cost to employ, negative stereotypes, assumed decline of physical and cognitive abilities and expected decline in job performance are often suggested as factors contributing to age discrimination (Costa, 1998; Brooke & Taylor, 2005; Garstka, Hummert & Branscombe, 2005; Branine & Glover, 1997).

### **Commonly Held Beliefs about Ageism and Employment**

In today's current global employment market there are a great many forces at work which affect older workers. During times of economic or employment insecurities tensions between older and younger workers can arise or be exacerbated, particularly among younger workers who have more of a tendency to hold unfavorable beliefs about their older counterparts (Brooke & Taylor, 2005). Even more, divisions in labor have the potential to be used as a means of justifying workplace inequalities. For example: more advantaged groups, such as younger workers, could possibly defend

their comparatively privileged position by attacking political correctness (Garstka, Hummert & Branscombe, 2005) rather than the root issues.

A society's outlook on the elderly impacts how it treats its workers and in turn impacts how a society views age. Societies placing more merit in the value of youthful workers while simultaneously degrading the value of older workers may be a function of dominant groups attempting to attenuate weaker groups in a bid to protect their own more beneficial position (Darity, 2001). Branine and Glover (1997) reinforce this possibility by suggesting that generalized beliefs extolling the value of youth, beauty, fashion, and progress simultaneously encroach on and are reinforced through workplace practices. Macnicol (2006) summarizes this impact succinctly: "we live in a culture that worships youth and beauty" (p. 11) and goes on to state that economic growth for its own sake is highly regarded along with conspicuous consumers while the impoverished and disadvantaged groups, such as the elderly, are denigrated.

Interpersonal perceptions have been a major point of concern in workplace encounters (Ibarra, 1999). In other words; employees worry about how their coworkers, supervisors and subordinates perceive them. Interactions between diverse social groups, such as age groups, can exacerbate such concerns (King, Kaplan, & Zaccaro, 2008; Roberts, 2005). Furthermore, majority group members are motivated by egalitarian values, worries over interpersonal awkwardness, and fear of litigation to appear non-prejudiced in interactions with ethnic minorities (Hebl & Dovidio, 2005; Vorauer, 2006). As a consequence of these considerations, when individuals from diverse ethnic backgrounds interact while working they have an increased sensitivity to cues regarding appropriate behavior.



Cultural stereotypes do not always reflect the truth of ageism according to Chiu, Chan, Snape and Redman (2001) who note that while Chinese societies are often depicted as being deferential to the elderly and by extension are less likely to discriminate on the grounds of age. However, these researchers found the inverse of this and in fact concluded that negative stereotypes against aged workers in China are more intense than attitudes found in the United States. (Chiu et al, 2001).

External pressures can also impact attitudes toward older workers. Medoff, (1994) found that when financial pressures are elevated, organizations are prone to eliminating older workers with seniority-based higher salaries. Organizations have been known to enhance short-term profitability by reducing labor costs associated with seniority-based higher salaries (Palmore et al, 1985). The majority of early retirement or mandatory programs and layoffs are the tactics which aim to reduce the costs of continuing to employ higher salary earning older workers (Neumark, 2003; Branine & Glover, 1997; Rix, 2005).

Alarmingly, according to Glover and Branine (1997) medical literature has been debating for some time whether treating younger people should be prioritized over older people. Glover and Branine (1997) state the rationale for such a debate is the misconception that the elderly have allegedly already lived full lives and incur more expense to treat and note that similar arguments could be marshaled in relation to employment. There are specific issues which make ageism a unique form of discrimination. In addition, how the working world expressing these issues is important to look at critically.

## **Higher Pay and Promotion**

Older employees face unique hiring barriers throughout the job search process. Two myths which contribute to discrimination against hiring older workers are the belief that they require higher salaries and that they are not worthy of promotions for a variety of reasons. These two employment myths are linked which acts to compound the level of discrimination against older workers. O'Boyle (2001) postulates older workers' higher pay expectations make them appear less attractive to potential employers, particularly if younger workers are believed to be equally productive. As a consequence O'Boyle (2001) states older workers are less likely to be able to prove their relative worth as an employee and have more difficulty reentering the workforce.

Like many myths, there is just a grain of truth to the myth that older employees price themselves out of jobs because of their higher salaries. For instance, older employees are often paid more than their younger coworkers as a result of promotions and time served with a company. Employees have a tendency to be paid lower wages early in their career and make higher salaries as older workers (Kotlikoff & Gokhale 1992; Lazear 1976; Neumark 2003) and employers can replace older more experienced workers who hold higher salaries with younger lower paid employees for a short term salary amelioration. Employers often trade the valuable experience older workers can provide for a short term savings in salary payouts (Neumark, 2003). However, Lazear (1976) found that workers' salaries over the age of 25 were more likely the product of work experience than due to the age of the employee. In other words, "the ageing effect on wages decreases as workers age" (Lazear 1976, p. 548) or in theory employers historically have paid more for experience rather than for an aged employee.

Kotlikoff and Gokhal (1992) also suggest older workers may be overpriced in an employment world where companies no longer are able or willing to simply promote their workers automatically. Furthermore, there is an expectation in many companies that older workers may be a poorer investment in training because older workers have a shorter working life (Neumark, 2003). However, this belief is at odds with literature that suggests employees within their 20s typically only stay at a place of employment 2 to 3 years and that staff turnover rates for older workers are lower (Perrin, 2005).

Arrowsmith and McGoldrick (1997) have argued the traditional linear trajectory common to the traditional view of employment does not leave room for many employers' expectations for increased flexibility and responsive organizational structures seen in many companies currently. Nor are they alone in this belief, as Kotlikoff and Gokhal (1992) have suggested employees need to be more 'realistic' in their career planning and salary expectations (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick 1997, p. 259). In other words, companies that hold to more traditional beliefs about work have more of a potential to discrimination against older workers than companies which have embraced a more dynamic view of the workplace.

Hornstein, Encel, Gunderson and Neumark, (2001) note the prevalence of embedded beliefs in many working environments which believe older workers have a tendency to become stagnant in their roles and as a result confuse the process of identifying internal company workers with the potential to fill important organizational positions or roles. Alan Walker first hinted at the widespread nature of age discrimination in 1993 when he conducted a Europe-wide survey which revealed that over 62% of European citizens held the belief that older workers were discriminated

against during promotions. More currently a 2005 survey from the United Kingdom found that 22% of hiring managers admitted that age impacted their individual selection decisions and 39% of those same individuals reported that their own chances for promotion were hampered as a result of age discrimination (Pinsent & Masons, 2005). In Australia surveys have also indicated more of an inclination towards younger staff (Bennington 2004; Patrickson & Ranzijin 2004).

Sadly, such negative stereotypes of older workers often have little basis in fact. Sterns and Sterns (2006) found older workers to be dependable, productive and to have lower accident rates than their younger counterparts. Furthermore, being absent without prior approval has a tendency to decrease with age, particularly among males (Panek, 1997). Older workers also show higher commitment to their jobs, show higher levels of emotional investment, and greater job satisfaction than their counterparts (Ekerdt, 2004; Ekerdt & DeViney, 1993). In addition older workers are frequently more intensely aware of being discriminated against in relation to other age cohorts (Garstka, Hummert & Branscombe, 2005).

### **Productivity and Training**

Older workers are subject to a great number of negative stereotypes about their level of productivity in relation to their younger counterparts, based on the perceptions that they are somehow unable or less receptive to retraining or utilizing new skills or technologies (Hawthorne, 1997; Perrin, 2005; Sargeant, 2001; Taylor and Unwin, 2001). Negative beliefs or stereotypes can manifest through low expectations about older adults' mental facilities or in negative ideas about older persons social or personal abilities (Erber, 2010).

Just as common are beliefs that older workers are generally more rigid in their approach to work, are less productive and generally have a reduced capacity for flexibility than their younger colleagues (CED 1999; Hawthorne 1997; Neumark 2003; Patrickson & Ranzijn 2004; Perrin 2005; Taqi 2002). Furthermore, aged workers may be viewed as less reliable as a result of health issues and their knowledge discounted as a direct result of their age (Austin & Droussitis, 2004).

A great many stereotypes in regard to age are to be found in relation to the complex interaction between the age of a worker and productivity according to Guest and Shacklock (2005). Furthermore, much of the commonly held 'wisdom' is counter to reality (to Guest & Shacklock, 2005). There is a great deal of research on the relationship between these two casual factors. Welford (1992) noted research on this issue harkens back to the Middle Ages and notes there is no general evidence of age related decline. At the same time, Welford (1992) did not recognize the inclination for attributes that are typically associated with age can and do change over time. However, research also suggests that certain functional areas, such as vision and reaction time, are many times compensated for by improvements in other skill areas such as experience, caution, leadership skills and wisdom (Gunderson, 2003; Lyon & Pollard, 1997; Shen & Kleiner, 2001; Welford, 1988). Welford (1988) took particular note of reaction times, specifically in relation to the slowing of them, and maintains they likely vary a great deal from case to case which weakens arguments that assert the general decline of reaction times in aged workers.

The myth concerning older workers inability to master and effectively utilize technology can be particularly prevalent in some companies. However, like many other

myths, the research does not readily support such myths. Employers have increasingly predicted older workers becoming redundant based largely on the subjective decision of older workers supposed subpar technical skills and abilities, particularly in regard to computer hardware and software (Bennington & Tharenou, 1996; Lyon & Pollard, 1997). Alan Walker (1993) found that 67% of European citizens believed older workers were discriminated against in employment training processes. The reality is that both older and younger workers often need training but older workers in particular may need continued training with changes in technology (O'Boyle, 2001). O'Boyle (2001) states that many companies have a tendency to eschew training older worker in favor of hiring already trained and proficient younger workers as a result of a belief that older workers would benefit less from such training and be less productive than their younger colleagues.

Perrin (2005) found older workers to be more motivated when compared to their younger counterparts to go beyond their employers' expectations and some research implies aged workers are more productive overall as a result of an increased level of loyalty and commitment (Brosi & Kleiner, 1999). Increased employee loyalty has the potential to directly benefit companies immensely. An increase in loyalty can result in longer length of employment within companies and offset the stereotype of increased training costs with aged workers when compared with their younger counterparts (Perrin, 2005; CED, 1999). Furthermore, Perrin (2005) states that organization costs attributed to personnel turnover are more likely to be lower and may even offset incremental salary and benefits expenditures associated with employing aged workers for longer periods of time.

## **Impact of Age Discrimination**

Age discrimination in the workforce can have far reaching consequences for an individual's and family's economic as well as psychological wellbeing. Many older employees can be faced with the hard choice between early retirement or being under-employed as the result of economic upheavals and corporate downsizing. Deciding to retire before a worker is ready can negatively affect an individual and their family's economic situation for the remainder of their lives (Chou & Chow, 2005).

In the current economic age of slashed retirement portfolios and diminished returns on stocks, the issue of whether or not to retire has become incredibly complex for not only older workers but also for individuals researching the issue. Palmore, Burcett, Fillenbaum, George and Wallman (1985) suggested that too much social security can disrupt the operation of labor markets in a number of ways. McVittie, McKinley and Widdicombe (2003) suggest generous pensions or retirement incentives often tempt many ageing workers to retire early. The truth of the matter is that a great many workers are forced to retire early due to layoffs or being fired and then being unable to find employment (Patrickson & Ranzijn, 2004). Furthermore, older workers retiring early may be a result of leaving places of employment due to feelings of systemic "undervaluing, discrimination, and ejection from organizations under less than favorable circumstances" (Branine & Glover, 1997, p. 241). In addition, workers that approach the socially accepted retirement age are often more easily persuaded and pressured into early retirement (Taylor & Walker, 1997) often as a result of being subjected to ageist stereotypes.

The pressures levied against older workers can take many forms and may not be readily discernible. Nuemark (2003) notes that managers are less inclined to provide support for the career development of aged workers and those promotional opportunities for aged workers are more difficult to find in employment sectors which require flexibility, higher motivation and creativity. Arrowsmith and McGoldrick (1997) reported the survey findings of a United Kingdom based Institute of Management's findings which revealed that aged workers were 87% more likely to be affected by downsizing practices. More recently, a survey revealed that one third of employers used age as a decision making criterion in deciding whom to dismiss or layoff (Sargeant, 2001) and older workers who believe age discrimination is practiced in their organization are more likely to be dismissed. Once dismissed older workers have a harder time reentering the workforce (Johnson & Nuemark, 1997) than their younger colleagues.

Branine and Glover (1997) stated that older workers are more likely to be seeking employment for the money to cover basic living or health care related expenses than seeking a flexible working environment. Furthermore, Sargent (2001) suggested that flexible working arrangements can be appealing to older workers among others, but also stressed that such jobs are commonly found only among the low-end service employment sector which is widely associated with "poor working conditions, tight systems of control, and low pay" (Wood, Wilkinson, & Harcourt 2008, p. 428). At the same time, Barnes, Blom, Cox, Lessof, and Walker (2006) note that poor job status or a lack of employment opportunities can be only one facet of a wider social exclusion issue where individuals already unemployed have a higher likelihood of possessing low



skills, earning low incomes and living in substandard housing. Furthermore, older workers employed in manual occupations have a higher potential to suffer ill-health in old age and be made more redundant (Boyes, & McCormick, 2005).

One stereotype of older workers suggests they are attracted to part-time and temporary working conditions (Arrowsmith & McGoldrick 1997; McGregor & Gray, 2003) due to the flexible hours and schedules of such jobs in the belief that such jobs provide leisure time and a measure of security in addition to a feeling of usefulness (Chou & Chow, 2005). However, Burtless and Quinn (2002) assert that the majority of older workers would prefer a pension over such employment flexibilities. At the same time Burtless and Quinn (2002) suggest that companies are well aware that older workers are a source of flexible workers regardless of whether or not they use them as such. Soidre (2005) found that workers which found their jobs rewarding tended to have a desire to remain in the workforce as they aged in opposition to individuals laboring under poor working conditions or subject to low salaries who had more of a desire to leave according to a Swedish survey.

Jobs offering low-skill, flexibility, or low prestige are less likely to be appealing to older workers except as a last resort (Soidre, 2005). Similarly, Taylor and Walker (1994) surveyed United Kingdom employers and found older workers to be much more likely to face an unhappy choice between work with low-wages, low skill requirements in the service sector and not working at all. Hence and Nuemark (2003) state that as a consequence older workers who are laid off have a greater chance of exiting the workforce prematurely and may not even be recorded as unemployed (Hence and Nuemark, 2003). This, and other reasons contribute to making it difficult to accurately

track the actual number of older workers retiring by consensual choice, as opposed to feeling or being forced out, as well as gauging the amount of displaced older workers because they have taken a job below their skill level and may be under-employed as a result. Once an older worker is out of the workforce they can find it exceedingly difficult to re-enter it, particularly for those aged 60 and above (Sargeant, 2001). Indeed, Duncan and Loretto (2004) believe worry over older workers early retirement and relatively low labor force reentry rates have more to do with concern over rising social security benefits than worry over aged workers welfare. Furthermore, the choice for an older worker to retire is not always voluntary.

### **The Relationship between Ageism and Experience**

The term “work experience” is one of the most familiar and vexing terms in personal research and practice (Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). The difficulty in extricating the concept of work experience from the concept of age discrimination often sparks a heated chicken- and- egg argument and to compound matters, no single definition of “work experience” is to found with any consistency within the literature (Panek, 1997; McVittie, McKinley, & Widdicombe, 2003; McGregor, & Gray, 2001; Singer, & Bruhns, 1991; Rupp, Vodanovich, & Credé, 2005). To further muddle the issue, despite its great importance in employment training, selection, promotional issues and performance there is a dearth of literature, much less current literature which has researched age and experience effects on job performance (Schmidt & Hunter, 1998).

Research has commonly expressed work experience as a time-based capacity, as in tenure in a job (Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). However, some researchers

measured work experience as an amount while others have measured or attempted to quantify the type of work experience. For example, work experience has been defined as: the content of the actual work experience (Mumford & Stokes, 1992); the number of times a task has been performed by a worker (Lance, Hedge, & Alley, 1989); as well as by the purported lessons a worker has reportedly gained from work experience (Quinones, Ford, & Teachout, 1995). For the purposes of this study, experience is defined as length of stay in an employment position and is used as an indication of the age of the interviewee.

### **Ageism and Employment Hiring Process**

Alan Walker first hinted at the widespread nature of age discrimination in 1993 when he conducted a Europe-wide survey which revealed that over 76%, European citizens held the belief that older workers were discriminated against in hiring in practices. Subsequently, a survey revealed that 55% of employers used age as a decision-making criterion in hiring (Sargeant, 2001). Rix (2005) found that dismissed US workers over the age of 55 took significantly longer to find alternative work than younger workers. Moreover, younger workers were 40% more likely to be offered an interview than older workers were (Rix, 2005). McGregor and Gary (2001) found similar findings in New Zealand proving that this is a global trend rather than merely localized to the United States. Furthermore, prolonged periods of joblessness are likely to be particularly stressful for older job seekers if they see little possibility of attaining meaningful work ever again according to Hence and Nuemark (2003). As a consequence of prolonged job searches older workers who have been laid off have a greater chance of entirely exiting the workforce prematurely and may not even be

recorded as unemployed (Hence and Nuemark, 2003). These finding as well as others, suggest that not only do older workers have more difficulty finding employment but they are affected more in a negative fashion by periods of prolonged unemployment.

Age discrimination during the employment process can be subtle or blatant depending on the age of the individuals involved, the expectations of the position and company, and the age or apparent age of potential applicants. The subtlety of job search process discrimination for older workers makes it difficult for researchers to pin down the actual process at times. For example: often older workers are discouraged from following job leads or informed there are no suitable vacancies (Shen, & Kleiner, 2001). In addition, the terms “over qualified” or “over experienced” are often used to describe older job seekers (Shen, & Kleiner, 2001).As a consequence O’Boyle (2001) states older workers are less likely to be able to prove their relative worth as an employee and have more difficultly reentering the workforce.

A commonly held misconception about the older job seeker is that their need to work in their old age is due to lifestyle choices and that if workers were more effective in their marketing skills towards a wider range of careers they would have more opportunities (Wood, Wilkinson, & Harcourt 2008). Wood and colleagues identified a commonly held misconception about older workers: if workers are unable to find employment it is due to “lifestyle choices” (p. 427); further“ poverty is a lifestyle choice and so readily avoidable” (p. 427). This belief puts the onus upon the older worker, implying their struggles to find employment are the result of lifestyle choices rather than market trends or discriminatory hiring practices.

When compared with younger job seekers who had commensurate experience Cleveland and Shore (2007) found that younger applicants are frequently hired over older applicants. Interestingly, Lavelle (1997) notes a trend of older employment seekers attempting to deemphasize their experience, stability, loyalty and maturity in an effort to avoid discrimination based on age. Although these qualities are positive, Lavelle (1997) found that they were also associated with age and can serve as an indicator of the age of older applicants.

According to Urwin (2004) only 5% of companies encourage employment applications from older job seekers and one quarter admit to using age as a selection criterion for employees. Organizational size and tendency to partake in age discrimination was found to be connected by Glover and Branine (1997) with large companies less likely to utilize discriminatory practices as opposed to medium sized companies who were found to be more inclined to practice discriminatory practices based on age. Glover and Branine (1997) attribute this trend to the size of a company's human resources department with smaller human resources departments more likely to discriminate due to believed cost and planning saving.

A company's hiring policy is not always reflected in its hiring practice. Hiring is performed by individuals, not companies and there is a need to increase interviewer effectiveness on interview judgments (Purkiss, S., Perrewé, P. L., Gillespie, T. L., Mayes, B. T., & Ferris, G. R. (2006). Regardless of widespread company hiring or business practices in relation to ageism hiring continues to be dependent on important decisions made by junior or middle managers and as a result age diversity policy is not necessarily reflected in practice (McNair & Flynn, 2005). A 2005 survey from the

United Kingdom found that 22% of hiring managers admitted that age impacted their individual selection decisions and 48% of those same individuals reported personally being disadvantaged through job applications because of age discrimination (Pinsent & Masons, 2005). Currently, Garstka et al. (2005) affirm the increase attention on ageism merely reflects a desire to cut social spending rather than real concern for the employment needs of aged workers.

### **The Purpose of this Study**

I conducted this study to increase understanding of how employment hiring managers react to job candidates who differ in experience and apparent age specifically during the employment interview process. This is important because there is little empirical examination of this issue. The literature in psychology has generally not taken a critical look at the employment interview process in terms of the age of applicants or the individuals who conduct interviews and then make hiring decisions based on their impressions.

### **Hypotheses**

#### **Hypothesis 1**

Participants who read the vignette suggesting increased age and experience will have more negative hiring impressions of the candidate portrayed in the vignette than participants who read the vignettes suggesting less experience and younger age. Specifically, hiring personnel are less likely to make decisions that indicate an intention to hire older interviewees who have a great deal more experience compared to younger interviewees who have less years of experience.

## **Hypothesis 2**

There will be a significant difference between how participants rate the qualifications of younger versus older interviewees. Specifically, participants will rate younger and less experienced interviewees more favorably than older and more experienced interviewees on a variety of characteristics related to the candidate's skills relevant to the position.

## **Hypothesis 3**

Ageist attitudes, as measured by scores on the Fraboni Ageism Scale (Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990) will predict participants' ratings of job candidate characteristics.

## **CHAPTER III**

### **METHODS**

The overall purpose of this dissertation is to critically evaluate how hiring managers make decisions about who to hire. Because this is an area that has received very little attention in the psychological literature, a new stimulus consisting of employee interview vignettes was developed. The evaluation of those vignettes is described in Study 1. A pilot study was also conducted, to determine how the survey assessing the dependent variables performed. The findings of that study are presented in Study 2. Finally, the methods for Study 3, the primary study conducted for this dissertation project, are described in the last section of this chapter.

#### **Study 1 (Preliminary Study)**

A set of employment interviewing vignettes was developed to define the condition (older or younger job candidate) that served as the independent variable for the dissertation. An initial study was undertaken, in which the researcher compared two employment interview surveys in an effort to judge if they conveyed a difference in age. The purpose of this preliminary study was to construct and then measure the efficacy of two employment interviewing vignettes in measuring the constructs of age and experience.



## **Methods**

### **Participants**

The study used a sample of university career professionals from the University of North Dakota Career Services office as well as from the University of Missouri – Kansas City’s Career Services office and Kansas City area employment recruiters. Forty surveys were distributed and 31 were returned for response rate of 78%. The majority of the participants were male (54.8%) and indicated they held a bachelor’s degree (54.8%). The second largest educational level was from participants holding a master’s degree (45.2%). The study was approved by the University of North Dakota’s Institutional Review Board.

### **Instrument**

The instrument was developed by the researcher for the study and consisted of 9 items. Constructs were created to align with the specific goals of study. These constructs assessed the employment interview excerpts in terms of similarities, differences in the age of the interviewees and impressions of competency. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed to each statement on a 6-point Likert-type scale with 6 = strongly agree, 5 = agree, 4 = slightly agree (all some form of agreement), 3 = slightly disagree, 2 = disagree, and 1 = strongly disagree (all some form of disagreement). The instrument results were factor analyzed with principle components using SPSS. Items included in the formation of the constructs were evaluated based on the factor loadings (see Table 5).

## Procedure

The researcher was granted permission to hand out surveys to participants the University of North Dakota Career Center, the University of Missouri – Kansas City’s Career Services office and to the faculty of the University of North Dakota Counseling Psychology department. Attendees were told their participation was voluntary and there would be no compensation for participating. Participation was taken as consent.

## Results

Table 2 shows the degree to which participants agreed on the similarity of the interview excerpts. All of the participants agreed that there were differences, but almost all agreed that they were very similar (96.2%), and 38.7% believed them to have the same qualifications.

Table 2

### *Similarities of Interview Excerpts*

|   | % Some Form of Agreement | Mean | Std  |
|---|--------------------------|------|------|
| 1These two interview excerpts are very similar              | 96.22                    | 5.5  | .568 |
| 4Interview Excerpt A and B have the same qualifications     | 38.7                     | 3.29 | .643 |
| 7There are no differences between Interview excerpt A and B | 0                        | 1.71 | .643 |

Table 3 shows the participants belief in the age of the interviewees. For all questions participants unanimously agreed that the interviewees were different in age. Specifically, all participants agreed that one interviewee was much older than the other and that the interview excerpts were successful in capturing the age differences between the interviewees.

Table 3

*Differences in Age of Interviewees*

|   | % Some Form of Agreement | Mean | Std  |
|---|--------------------------|------|------|
| 2 Excerpt B interviewee is much older than interview excerpt A interviewee                  | 100                      | 5.58 | .502 |
| 5 The interview excerpts are successful at capturing the age differences between candidates | 100                      | 5.65 | .49  |
| 8 The only difference between these two excerpts is in the apparent age of the interviewee  | 100                      | 5.58 | .564 |

Table 4 shows the questions related to the participants belief in the competence of the interviewees. 64.5% of participants believed that the interview excerpt depicting a younger job candidate (Interview Excerpt B) on table 4 works longer hours than the older job candidate (Interview Excerpt A on table 4). However, less consensus was agreed upon (71%) when participants were asked to determine which of the two interview candidates would make a better leader and only about half (51.6%) agreed upon which interviewee would be harder to train in new tasks.

Participants were asked, “Do you discern any important differences between A&B? If so, please briefly explain.” The comments were summarized and a single theme emerged: Interviewee age. In addition, participants were asked “If evaluating this candidate for a job what additional information would you need to answer that question? If so, please briefly explain.” The comments were summarized and the following themes emerged: A) a need for a job description to understand what the applicants were being hired for. B) How much individual factors (such as leadership) are needed for the position. Participants were also asked “Any suggestions for improvement?” The comments were summarized and the

following themes emerged: A) A job description. B) an industry in which the interviewees are applying for. C) More, or longer content with which to evaluate the interview candidates. Finally participants were also asked “Does the dialogue feel like an authentic interview exchange? How could I improve this?” The comments were summarized and the following themes emerged: A) Yes, but they seem short. B) Yes, but the excerpts do not give enough detail or in the words of one participant “dig deep enough”.

Table 4

*Belief in Competency of Interviewees*

|  | % Some Form of Agreement | Mean | Std  |
|--|--------------------------|------|------|
| 3 Excerpt B’s interviewee works longer hours than interview excerpt A’s interviewee                    | 64.5                     | 4.87 | .763 |
| 6 Excerpt B’s interviewee would make a better leader than interview excerpt A’s interviewee            | 71                       | 4.06 | .814 |
| 9 Excerpt B’s interviewee would be harder to train in new tasks than interview excerpt A’s interviewee | 51.6                     | 3.35 | .755 |

Participants generally held a positive view towards the survey as evidenced by their comments. To use it well the participants would need to understand the dynamics of employment interviewing (such as career professionals or corporate recruiters have).

**Discussion**

The results suggest that the subjects did have some form of agreement concerning how well the interview excerpts ability to differentiate on the interviewee’s apparent age. Based on participant feedback, the interview vignettes ultimately used in study 3 were modified. A job description was included in each vignette to assist participants in more

effectively gauging the employment interview. As part of this job description, an industry for the interview was added to further aid participants.

## **Study 2 (Pilot Study)**

A pilot study of the demographic surveys, the Fraboni and the interview vignettes and candidate characteristics questionnaire was undertaken in an effort to evaluate the effectiveness of the surveys. The purpose of this pilot study was assess the use of the Fraboni Scale of Ageism within the population being studied.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

The study used a convenience sample of hiring personnel who had attended career fairs at the University of North Dakota Career Services office, Park University as well as from the University of Missouri – Kansas City’s Career Services office and Kansas City area employment recruiters. Survey packets were distributed to 407 potential participants, and 83 were returned. Of the 83 returned, 61 were fully completed for a response rate of 15%. The majority of the participants were female (75.4%). The majority of the participants identified themselves as Caucasian American/White (67.2%), followed American/American Indian (13.1%), by African American/Black (11.5%) and Hispanic/Latino American (6.6%). Participants were asked to identify whether the company they worked for was local (54.1%), National (26.2%) or Regional (19.7%). Participants ranged in age across a broad spectrum of age ranges; 18-25 year olds (8.2%), 26-35 (14.8%), 36-45 (19.7%), 46-55 (29.5%), 56-65 (23%) and 66-75 (5%).

## Measures

**Fraboni Scale of Ageism** (Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990). This scale consists of 29 items with statements concerning older adults such as “Many old people live in the past” (See Appendix A). The statements were designed to gauge three levels of age related prejudice: (1) antilocution, or expressions of antagonism exacerbated misconceptions about elderly individuals: (2) avoidance, an inclination to withdraw from social interactions with the elderly: (3) discrimination, an active prejudice against the elderly in regard to segregation, political rights and intervention into the activities of elderly people (Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990). Participants rated their responses from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on a likert scale. Individuals could possibly score up to 145 points with higher scores indicating a greater level of prejudice against older individuals. Some items were reverse scored. An alpha coefficient of .86 has been determined for Fraboni Scale of Ageism by Fraboni et al. (1990), and the scale has shown significant correlations with other measures such as Acceptance of Others scale (.40,  $p < .001$ ) and Facts on Ageing Quiz (.28,  $p < .001$ ).

**Other measures.** Other measures used were the demographic questionnaire, vignettes and candidate characteristics. These measures will be discussed more fully in the Study 3.

## Results

Participants provided significant feedback on the Fraboni Scale of Ageism. Comments such as: “this is offensive” and “How dare the Career Center send this out to people” as well as participants refusing to finish the protocol in response to the Fraboni

prompted the change of the Fraboni stems for Study 3 in an effort to minimize strong language and facilitate completion by participants.

### **Discussion**

The stems to the Fraboni were changed for the final study in response to participant complaints during this pilot study (study 2). Comments such as those reported above, as well as participant refusal to finish the protocol in response to the Fraboni prompted the change of the Fraboni stems for Study 3 in an effort to minimize strong language and facilitate completion by participants. The majority of the stems were changed to exclude the term “old people” to “senior citizen”, “older person” or “elderly”. For example: The original Fraboni question #6: “Most old people would be considered to have poor personal hygiene.” This was changed to: “As people grow older they take less care in their personal hygiene.” See appendix A for both versions of the Fraboni.

### **Study 3 (Main Study) Methods**

**Participants.** Participants consisted of 201 individuals employed in a wide range of industries by their respective companies to screen job applicants for employment within their companies. Participants were included only if they endorsed that “a significant portion of your job is involved with the hiring process” on their demographic sheet. Although the participants may hold a variety of titles, which vary from company to company, all were involved in interviewing applicants for positions within the companies in which they worked.

Table 5

*Hiring Experience and Length of Stay at Present Company in Years*

| Years of Experience In Hiring | Frequency | Percent | Years at Current Company | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------------------|-----------|---------|--------------------------|-----------|---------|
| 0-5                           | 56        | 27.9    | 0-5                      | 91        | 45.3    |
| 6-10                          | 53        | 26.4    | 6-10                     | 51        | 25.4    |
| 11-15                         | 29        | 14.4    | 11-15                    | 24        | 11.9    |
| 16-20                         | 22        | 10.9    | 16-20                    | 13        | 6.5     |
| 21-25                         | 13        | 6.5     | 21-25                    | 9         | 4.5     |
| 26-30                         | 9         | 4.5     | 26-30                    | 5         | 2.5     |
| 31-35                         | 8         | 4.0     | 31-35                    | 3         | 1.5     |
| 36-40                         | 8         | 4.0     | 36-40                    | 5         | 2.5     |
| 40+                           | 3         | 1.5     | 40+                      | 0         |         |
| Total                         | 201       |         |                          | 201       |         |

Surveys were given electronically to career centers at three universities (University of North Dakota, University of Missouri-Kansas City and Park University) who then sent them out in an email blast to their respective employer databases. Surveys were returned by 360 potential participants. Of those 360 returned surveys, 201 were fully completed and useable. The majority of the participants were female (63.7%). The majority of the participants identified themselves as Caucasian American/White (80.1%), followed by African American/Black (6.0%), Hispanic/Latino American (5.0%), Asian American/Asian/Pacific Islander (3.0%), Native American/American Indian (1.5%), Middle Eastern American (1.0%), Mixed Race/Bi-Racial (1.0%) and foreign national (0.5%). Participants were asked to identify whether the company they worked for was local (35.3%), Regional (21.4%), National (29.9%) or International (14.4%). Participants



ranged in age across a broad spectrum of age ranges; 18-25 year olds (11%), 26-36 (24%), 36-45 (23%), 46-55 (21%), 56-65 (17%) and 66-75 (4%).

The participants of the study were taken from Midwest university career centers in the United States which have relationships with surrounding companies who use them to recruit students for their companies. However, data was collected about the geographic locations of the company that employed the participant. While the largest number of participants worked for local companies (n = 71, 35.3%), the rest of participants worked for companies which spanned large geographic regions of the country (Regional: n = 43, 21.4%) or the whole country (National: n = 58, 30%). In addition, several participants worked for international companies (n = 29, 14.4 %). This suggests that while data collection was conducted in the Midwestern region of the United States, hiring professionals have the potential to recruit across the country or the world. An *a priori* power analysis using *G\*power* 3.0 software indicated that 89 participants per condition (178 total) would be required to detect a moderate effect size with alpha of .05 and effect size of .15. A total of 360 hiring managers responded to an email request. Of those 360, 201 were fully completed and used for all analyses.

Table 6

*Type of Industry Participants were Employed in*

|                   | Frequency | Percent |
|-------------------|-----------|---------|
| Accounting        | 12        | .06     |
| Administrative    | 13        | .07     |
| Banking/Financial | 10        | .05     |
| Business          | 17        | .09     |
| Creative design   | 3         | .02     |
| Customer Service  | 14        | .07     |
| Editorial         | 2         | .01     |
| Engineering       | 21        | .11     |

Table 6 continued

|                        | Frequency | Percent |
|------------------------|-----------|---------|
| Health Care            | 30        | .15     |
| Human Resources        | 18        | .09     |
| Information Technology | 14        | .07     |
| Legal                  | 5         | .03     |
| Logistics              | 11        | .06     |
| Maintenance            | 4         | .02     |
| Manufacturing          | 18        | .09     |
| Marketing              | 10        | .05     |
| Project Management     | 8         | .04     |
| Quality Assurance      | 8         | .04     |
| Research and Design    | 7         | .04     |
| Sales                  | 15        | .08     |
| Social Service         | 12        | .06     |
| Government             | 27        | .13     |
| Education              | 30        | .15     |
| Energy/ Oil            | 14        | .07     |
| Multiple               | 37        | .18     |

*Note: Please note that percentages may add up to more than 100% as a result of rounding and participants reflecting that they have worked in more than one industry.*

## **Procedure**

Surveys were given electronically to career centers at three universities (University of North Dakota, University of Missouri-Kansas City and Park University) who then sent them out in an email blast to their respective employer databases. In order to be included in the study, participants had to endorse the statement that “a significant portion of your job is involved with the hiring process” on their demographic sheet.

Participants were administered all measurements using Qualtrics, an on-line survey-software program. Participants were informed that they would be asked questions about the suitability of an applicant for a given job description. After reading a 120-word job description, each participant was asked to evaluate the suitability of a candidate. Each participant received one of two versions of an interview excerpt, which was randomly assigned to participants. The only difference between the two versions of the interview

excerpt was that they were systematically varied to represent either an individual with a great deal of experience in the area, thereby signaling an older worker, or an individual with little experience, indicating a younger worker. The vignettes were validated in Study 1, described earlier in this manuscript.

## **Measures**

**Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism** (Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990). This scale consists of 29 items with statements concerning older adults such as “Many old people live in the past” (See Appendix A). The statements were designed to gauge three levels of age related prejudice: (1) antilocution, or expressions of antagonism exacerbated misconceptions about elderly individuals: (2) avoidance, an inclination to withdraw from social interactions with the elderly: (3) discrimination, an active prejudice against the elderly in regard to segregation, political rights and intervention into the activities of elderly people (Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990). Participants rated their responses from 1 (strongly disagree) to 5 (strongly agree) on a likert scale. Individuals could possibly score up to 145 points with higher scores indicating a greater level of prejudice against older individuals. Some items were reverse scored. An alpha coefficient of .86 has been determined for Fraboni Scale of Ageism by Fraboni et al. (1990), and the scale has shown significant correlations with other measures such as Acceptance of Others scale (.40,  $p < .001$ ) and Facts on Ageing Quiz (.28,  $p < .001$ ). As described in Study 2 above, the Fraboni stems were modified to address pilot participant concerns about the overt ageism included in the original statements and then reviewed by two experts to provide face validity. The Modified Fraboni scale can be found in Appendix (A). In the

current study, reliability was established at Cronbach’s alpha .92 indicating that the p. 62modified scale performed quite well.

**Demographic questionnaire.** Participants were asked several demographic questions such as age, gender, ethnicity, length of service in current company, size of participant’s company and type of industry each participant works in. The demographics questionnaire is available for review in Appendix B.

**Candidate characteristics.** A literature search for standardized employment evaluative scales or rubrics for evaluating employment interviews was conducted and yielded no usable results. As a result of this failure a digital analog scale was created to asses participant responses to the interview vignettes. This scale consisted of 13 items. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which they agreed with one statement versus the other (for example: Quick Learner vs. Slow Learner). A digital slider bar was placed in the exact center of each continuum and participants were required to move the slider bar to some degree before they were allowed to move to the next question.

Table 7

*Candidate Characteristics EFA (n = 202)*

| Candidate Characteristics | Extraction |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Experience Amount         | .86        |
| Learning Ability          | .68        |
| Overall Fit               | .88        |
| Too Much Experience?      | .73        |
| Knowledge Current?        | .69        |
| Enjoy Working With Them?  | .63        |

Table 7 continued

| Candidate Characteristics | Extraction |
|---------------------------|------------|
| Techno Savvy              | .74        |
| Seeking Promotion         | .90        |
| Flexibility               | .72        |
| Experience Fit            | .85        |
| Liability?                | .77        |
| Leadership Abilities      | .78        |

In order to determine if the candidate characteristics scale performed as planned, an initial analysis was conducted. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted using SPSS 20, with a principal axis factoring with a varimax rotation used for extraction. Initial commonality estimates based on squared multiple correlations for candidate characteristics items ranged from  $h = 0.63$  to  $h = 0.90$ , within the appropriate range for factor analysis (Worthington & Whitaker, 2006). Items that had less than the minimum rotated factor loading of 0.30 (Kahn, 2006) and were cross-loaded at or above 0.15 were deleted (Worthington & Whitaker, 2006). The scale was modified through an iterative process of deleting the weakest items, conducting a new factor analysis with the remaining items and assessing items based upon the new solution (Kahn, 2006), which ultimately reduced the scale by one question (*Reliable* vs. *Unpredictable*). The remaining 12 items loaded into one factor (See table 7 above).

**Hiring intentions.** Using the same procedures as described for the Candidate Characteristics scale, a measure of hiring intentions was developed to assess how likely participants were to rate the candidate in the vignette as being a good match for the open position. Three items are included in this scale: Likelihood of offering a second interview ( $M = 6.54$ ,  $SD = 2.96$ ), likelihood of being a finalist for the position ( $M = 6.00$ ,

SD = 2.80), and likely to hire the candidate (M = 5.62, SD = 2.58). The items were highly correlated, and Cronbach's alpha for the scale was  $\alpha = .91$ .

### **Analysis of Results**

Results were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), 20.0. Preliminary analyses included examination of differences by participant gender and age, as well as providing an overview of correlations across variables. Hypotheses 1, 2, and 3 were tested with an Analysis of Variance (ANOVA), General Linear Model Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA) and regression analysis, respectively.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **RESULTS**

This chapter describes the findings for the main study in this dissertation. Preliminary findings, including assessing differences for participant gender and participant age on key variables, are presented first. This is followed by a presentation of the findings for each hypothesis, and the chapter concludes with presentation of several post hoc analyses.

#### **Preliminary Findings**

A paired-samples t-test was conducted to compare differences in the rating of candidate characteristics by participant gender. There was not a significant difference in the scores for males ( $M=73.97$ ,  $SD=26.28$ ) and females ( $M=73.83$ ,  $SD=18.46$ ) participants;  $t(199) = 0.45$ ,  $p = 0.08$ . These results suggest that interviewer gender did not affect how the employment interview candidates were viewed. In terms of the relationship of variables with one another, correlations were run between the Modified Fraboni Ageism Scale and individual descriptions of Candidate Characteristics (See Table 8). With the exception of the candidate characteristics of “likely to hire” and “experience amount” the variable items were highly correlated. Additionally, a coefficient alpha on just the candidate characteristics items was performed, and the results indicated that the items were highly unified ( $\alpha > .900$ ).

Table 8

Correlation between Modified Fraboni Ageism Scale and Candidate Characteristics (N = 201)

|                           | Mean (SD)         | ADJ Fraboni       | 2 <sup>nd</sup> interview | Finalist?        | Likely to Hire   | Experience Amount | Learning Ability | Overall Fit      | Too Much Experience | Knowledge Current | Enjoy Working With Them | Techno Savvy     | Seeking Promotion | Flexibility      | Experience Fit   | Liability?       |
|---------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| ADJ Fraboni               | 111.35<br>(22.83) | 1                 |                           |                  |                  |                   |                  |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| 2 <sup>nd</sup> interview | 6.54<br>(2.96)    | .2**<br>p = .005  |                           |                  |                  |                   |                  |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Finalist?                 | 6.00<br>(2.80)    | .14*<br>p = .05   | .9**<br>p = .00           |                  |                  |                   |                  |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Likely to Hire            | 5.62<br>(2.58)    | .14<br>p = .05    | .84**<br>p = .00          | .84**<br>p = .00 |                  |                   |                  |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Experience Amount         | 5.80<br>(2.75)    | .09<br>p = .2     | .86**<br>p = .00          | .84**<br>p = .00 | .83**<br>p = .00 |                   |                  |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Learning Ability          | 6.10<br>(2.09)    | .23**<br>p = .001 | .56**<br>p = .00          | .59**<br>p = .00 | .62**<br>p = .00 | .59**<br>p = .00  |                  |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Overall Fit               | 5.95<br>(2.39)    | .18*<br>p = .01   | .84**<br>p = .00          | .88**<br>p = .00 | .89**<br>p = .00 | .86**<br>p = .00  | .70**<br>p = .00 |                  |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Too Much Experience       | 6.12<br>(2.23)    | .30**<br>p = .00  | .42**<br>p = .00          | .44**<br>p = .00 | .48**<br>p = .00 | .38**<br>p = .00  | .50**<br>p = .00 | .53**<br>p = .00 |                     |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Knowledge Current         | 6.79<br>(2.22)    | .31**<br>p = .00  | .5**<br>p = .00           | .52**<br>p = .00 | .51**<br>p = .00 | .49**<br>p = .00  | .61**<br>p = .00 | .56**<br>p = .00 | .56**<br>p = .00    |                   |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Enjoy Working With Them   | 5.96<br>(2.16)    | .3**<br>p = .00   | .47**<br>p = .00          | .55**<br>p = .00 | .56**<br>p = .00 | .52**<br>p = .00  | .59**<br>p = .00 | .61**<br>p = .00 | .5**<br>p = .00     | .57**<br>p = .00  |                         |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Techno Savvy              | 7.08<br>(2.14)    | .34**<br>p = .00  | .53**<br>p = .00          | .57**<br>p = .00 | .56**<br>p = .00 | .51**<br>p = .00  | .66**<br>p = .00 | .6**<br>p = .00  | .57**<br>p = .00    | .73**<br>p = .00  | .59**<br>p = .00        |                  |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Seeking Promotion         | 5.91<br>(2.43)    | .22**<br>p = .00  | .39**<br>p = .00          | .44**<br>p = .00 | .46**<br>p = .00 | .38**<br>p = .00  | .49**<br>p = .00 | .47**<br>p = .00 | .48**<br>p = .00    | .53**<br>p = .00  | .45**<br>p = .00        | .59**<br>p = .00 |                   |                  |                  |                  |
| Flexibility               | 5.71<br>(2.10)    | .21**<br>p = .00  | .52**<br>p = .00          | .53**<br>p = .00 | .61**<br>p = .00 | .55**<br>p = .00  | .71**<br>p = .00 | .65**<br>p = .00 | .61**<br>p = .00    | .59**<br>p = .00  | .6**<br>p = .00         | .65**<br>p = .00 | .6**<br>p = .00   |                  |                  |                  |
| Experience Fit            | 6.02<br>(2.49)    | .19**<br>p = .00  | .80**<br>p = .00          | .82**<br>p = .00 | .85**<br>p = .00 | .83**<br>p = .00  | .63**<br>p = .00 | .85**<br>p = .00 | .46**<br>p = .00    | .6**<br>p = .00   | .6**<br>p = .00         | .6**<br>p = .00  | .46**<br>p = .00  | .64**<br>p = .00 |                  |                  |
| Liability                 | 6.41<br>(2.11)    | .17*<br>p = .01   | .67**<br>p = .00          | .69**<br>p = .00 | .74**<br>p = .00 | .68**<br>p = .00  | .69**<br>p = .00 | .78**<br>p = .00 | .47**<br>p = .00    | .62**<br>p = .00  | .6**<br>p = .00         | .65**<br>p = .00 | .43**<br>p = .00  | .65**<br>p = .00 | .76**<br>p = .00 |                  |
| Leadership Abilities      | 6.03<br>(2.12)    | .1<br>p = .17     | .62**<br>p = .00          | .66**<br>p = .00 | .69**<br>p = .00 | .64**<br>p = .00  | .60**<br>p = .00 | .69**<br>p = .00 | .43**<br>p = .00    | .57**<br>p = .00  | .56**<br>p = .00        | .59**<br>p = .00 | .58**<br>p = .00  | .65**<br>p = .00 | .65**<br>p = .00 | .72**<br>p = .00 |



A MANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of participant age on the dependent variable of candidate characteristics. There was a significant effect of participant age on ratings of candidate characteristics at the  $p < .05$  level for the six age categories [ $F(5, 195) = 4.44, p = .001$ ].

Post hoc analysis was conducted given the statistically significant MANOVA. Specifically Tukey HSD tests were conducted on all possible pairwise contrasts. The Tukey was used because it is sensitive in detecting smaller levels of significant differences. The results indicate that the only age differences are between the youngest participants (ages 18-25,  $N = 21$ ) and the other age groups. This implies that participant age only mattered for those under age 25. (See Table 9). Therefore, age was not included as a variable in subsequent analyses for the hypotheses.

### **Hypothesis 1**

An ANOVA was conducted to compare the effect of condition (younger or older job candidate vignette) on participant hiring intentions. There was a significant difference,  $F(1, 199) = 4.96, p = .03$ , in hiring intention scores between the young applicant vignette ( $M = 19.43, SD = 7.59$ ) and the aged applicant vignette ( $M = 16.96, SD = 8.09$ ). The effect size for this analysis ( $\eta^2 = .07$ ) was found to exceed Cohen's (1988) convention for a medium effect ( $\eta^2 = .059$ ). These results suggest that participants were more likely to consider hiring younger applicants than older applicants.

### **Hypothesis 2**

A General Linear Model MANOVA was conducted to determine whether participants rated younger and less experienced interviewees more favorably than older

and more experienced interviewees on Candidate Characteristics. The omnibus was significant ( $F = 4.226, p = .00$ ). Post-hoc comparisons indicated that there were significant differences between responses on the young interview vignette and the aged interview vignette for every candidate characteristic except “Experience Amount” (Young:  $M = 6.03, SD = 2.73$ ; Aged:  $M = 5.58, SD = 2.76$ ),  $p = .26, d=.01$ , as summarized in Table 10.

### **Hypothesis 3**

Two regression analyses were conducted to assess whether scores on the Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism predicted ratings on Candidate Characteristics. In the first regression, only cases with the older vignette were included. Two predictor variables, Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism score and participant age, were entered, and the criterion variable was the Candidate Characteristics subscale total. Scores on the Modified Fraboni statistically significantly predicted Candidate Characteristics ratings,  $VO_2\max, F(1, 101) = 264.638, p < .000, R^2 = .470$ . Participant age was excluded from the model as a non-significant predictor. Therefore, scores on the Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism accounted for 47% of the variance in ratings of Candidate Characteristics in the older/more experienced applicant condition.

A second analysis was conducted to evaluate whether the Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism scores predicted participant ratings of the younger/less experienced applicant interview vignette. A second analysis was conducted to evaluate whether the Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism scores predicted participant ratings of the younger/less experienced applicant interview vignette. The results of the analysis indicated that the Adjusted Fraboni did account for a significant amount of variance in

ratings of younger/less experienced applicants, producing  $R^2 = .070$   $F(1,96) = 8.314$ ,  $p < .05$ . This indicates that higher scores on the adjusted Fraboni impacted participants' evaluation on Candidate Characteristics. A second analysis was conducted to evaluate whether the participants who received the young applicant interview vignette predicted responses on the Candidate Characteristics after controlling for the effect of the Adjusted Fraboni,  $R^2 = .123$ ,  $F(2,95) = 6.65$ ,  $p < .05$ . These results found that adding age as a significant difference to the model increased the  $R^2$  from .07 to .123. This implies that both the Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism and participant age contributed significantly to the variance in Candidate Characteristics in the younger/less experienced condition.

Table 9

*Means, Standard Deviations and Differences in Candidate Interview Ratings by Participant Age Category*

| Client Characteristics   | 18-25<br>Mean/SD | 26-35<br>Mean/SD | 36-45<br>Mean/SD | 46-55<br>Mean/SD | 56-65<br>Mean/SD | 66-75<br>Mean/SD | p    | Effect<br>Size |      |      |      |      |     |     |
|--------------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------|----------------|------|------|------|------|-----|-----|
| Experience Amount        | 4.96             | 3.73             | 6.12             | 4.96             | 5.73             | 2.81             | 5.76 | 2.53           | 5.47 | 2.91 | 8.04 | 3.06 | .13 | .04 |
| Learning Ability         | 4.84             | 3.64             | 5.97             | 1.60             | 6.14             | 2.06             | 6.17 | 1.46           | 6.44 | 1.39 | 8.13 | 3.05 | .01 | .08 |
| Overall Fit              | 5.03             | 3.71             | 5.97             | 1.85             | 5.99             | 2.10             | 6.03 | 2.16           | 5.84 | 2.26 | 8.10 | 3.03 | .08 | .05 |
| Too Much Experience?     | 4.54             | 3.99             | 6.08             | 1.77             | 6.14             | 1.83             | 5.89 | 1.54           | 6.91 | 1.66 | 8.15 | 3.04 | .00 | .11 |
| Knowledge Current?       | 4.88             | 3.86             | 7.15             | 1.75             | 7.19             | 1.59             | 6.74 | 1.76           | 6.64 | 1.99 | 8.21 | 2.89 | .00 | .11 |
| Enjoy Working with Them? | 4.37             | 3.46             | 6.16             | 1.77             | 6.01             | 1.84             | 5.60 | 1.88           | 6.34 | 1.7. | 8.83 | 1.30 | .00 | .15 |
| Techno Savvy             | 5.11             | 3.77             | 7.58             | 1.62             | 7.26             | 1.52             | 7.03 | 1.65           | 7.15 | 1.87 | 8.22 | 3.14 | .00 | .12 |
| Seeking Promotion        | 5.00             | 3.87             | 5.62             | 2.19             | 6.29             | 2.02             | 5.47 | 2.24           | 6.44 | 1.70 | 7.95 | 3.48 | .02 | .07 |
| Flexibility              | 4.68             | 3.55             | 5.44             | 1.76             | 5.98             | 1.78             | 5.41 | 1.63           | 6.17 | 1.50 | 8.04 | 3.07 | .00 | .10 |
| Experience Fit           | 4.65             | 3.70             | 6.26             | 2.21             | 6.23             | 2.21             | 5.95 | 2.02           | 5.81 | 2.44 | 8.21 | 2.99 | .02 | .07 |
| Liability?               | 5.47             | 3.60             | 6.51             | 1.79             | 6.47             | 1.77             | 6.04 | 1.75           | 6.37 | 1.78 | 8.27 | 2.95 | .06 | .05 |
| Leadership Abilities     | 5.74             | 3.58             | 6.07             | 1.65             | 6.21             | 1.66             | 5.59 | 1.98           | 6.06 | 1.72 | 7.57 | 3.71 | .24 | .03 |
| N                        | 21               | 49               | 47               | 42               | 34               | 8                |      |                |      |      |      |      |     |     |

Table 10

*Means, Standard Deviations and MANOVA to Compare the Effects of Participant Responses towards a Younger, Less Experienced Interviewee and an Older, More Experienced Interviewee*

| Candidate Characteristics | Young<br>M | Vignette<br>SD | Aged<br>M | Vignette<br>SD | <i>p</i> | Effect Size |
|---------------------------|------------|----------------|-----------|----------------|----------|-------------|
| Experience Amount         | 6.02       | 2.73           | 5.58      | 2.76           | .26      | .01         |
| Learning Ability          | 6.64       | 1.97           | 5.58      | 2.08           | .00      | .06         |
| Overall Fit               | 6.42       | 2.22           | 5.51      | 2.46           | .01      | .04         |
| Too Much Experience?      | 6.77       | 1.85           | 5.49      | 2.36           | .00      | .08         |
| Knowledge Current?        | 7.50       | 1.69           | 6.12      | 2.44           | .00      | .10         |
| Enjoy Working With Them?  | 6.29       | 2.17           | 5.65      | 2.11           | .03      | .02         |
| Techno Savvy              | 7.58       | 1.65           | 6.62      | 2.44           | .00      | .05         |
| Seeking Promotion         | 6.75       | 2.04           | 5.12      | 2.52           | .00      | .11         |
| Flexibility               | 6.36       | 1.97           | 5.09      | 2.03           | .00      | .09         |
| Experience Fit            | 6.59       | 2.13           | 5.48      | 2.70           | .00      | .05         |
| Liability?                | 6.84       | 1.86           | 6.01      | 2.27           | .00      | .04         |
| Leadership Abilities      | 6.39       | 2.12           | 5.68      | 2.07           | .02      | .03         |

## **CHAPTER V**

### **DISCUSSION**

The results show that hiring managers discriminate against more experienced workers and by extension perceived older workers in employment interviews. The present study's findings are important because few, if any prior studies have researched the effects of ageism and experience bias on employment interviews. The current findings indicate that hiring personal do discriminate against older more experienced workers.

Hypothesis 1 proposed that hiring personal are less likely to ultimately hire potential employees through the interview process that are older and more experienced. It was anticipated and confirmed through the findings of this study that hiring managers would be less likely to recommend hiring older, more experienced individuals as judged through the employment interview process. This suggests that hiring personnel are likely to behave in ways that support the presence of age-based discrimination in the workplace. Specifically, hiring personnel may be less likely to suggest further consideration of applicants who are older, even when they have substantial appropriate experience.

The findings in this study are in line with several other studies. Shore (2007) found that younger applicants are frequently hired over older applicants. Urwin (2004)

found that only 5% of companies encourage older workers to fill out application forms and only one quarter of companies admit to using age as a selection criteria.

Employers may rely on a preemptive strategy of not hiring older workers in an effort to avoid costly age discrimination cases (Philbrick & Bart, 1999). The interviewing process is an important step in determining the fit of a potential employee and a company and companies rely on their hiring managers to determine who would be a good fit for their company. The findings in this study show that hiring managers are less likely to hire older and more experienced workers which add weight to Philbrick and Bart's (1999) findings.

Being repeatedly passed over in favor of younger, less experienced potential employees can have a detrimental effect on an older job seekers motivation to continue in their job search. In 2007, right at the beginning of the large financial crisis for the United States Stern (2007) found that 88% of unemployed people aged 40 and over gave up their job search. If older and more experienced job seekers are aware of hiring managers ageist bias then they can take more proactive steps to present their age and experience level in the job search process. By taking such steps to mask their age and advanced experience such job seekers may have more success at finding a job.

When companies are discriminating against older and more experienced potential employees they limit their possibility for growth. Because hiring managers, who are the front line and make the majority of decisions about who is or isn't included in the companies they work for, discriminating against older and more experienced potential employees exclude potential valuable resources which could help their companies grow and excel.

Hypothesis 2 postulated that the participants would rate older, more experienced interviewees more negatively when compared to a younger, less experienced interviewee. This hypothesis was supported, and suggests that hiring managers view older interviewees in a more negative fashion than a younger, less experienced interviewee across a variety of characteristics related to job qualifications. These negative perceptions concerning older more experienced workers not only make the potential for them to be hired less likely, it also impacts how they can be treated once hired. The current study revealed that lengths of work experience, and by extension the interviewee age, impacts not only whether a person is hired but also how older more experienced interviewees are viewed across a number of factors. Specifically, the candidate with more experience and implied greater age was viewed less likely to learn new skills, having less up to date knowledge and less being flexible.

This fits with the findings of (Garstka, Hummert & Branscombe, 2005) that even once an older worker is hired managers are less inclined to give support for their promotions and career development. Perhaps more telling was the finding that hiring managers reflected that they believed that they would not enjoy working with and older, more experienced employee when compared to a younger, less experienced employee across all age groups. This supports the findings of Garstka, Hummert and Branscombe, (2005) that older workers sometimes are the worst perpetrators of ageism against themselves.

The findings of Hypothesis 3 are similar to findings related to ageism. Perdue and Gurtman (1990) found that ageism was automatic in a sample of college students. The researchers found that students gave more negative ratings to the age label of “old”



in comparison to “young” on a variety of personality traits. In addition, once the students label a person as old, they automatically judged the person in a more negative fashion than they did a younger person. Waldman and Avolio’s (1986) research found that older workers received lower subjective scores when they were being evaluated by supervisors whose ageism scores were higher. Rupp, Vodanovich and Crede (2006) found that when an employee scored high on ageism it was a precursor of their negative treatment of older workers. The findings of the current study show that hiring managers’ perceptions of both older and younger applicants were influenced by ageist attitudes, as measured by the Modified Fraboni Scale of Ageism, and that ageist attitudes predicted a large proportion of the variation in evaluating characteristics of older/more experienced applicants.

To summarize, the results of this study showed that older and more experienced interviewees were less likely to be hired when compared to younger, less experienced interviewees. In addition, hiring managers rated older and more experienced interviewees lower than younger, less experienced interviewees across a number of attributes that assess employee-company fit. Finally, ageist beliefs, as measured by higher scores on the Modified Fraboni Ageism Scale, were related to a decreased likelihood that a participant would hire an older more experienced interviewee.

### **Limitations**

A number of factors limit the generalizability of this study to real-world hiring decisions. First, the interview vignettes were offered in text form, rather than in video form, and as a result did not reflect how real interviews are conducted. By providing attribute neutral interview examples except for experience and age this study was able

to state more clearly the effect of such features on the interviewing process and rule out the potential for extraneous variables to confound the findings. However, according to hiring professionals, taking or using written transcriptions of employment interviewing to make employment selections is not standard practice within their field. In fact, this researcher could not locate any single incidence of such a method being used in the hiring process among the literature on hiring practices, organizational psychology or career development sources. As a result, using such a method in this study could have limited participant's ability to effectively gauge the interviewees.

The participants' lack of accountability for their decisions about job interview recommendations could have added to the present study's limitations. Although every effort was made to stimulate real world interviews, unlike in real situations, participants were not held responsible for the decisions they made (i.e. penalties for discriminating against an interviewee). For example, hiring personnel have to consider organization, and applicant fit. Person environment fit was found to be a strong predictor of employee turnover (Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, & Johnson, 2005). This could have allowed participants to act in a less biased manner than they would have in a real world situation. If participants were held more accountable for their evaluations based upon their interview decisions, the results could have potentially changed, revealing potentially more or less ageism and experience bias.

Applying a blind field study similar to Bendick and Brown (1999), where participants would be unaware they are engaging in an experimental study using real job applications, had the potential to reduce the present study's limitations. However, due to ethical reasons, the use of deception was avoided. It is recommended that future

researchers attempt to design studies which balance experimental control with realism, as well as avoid significant deception of participants. Future researchers could also focus on designing studies which simulate more realistic interviewing samples where the participants would be held more accountable for their decisions.

Lengthy, strongly worded and repetitious ageism questions, as found on the Fraboni, had the potential to impact participants in feeling wary, offended and dropping out of the study before completion, as a result, even with the questions stems changes on the Fraboni it may have caused a study limitation in the present study. By losing a large number of potential participants, it may have lowered the power of the study results (Howell, 2002). In addition, lengthy and repetitious ageism questions could have caused an error of central tendency bias (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). Future researchers should take participants motivation factors into consideration in an effort to keep them engaged in the study.

Another potential limitation of this study is the question of how generalizable the findings are. At the same time, racial or ethnic diversity was not very well represented by this study and future studies should focus on collecting data from a more diverse pool of participants.

The absence of empirically validated interview vignettes could have also impacted the outcome of the study. Several participants reported struggling with the offered vignettes, often citing not having enough information to make an accurate evaluation of the candidate. One participant struggled with gauging the interviewee because she felt that the questions asked the interviewees did not evaluate the interviewees to her satisfaction. This could highlight what several participants struggled

with. Further research in this subject would do well to utilize or create and validate standard interview vignettes. At the same time, racial or ethnic diversity was not very well represented by this study and future studies should focus on collecting data from a more diverse pool of participants.

## **Future Considerations**

### **Implication for Hiring Personnel**

This research has great possibilities for hiring personal during the employment interviewing process. Hiring personal who conduct employment interviews for their parent company should be aware of their own ageist biases as well as the potential for the biases that they may not currently be in touch with but still might affect the outcome. The findings from this research indicate that hiring managers do in fact discriminate against older more experienced interviewees and should be used to inform employment interviewing practice and raise awareness of this problem. Once more awareness of the issue has been raised; hiring managers can enact policies to counter the discrimination against older more experienced workers (Rupp, Vodanovich, & Credé, 2005) within their companies.

Hiring managers could also use the findings of this research to actively debunk negative stereotypes within their perspective companies about older and more experienced workers. By actively working to discredit negative stereotypes of older and more experienced workers fellow employees can foster a corporate culture that has room for, and even values more experience and older workers. As individual company culture begins to value the contributions of older and more experienced workers hiring managers will in turn be less biased against such individuals in their hiring practices.

The findings of this research could also be useful to older or more experienced job seekers. Knowing that employers discriminate against older more experienced workers, job seekers who fall within this category can work to limit markers of age on their resumes (Weiss & Maurer, 2004) or during the interview process as much as they can. By doing so, older and more experienced job seekers may be more effective in avoiding such stigma and as a result more effective in their job search process.

Using the findings from this research could also be useful in increasing legal protection for older more experienced workers. Fewer legal rights and protections in hiring discrimination are given to older, more experienced job seekers in comparison to other protected groups (Gutman, 2009). Even though the study findings clearly show that older more experienced workers are discriminated against during the hiring process, there is a critical EEOC lapse in the protection for older and more experienced job seekers from being discriminated against during the interview process of employee selection. As a result, because this study's empirical results showed that older and more experienced job seekers are discriminated against, in order to protect job seekers who fall within this category from hiring bias, the EEOC should mandate that employers provide their job interview selection criteria as well as maintain records of all interviewees who were not selected for employment based on their employment interview for EEOC audits.

### **Implications for Future Research**

In the present study experience and age were explored together, future studies may separately manipulate age and amount of interviewees experience by adding such factors as relevant and irrelevant work experiences or gaps in working, and explore

their effects on hiring recommendations based upon the interviewing process. In addition, it might benefit future researchers to specifically probe participants about whether age or experience was more salient and influential in their hiring decisions. Finally, drawing comparisons between hiring personal's intentions and ultimate actions of offering a position to an interview applicant would be informative.

Developing a more comprehensive and accepted definition of *work experience* would benefit future research to a great degree. Increasing understanding how work experience is viewed within the workplace and its effect on not only the employment hiring process but on corporate culture would provide greater insight into how the concept of work experience is constructed and used.

Future researchers should look critically at more dynamic modes of employment interviewing. This study utilized a text transcript of a hypothetical set of employment interviews. Future research which utilizes more dynamic modes of interviewing which are more in common employment interviewing practice (i.e. face to face interviews, online or via phone) while controlling for other factors such as race, ethnicity, sex, or disability would serve to expand on the findings of this study.

Using a more effective ageism assessment to gauge participant's level of ageist bias could potentially allow future researchers to more effectively measure how much ageist attitudes effect both age and experience amounts in the employment hiring processes. While the Fraboni Scale of Ageism (Fraboni, Saltstone, & Hughes, 1990) was able to add a measure of information to this study it had to be modified in an attempt to limit negative reactions from participants. The development of an effective ageist scale or screener would greatly benefit future ageism researchers.

Finally, future employment research should address organizational factors including, but not limited to: typical ages of coworkers, organizational culture around age and experience and the impact of multicultural issues in the current job market. For example, Kristof-Brown, Zimmerman, and Johnson (2005) found a lack of organization-applicant fit to be a strong predictor of employee turnover. Longitudinal research could also be undertaken in an effort to investigate the tendency for many employers to believe that work experience has a diminishing return on job performance such that employees with greatly elevated amounts of work experience (i.e. older workers) are not valued as much as other employees (Schmidt & Hunter, 1988). Such studies are needed in the field to further promote positive beliefs and employability of older and more experienced applicants.

### **Conclusion**

The present study was undertaken in an effort to expand the knowledge on at what point and why aged job applicant employment bias occurs. This hypothesis was based upon research that age discrimination in the hiring process is possibly the most common type of employment discrimination (Wahlgren, 2001) and that age based employment bias is more extensive than those based on racism and sexism (Levy & Banaji, 2002).

This study added to these findings by finding that aged and more experienced workers are discriminated against specifically during the employment interview process. Specially, the findings clearly indicate that hiring personal need only minimal information to determine older applicants and then use the interview process as a way to identify and discriminate against older job seekers without any penalties of the

EEOC. Taken into account the current lack of empirical studies that investigated the real quality of experience being used as an age marker, the findings this study ascertained will help fill in gaps in this research. In addition, the findings of this study could be used by organizations in an effort by them to improve the hiring process for older workers. Organizations may use these findings to provide training or mentorship to hiring personal and all other employees specifically targeted to avoid discriminating against more experienced and therefore older workers.

Finally, the field of psychology should continue to conduct research in an effort to develop a more complete understanding of when and how the perceived value of age and work experience can vary in the workplace, as well as develop and implement steps to prevent discrimination against older but capable job applicants during the employment interview process.



## **APPENDICES**

## APPENDIX A

### STUDY 1

---

#### Survey

---

Please take a minute to complete the survey below. The purpose of this survey is to assess and improve interview excerpts for judging ageism. Please take a moment and read the two employment interview excerpts and answer the following survey. We appreciate your time and willingness to help make the two employment interview excerpts more effective.

---

#### Interview Excerpt A

**Interviewer:** Let's go over your resume. Could you begin by telling me about your qualifications?

**Candidate:** Certainly. I've been working as the regional assistant director of marketing at Simpco Northwest for the past twelve years.

**Interviewer:** And what did you do before that?

**Candidate:** Before that, I was a Simpco local branch manager in Tacoma for nine years.

**Interviewer:** Well, I see you have done well at Simpco. Can you give me some more detail about your responsibilities as assistant director?

**Candidate:** Yes, I've been in charge of in-house personnel training for our Internet customer service reps over the past seven years.

**Interviewer:** Can you tell me a little bit about what you've been doing in your training?

**Candidate:** We've been working on improving customer satisfaction through an innovative e-commerce solution which provides real-time chat service help to visitors to the site.

**Interviewer:** Interesting. Is there anything in particular you feel would be useful here at Ferguson Co.?

**Candidate:** I understand that you have been expanding your e-commerce to include social networking features.

**Interviewer:** Yes, that's correct.

**Candidate:** I think that my experience in customer relations via the Internet in real-time puts me in the unique position of understanding what works and what doesn't.

### Interview Excerpt B

**Interviewer:** Let's go over your resume. Could you begin by telling me about your qualifications?

**Candidate:** Certainly. I've been working as the regional assistant director of marketing at Simpco Northwest for the past year.

**Interviewer:** And what did you do before that?

**Candidate:** Before that, I was a Simpco local branch manager in Tacoma for two years.

**Interviewer:** Well, I see you have done well at Simpco. Can you give me some more detail about your responsibilities as assistant director?

**Candidate:** Yes, I've been in charge of in-house personnel training for our Internet customer service reps over the past six months.

**Interviewer:** Can you tell me a little bit about what you've been doing in your training?

**Candidate:** We've been working on improving customer satisfaction through an innovative e-commerce solution which provides real-time chat service help to visitors to the site.

**Interviewer:** Interesting. Is there anything in particular you feel would be useful here at Ferguson Co.?

**Candidate:** I understand that you have been expanding your e-commerce to include social networking features.

**Interviewer:** Yes, that's correct.

**Candidate:** I think that my experience in customer relations via the Internet in real-time puts me in the unique position of understanding what works and what doesn't.

|  |   |
|--|---|
| I am looking at how similar these two interview excerpts are from one another. | <b>Highest Degree Area</b><br><br><input type="checkbox"/> Bachelor's<br><input type="checkbox"/> Master's<br><input type="checkbox"/> Specialist's<br><input type="checkbox"/> Doctorate |
|--|---|

|  |   |
|--|---|
| <p><b>Gender</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Male</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Female</p> | <p><b>What is your current position</b></p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Career Professional</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Student</p> <p><input type="checkbox"/> Faculty</p> |
|--|---|

|    |  | Strongly Disagree | Disagree | Slightly Disagree | Slightly Agree | Agree | Strongly Agree |
|----|--|-------------------|----------|-------------------|----------------|-------|----------------|
| 1. | These two interview excerpts are very similar  | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 2. | Excerpt B interviewee is much older than interview excerpt B interviewee                             | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 3. | Excerpt B's interviewee works longer hours than interview excerpt A's interviewee                    | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 4. | Interview Excerpt A and B have the same qualifications   | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 5. | The interview excerpts are successful at capturing the age differences between candidates            | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 6. | Excerpt B's interviewee would make a better leader than interview excerpt A's interviewee            | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 7. | There are no differences between Interview excerpt A and B   | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 8. | The only difference between these two excerpts is in the apparent age of the interviewee             | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |
| 9. | Excerpt B's interviewee would be harder to train in new tasks than interview excerpt A's interviewee | 1                 | 2        | 3                 | 4              | 5     | 6              |

10. Do you discern any important differences between A&B? If so, please briefly explain.

---

---

---

---

11. If evaluating this candidate for a job what additional information would you need to answer that question? If so, please briefly explain.

---

---

---

---

---

12. Any suggestions for improvement?

---

---

---

---

---

13. Does the dialogue feel like an authentic interview exchange? How could I improve this?

---

---

---

---











**Study 3**  
**Fraboni with Stems Changed**

| Please answer the following questions to the best of your abilities:   | Strongly Agree |   |   |   |   | Strongly Disagree |  |  |  |  |
|--|----------------|---|---|---|---|-------------------|--|--|--|--|
| 1.As people get older they are more likely to become stingy and hoard their possessions.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 2.As people grow old they are less interested in making new friends, preferring instead the circle of friends they have had for years. | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 3.Many elderly people just live in the past.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 4.It is hard to trust seniors to take care of infants.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 5.Many senior citizens are happiest when they are with people their own age.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 6.As people grow older they take less care in their personal hygiene.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 7.Seniors can be irritating because they tell the same stories over and over again.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 8.People complain more as they grow older.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 9.I would prefer not to go to an open house at a senior's club, if invited.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 10.Teenage suicide is more tragic than suicide among the old.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 11.I sometimes avoid eye contact with old people when I see them.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 12.I don't like it when senior citizens try to make conversation with me.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 13.Complex and interesting conversation cannot be expected from most older people.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 14.Feeling depressed when around the elderly is probably a common feeling.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 15.Senior citizens should find friends their own age.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 16.Senior citizens should feel welcome at the social gatherings of young people.   | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 17.Older people don't really need to use our community sports facilities.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 18.It is best that senior citizens live where they won't bother anyone.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |
| 19.The company of most older people is quite enjoyable.  | 1              | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |                   |  |  |  |  |

|  |          |          |          |          |          |
|--|----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| <b>20.It is sad to hear about the plight of the old in our society these days.</b>   | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>21.Older people should be encouraged to speak out politically.</b>  | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>22.Most senior citizens are interesting, individualistic people.</b>  | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>23.I personally would not want to spend much time with an elderly person.</b>   | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>24.There should be special clubs set aside within sports facilities so that senior citizens can compete at their own level.</b> | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>25.Senior citizens deserve the same rights and freedoms as do other members of our society.</b>                                 | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>26.Most elderly should not be allowed to renew their drivers licenses.</b>  | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>27.Older individuals can be very creative.</b>  | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>28.I would prefer not to live with a senior citizen.</b>  | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |
| <b>29.As people grow older they need less money to meet their needs.</b>   | <b>1</b> | <b>2</b> | <b>3</b> | <b>4</b> | <b>5</b> |

**APPENDIX B**

**HIRING MANAGERS INFORMATION SHEET**

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Years of experience in hiring \_\_\_\_\_

Years at current company \_\_\_\_\_

Gender \_\_\_\_\_

Age \_\_\_\_\_

Ethnicity \_\_\_\_\_

Is a significant portion of your job is involved with the hiring process? (Y/N)

Approximately how many people does your work employ? \_\_\_\_\_

Type of Industry you work in (Circle one)

Accounting

Administrative

Banking/ Financial

Business

Creative design

Customer Service

Editorial

Engineering

Health Care

Human Resources

Information Technology

Legal

Logistics

Maintenance

Manufacturing

Marketing

Project management

Quality Assurance

research and Design

Sales

Social Services

Comments:

---

---

## APPENDIX C

### JOB DESCRIPTION APPLICANTS ARE HIRING FOR

Acme Company is looking for dynamic individuals for operational leadership of large regional office. This position is responsible for supervising/managing/training the administrative and operational day-to-day activities for defined business lines on a local basis, for all of our offices in the Midwest.

Operations include: Finance, Human Resources, Information Technology, Research, Training Marketing, and Administration. Assures implementation of local and national operational strategies and coordinates efforts to integrate company services for clients, both internally and externally. Responsible for operational support of multiple offices.

#### Aged Applicant Interview Excerpt

##### Interview Excerpt A

**Interviewer:** Let's go over your resume. Could you begin by telling me about your qualifications?

**Candidate:** Certainly. I've been working as the regional assistant director of marketing at Simpco Northwest for the past twelve years.

**Interviewer:** And what did you do before that?

**Candidate:** Before that, I was a Simpco local branch manager in Tacoma for nine years.

**Interviewer:** Well, I see you have done well at Simpco. Can you give me some more detail about your responsibilities as assistant director?

**Candidate:** Yes, I've been in charge of in-house personnel training for our Internet customer service reps over the past seven years.

**Interviewer:** Can you tell me a little bit about what you've been doing in your training?

**Candidate:** We've been working on improving customer satisfaction through an innovative e-commerce solution which provides real-time chat service help to visitors to the site.

**Interviewer:** Interesting. Is there anything in particular you feel would be useful here at Ferguson Co.?

**Candidate:** I understand that you have been expanding your e-commerce to include social networking features.

**Interviewer:** Yes, that's correct.

**Candidate:** I think that my experience in customer relations via the Internet in real-time puts me in the unique position of understanding what works and what doesn't.

**Considering the interview transcript you just read, please evaluate the candidate as best you can on the following dimensions. Indicate your relative perception of the candidate by putting an x on any point of the dashed line between the two descriptors in each line.**

|  |       |  |
|--|-------|--|
| Warrants<br>2 <sup>nd</sup><br>interview             | ----- | Does not<br>warrant 2 <sup>nd</sup><br>interview |
| Experience<br>Just right                             | ----- | Too little<br>experience                         |
| Slow<br>learner                                      | ----- | Quick learner                                    |
| Poor Fit   | ----- | Good Fit   |
| Likely<br>Finalist                                   | ----- | Definitely not<br>Finalist                       |
| Too much<br>experience                               | ----- | Experience<br>just right                         |
| Knowledge<br>is current                              | ----- | Knowledge is<br>outdated                         |
| I would not<br>enjoy<br>working<br>with<br>candidate | ----- | I would enjoy<br>working with<br>candidate       |
| Understands<br>technology                            | ----- | Does not<br>understand<br>technology             |
| Content at<br>current level                          | ----- | Seeking<br>advancement                           |
| Rigid  | ----- | Flexible   |
| Reliable   | ----- | Unpredictable                                    |
| Experience<br>fits job                               | ----- | Experience is<br>a mis-match                     |
| Would be a<br>liability to<br>Acme                   | ----- | Would be a<br>benefit to<br>Acme                 |
| Strong<br>leader                                     | ----- | Weak leader                                      |
| Unlikely to<br>Hire                                  | ----- | Likely to Hire                                   |

## Young Applicant Interview Excerpt

### Interview Excerpt B

**Interviewer:** Let's go over your resume. Could you begin by telling me about your qualifications?

**Candidate:** Certainly. I've been working as the regional assistant director of marketing at Simpcos Northwest for the past year.

**Interviewer:** And what did you do before that?

**Candidate:** Before that, I was a Simpcos local branch manager in Tacoma for two years.

**Interviewer:** Well, I see you have done well at Simpcos. Can you give me some more detail about your responsibilities as assistant director?

**Candidate:** Yes, I've been in charge of in-house personnel training for our Internet customer service reps over the past six months.

**Interviewer:** Can you tell me a little bit about what you've been doing in your training?

**Candidate:** We've been working on improving customer satisfaction through an innovative e-commerce solution which provides real-time chat service help to visitors to the site.

**Interviewer:** Interesting. Is there anything in particular you feel would be useful here at Ferguson Co.?

**Candidate:** I understand that you have been expanding your e-commerce to include social networking features.

**Interviewer:** Yes, that's correct.

**Candidate:** I think that my experience in customer relations via the Internet in real-time puts me in the unique position of understanding what works and what doesn't.

**Considering the interview transcript you just read, please evaluate the candidate as best you can on the following dimensions. Indicate your relative perception of the candidate by putting an x on any point of the dashed line between the two descriptors in each line.**

|  |       |   |  |
|--|-------|---|--|
| Warrants 2 <sup>nd</sup> interview       | ----- | - | Does not warrant 2 <sup>nd</sup> interview |
| Experience Just right                    | ----- | - | Too little experience                      |
| Slow learner                             | ----- | - | Quick learner                              |
| Poor Fit                                 | ----- | - | Good Fit                                   |
| Likely Finalist                          | ----- | - | Definitely not Finalist                    |
| Too much experience                      | ----- | - | Experience just right                      |
| Knowledge is current                     | ----- | - | Knowledge is outdated                      |
| I would not enjoy working with candidate | ----- | - | I would enjoy working with candidate       |
| Understands technology                   | ----- | - | Does not understand technology             |
| Content at current level                 | ----- | - | Seeking advancement                        |
| Rigid                                    | ----- | - | Flexible                                   |
| Reliable                                 | ----- | - | Unpredictable                              |
| Experience fits job                      | ----- | - | Experience is a mis-match                  |
| Would be a liability to Acme             | ----- | - | Would be a benefit to Acme                 |
| Strong leader                            | ----- | - | Weak leader                                |
| Unlikely to Hire                         | ----- | - | Likely to Hire                             |
|  |       |   |  |



## REFERENCES

- Adorno, T. W., Frenkel-Brunswick, E., Levinson, D. J., & Sanford, R. N. (1950). *The authoritarian personality*. New York: Harper & Brothers.
- Affirmative Action Update. (1996). Report to the President's Council. Houston, TX: University of Houston, Office of Affirmative Action.
- Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Anderson, N. (2011). Perceived job discrimination: Toward a model of applicant propensity to case initiation in selection. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment*, 19(2), 299-244.
- Aosved, A. C., Long, P. J., & Voller, E. K. (2009). Measuring sexism, racism, sexual prejudice, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance: The intolerant schema measure. *Journal of applied social psychology*, 39(10), 2321-2354.
- Aosved, A. C., & Long, P. J. (2006). Co-occurrence of rape myth acceptance, racism, sexism, homophobia, ageism, classism, and religious intolerance. *Sex Roles*, 55, 481-492.
- Arrowsmith, J. and McGoldrick, A. (1997). A flexible future for older workers? *Personnel Review*, 26, 258-273.

- Arthur, W. Jr., & Doverspike, D. (2004). Achieving diversity and reducing discrimination in the workplace through human resource management practices: Implications of research and theory for staffing, training, and rewarding performance. In R. Dipboye & A. Collela (Eds.), *Discrimination at work: The psychological and organizational bases* (pp. 305–328). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Auer, P. and Fortuny, M. (2000). *Ageing of the Labour Force in OECD Countries*. Geneva: ILO.
- Austin, M. and Droussitis, A. (2004). Cypriot manager's perceptions of older managers in Cyprus. *European Business Review*, 16(1), 80–92.
- Awad, G., Cokley, K., & Ravitch, M. (2005). Attitudes toward affirmative action: A comparison of color-blind versus modern racist attitudes. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 35, 1384–1399.
- Bandura, A. (1990). Conclusion: Reflections on ability determinants of competence. In R. J. Sternberg & J. Kolligian, Jr. (Eds.), *Competence considered* (pp. 315–409). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Bargh, J. A. (1997). The automaticity of everyday life. In R. S. Wyer (Ed.), *Advances in social cognition* (Vol. 10, pp. 1–61). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Barnes, M., Blom, A., Cox, K., Lessof, C. and Walker, A. (2006). *The Social Exclusion of Older People: Evidence from the First Wave of the English Longitudinal Study on Ageing: Final Report*. London: Office of the Deputy Prime Minister.

- Barry, D. and Boland, P. (2004). Debating the use of statistical evidence in allegations of age discrimination. *The American Statistician*, 58(2), 102–109.
- Bendick, M., & Brown, L. (1999). No foot in the door: An experimental study of employment discrimination against older workers. *Journal of Ageing & Social Policy*, 10(4), 5-23.
- Bennington, L. (2004). Prime age recruitment: the challenges for age discrimination legislation. *Elder Law Review*, 3, 1–15.
- Bennington, L. and Tharenou, P. (1996). Older workers: myths evidence and implications for Australian managers. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 5(1), 53–62.
- Bennington, L. and Weir, R. (2002). Aiding and abetting employer discrimination: the job applicant's role. *Employee Rights and Responsibilities Journal*, 14(1), 3–16.
- Bertrand, M., & Mullainathan, S. (2004). Are Emily and Greg more employable than Lakeisha and Jamal? A field experiment on labor market discrimination. *American Economic Review*, 94, 991–1031.
- Blair, I. V. (2002). The Malleability of Automatic Stereotypes and Prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*. 6,3,242-261.
- Blascovich, J., Mendes, W.B., Hunter, S.B., Lickel, B., & Kowai–Bell, N. (2001). Perceiver threat in social interactions with stigmatized others. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 80, 253–267.
- Blustein, D. L. (2006). *The Psychology of Working*. Mahwah, NJ: LEA.

- Bobo, L. (2000). Race and beliefs about affirmative action. Assessing the effects of interests, group threat, ideology, and racism. In D. O. Sears, J. Sidanius, & L. Bobo (Eds.), *Racialized politics. The debate about racism in America* (pp. 137–164). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Boyes, L. and McCormick, J. (2005). *A Coming of Age*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Branine, M. and Glover, I. (1997). Ageism in work and employment: thinking about connections. *Personnel Review*, 26, 233–244.
- Brewer, M. B. (1988). A dual process model of impression formation. *Advances in Social Cognition*, 1, 1–36.
- Brief, A. P., Dietz, J., Cohen, R., Pugh, S., & Vaslow, J. B. (2000). Just doing business: Modern racism and obedience to authority as explanations for employment discrimination. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 81(1), 72-97.
- Brosi, G. and Kleiner, B. (1999). Is age a handicap in finding employment. *Equal Opportunities International*, 18(5–6): 100–104.
- Brewer, M. B. (1988). A dual process model of impression formation. *Advances in Social Cognition*, 1, 1–36.
- Brydges, N. M., Leach, M., Nicol, K., Wright, R., & Bateson, M. (2011). Environmental enrichment induces optimistic cognitive bias in rats. *Animal Behavior*, 81(1), 169-175. doi:10.1016/j.anbehav.2010.09.030

- Buckley, M., Jackson, K. A., Bolino, M. C., Veres, J., & Feild, H. S. (2007). The influence of relational demography on panel interview ratings: A field experiment. *Personnel Psychology*, 60(3), 627-646.
- Burtless, G. and Quinn, J. (2002). *An Issue in Brief: No 11*. Chestnut Hill, MA: Center for Retirement Research at Boston College.
- Butler, R. (1969). Ageism: Another form of bigotry. *The Gerontologist*, 9, 243–246.
- CED (Committee for Economic Development). (1999). *New Opportunities for Older Workers*. New York: CED.
- Chacko, T. I. (1982). Women and equal employment opportunity: Some unintended effects. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 67, 119-123.
- Chou, K-L. and Chow, N. (2005). To retire or not to retire: is there an option for older workers in Hong Kong. *Social Policy and Administration*, 39(3), 233–246.
- Chao, R., Wei, M., Good, G. E., & Flores, L. Y. (2010). Race/ethnicity, color-blind racial attitudes, and multicultural counseling competence: The moderating effects of multicultural counseling training. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, doi:10.1037/a0022091
- Chang, S., & Tharenou, P. (2004). Competencies needed for managing a multicultural workgroup. *Asia Pacific Journal of Human Resources*, 42(1), 57-74.
- Chiu, W., Chan, A., Snape, E. and Redman, T. (2001). Age stereotypes and discriminatory attitudes towards older workers: An East–West comparison. *Human Relations*, 54(5), 629–661.

- Cleveland, J.N., & Shore, L.M. (2007). Work and employment: Individual. In J.E. Birren (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of gerontology: Age, aging, and the aged* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., vol. 2, p. 683-694). Boston: Elsevier Academic Press.
- Costa, D. (1998). *The Evolution of Retirement*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Cox, T. H., & Blake, S. (1991). Managing cultural diversity: Implications for organizational competitiveness. *Academy of Management Executive*, 5, 45-56.
- Cox, T., Jr., & Smolinski, C. (1994). Managing diversity and glass ceiling initiatives as national economic imperatives (Working Paper No. 9410-01). Ann Arbor: Michigan Business School.
- Crandall, C. S., Eshleman, A., & O'Brien, L. (2002). Social norms and the expression and suppression of prejudice: The struggle for internalization. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 82, 359–378.
- Darity, W. (2001). The functionality of market-based discrimination. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 28, 980–986.
- De Dreu, Carsten K. W., "Oxytocin promotes human ethnocentrism," Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, Jan. 10, 2011.
- Devine, P. G., Evett, S. R., & Vasquez-Suson, K. A. (1996). Exploring the interpersonal dynamics of intergroup contact. In R. M. Sorrentino & E. T. Higgins (Eds.), *Handbook of motivation and cognition: The interpersonal context* (Vol. 3, pp. 423–464). New York: Guilford Press.

- Devine, P.G.&Vasquez, K.A. (1998). The rocky road to positive intergroup relations. In J.L. Eberhardt, & S.T. Fiske (Eds.), *Confronting racism: The problem and the response* (pp. 234–262). Thousand Oakes, CA: Sage.
- Dickerson, M. (1998, Oct. 28). Women-owned businesses are fastest growing in U.S., report says. *Los Angeles Times*, p. C6.
- Dovidio, J. F., & Gaertner, S. L. (2000). Aversive racism and selection decisions: 1989 and 1999. *Psychological Science*, 11(4), 315-319. doi:10.1111/1467-9280.00262
- Duncan, C., Loretto, W., & White, P. J. (2000). Ageism, early exit, and British trade unions. *Industrial Relations Journal*, 31, 220–234. DOI:10.1111/ 1468-2338.00159
- Duncan, C. and Loretto, W. (2004). Never the right age: gender and age-based discrimination in employment. *Gender, Work and Organization*, 11(1), 95–115.
- Dunton, B. C., & Fazio, R. H. (1997). An individual difference measure of motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 23, 316–326.
- Dychtwald, K., Erickson, T.,& Morison, B. (2004). It's time to retire retirement. *Harvard Business Review*, 82, 48–57.
- Eagly, A. (1987). *Sex differences in social behavior: A social-role interpretation*. Hillsdale, NJ England: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Inc.
- Eder, R. W., & Harris, M. M. (1999). Employment interview research: historical update and introduction. In R. W. Eder & M. M. Harris (Eds.), *The employment interview handbook* (pp. 1–27). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

- Ekerdt, D.J. (2004). Born to retire: The foreshortened life course. *Gerontologist*, 44, 3-9.
- Ekerdt D.J., & DeViney, S.( 1993). Evidence for a preretirement process among older male workers. *Journal of Gerontology: Social Sciences*.48, S35-S43.
- Engleman, D. and Kleiner, B. (1998).Age discrimination in the workplace. *Equal Opportunities International*, 17(3-5), 3-7.
- Ensher, E. A., Grant-Vallone, E. J., & Donaldson, S. I. (2001.).Effects of perceived discrimination on job satisfaction, organizational. *Human Resource Development Quarterly*, 12(Spring ), 2001.
- Equal Opportunity Employment Commission.(2009). EEOC Reports job Bias Charges Hit Record High of Over 95,000 in Fiscal Year 2008. Retrieved February 23,2011 from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/release/3-11-09.cfm>
- Equal Opportunity Employment Commission(2009). EEOC Reports job Bias Charges Hit Record High of Over 100,000 in Fiscal Year 2010. Retrieved February 23,2011 from <http://www.eeoc.gov/eeoc/newsroom/release/1-11-11.cfm>
- Equal Opportunity Employment Commission (2010). Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended; the Equal Pay Act; the Age Discrimination in Employment Act; the Americans with Disabilities Act; and the Genetic Information Nondiscrimination Act (GINA). Retrieved April 23,2011 from <http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/statutes/titlevii.cfm>
- Erber, J.T. (2010). *Ageing and older Adulthood* (2<sup>nd</sup>ed.). Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell



- Fazio, R. H., & Hilden, L. E. (2001). Emotional reactions to a seemingly prejudiced response: The role of automatically activated racial attitudes and motivation to control prejudiced reactions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 27, 538–549
- Featherstone, M. and Hepworth, M. (1989). Ageing and old age: reflections on the postmodern life course. In Bytheway, B., Keil, T., Allatt, P. and Bryman, A. (eds), *Becoming and Being Old*. London: Sage, pp. 143–157.
- Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. (1995). Good for business: Making full use of the nation's human capital. Washington, DC: Author.
- Fields, A. J. (2010). Multicultural research and practice: Theoretical issues and maximizing cultural exchange. *Professional Psychology: Research and Practice*, 41(3), 196-201.
- Fiske, S. T., & Taylor, S. E. (1984). Social cognition. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Fiske, S. T., Lin, M., & Neuberg, S. L. (1999). The continuum model: Ten years later. In S. Chaiken & Y. Trope (Eds.), *Dual-process theories in social psychology* (pp. 231–254). New York: Guilford.
- Fouad, N.A., & Arredondo, P. (2007) *Becoming culturally oriented: Practical advice for psychologists and educators*. Washington, DC, US: *American Psychological Association*.
- Fraboni, M., Saltstone, R., & Hughes, S. (1990). The Fraboni Scale of Ageism (FSA): An attempt at a more precise measure of ageism. *Canadian Journal On Aging*, 9(1), 56-66.

- Frazer, R.A., Wiersma U.J. (2001). Prejudice verses discrimination in the employment interview: We may hire equally, but our memories harbor prejudice. *Human Relations*, 54(2), 173-191.
- Frey, D. L., and Gaertner, S. L. (1986). Helping and the avoidance of inappropriate interracial behavior: A strategy that perpetuates a nonprejudiced self-image. *Journal of Personal and Social Psychology*. 50: 1083– 1090.
- Gaertner, S. L.,&Dovidio, J. F. (1986). The aversive form of racism. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 61–89). San Diego: Academic Press
- Garstka, T., Hummert, M. and Branscombe, N. (2005). Perceiving age discrimination in response to intergenerational inequity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61, 321–342.
- Gilbert, J. A., & Stead, B. (1999). Stigmatization revisited: Does diversity management make a difference in applicant success?. *Group & Organization Management*, 24(2), 239-256. doi:10.1177/1059601199242006
- Glover, I. and Branine, M. (1997).Ageism and the labour process. *Personnel Review*, 26, 274–292.
- Gordon, R., & Arvey, R. (2004). Age bias in laboratory and field settings: A meta-analytic investigation. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 34(3),.
- Gregory, F. (2001). *Age discrimination in the American workplace; Old at a young age*. New Brunswick, NJ US: Rutgers University Press.
- Gunderson, M. (2003).Age discrimination in employment in Canada. *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 21, 318–328.

- Guest, R. and Shacklock, K. (2005). The impending shift to an older mix of workers: Perspectives from the management and economics literatures. *International Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 10(3), 713–728.
- Guyton and Wesche, E. M., & Wesche, M.V. (2005) The multicultural efficacy scale: Development, item selection, and reliability. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 7, 4, 21–29.
- Harpaz, I. (1985). Meaning of working profiles of various occupational groups. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 26, 25–40.
- Harpaz, I. (1988). Variables affecting non-financial employment commitment. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 37, 235–248.
- Harpaz, I. (1989). Non-financial employment commitment: A cross-national comparison. *Journal of Occupational Psychology*, 62, 147–150.
- Harpaz, I. (2002). Expressing a wish to continue or stop working as related to the meaning of work. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology*, 11, 177–198.
- Haselton, M.G., Nettle, D. & Andrews, P.W. (2005). The evolution of cognitive bias. In D.M. Buss (Ed.), *Handbook of Evolutionary Psychology*, (pp. 724–746). Hoboken: Wiley.
- Hassard, J. (2002). Essai : Organizational Time: Modern, Symbolic and Postmodern Reflections. *Organization Studies*, 23(6), 885-892.
- Hawthorne, L. (1997). The question of discrimination: skilled migrants' access to Australian employment. *International Migration*, 35(3), 315–419.

- Hebl, M. R., King, E. B., Glick, P., Kazama, S., & Singletary, S. (2007). Hostile and benevolent reactions toward pregnant women: Complementary interpersonal punishments and rewards that maintain traditional roles. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 92*, 1499–1511
- Hedge, J., Borman, W., & Lammlein, S. (2006). *The ageing workforce: Realities, myths, and implications for organizations*. Washington, DC US: American Psychological Association
- Heilman, M. E., Block, C. J., & Lucas, J. A. (1992). Presumed incompetent?: Stigmatization and affirmative action efforts. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 77*, 536-544.
- Heilman, M. E., Rivero, J. C., & Brett, J. E. (1991). Skirting the competence issue: Effects of sex-based preferential selection on task choices of women and men. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 76*, 99-105.
- Heilman, M. E., Simon, M. C., & Repper, D. P. (1987). Intentionally favored, unintentionally harmed? The impact of sex-based preferential selection on self-perceptions and self-evaluations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 72*, 62-68.
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The Symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology, 23*, 253– 283.
- Highhouse, S. (2002). A history of the T-group and its early applications in management development. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 6*, 277–290

- Highhouse, S., Zickar, M. J., & Yankelevich, M. (2010). Would you work if you won the lottery? Tracking changes in the American work ethic. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 95*(2), 349-357. doi:10.1037/a0018359
- Hilton, J. L., & Darley, J. M. (1985). Constructing other persons: A limit on the effect. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 21*, 1-18
- Hill, C. E., Thomson, B.J., Hess, S.A., Knox, S., Williams, W. N., & Ladany, N. (2005). Consensual Qualitative Research: An Update. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 52*, 196-205.
- Holcomb-McCoy, C. C. (2000). Multicultural counseling competencies: An exploratory factor analysis. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 28*(2), 83-97.
- Hong, H. (2010). Bicultural competence and its impact on team effectiveness. *International Journal of Cross Cultural Management, 10*(1), 93-120.
- Hough, L. M., Oswald, F. L., & Ployhart, R. E. (2001). Determinants, detection, and amelioration of adverse impact in personnel selection procedures: Issues, evidence, and lessons learned. *International Journal of Selection and Assessment, 9*, 152-194.
- Hornstein, Z., Encel, S., Gunderson, M. and Neumark, D. (2001). *Outlawing Age Discrimination: Foreign Lessons, UK Choices*. Bristol: Policy Press.
- Huffcutt, A. I., & Roth, P. L. (1998). Racial group differences in employment interview evaluations. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 83*(2), 179-189. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.83.2.179

- Ibarra, H. (1999). Provisional selves: Experimenting with image and identifying professional adaptation. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 44,764–791.
- Ickes, W., Patterson, M. L., Rajecki, D. W., & Tanford, S. (1982). Behavioral and cognitive consequences of reciprocal versus compensatory responses to preinteraction expectancies. *Social Cognition*, 1, 160–190.
- Jackson, S. E. (1992). A preview of the road to be traveled. In S. E. Jackson (Ed.), *Diversity in the workplace* (pp. 3-12). New York: Guilford.
- Johnson, J. H., Jason, L. A., & Betts, D. M. (1990).Promoting social competencies through educational efforts. In T. P. Gullotta, G. R. Adams, R. Montemayor, T. P. Gullotta, G. R. Adams, R. Montemayor (Eds.) ,*Developing social competency in adolescence* (pp. 139-168). Thousand Oaks, CA US: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Kahneman, Daniel; Shane Frederick (2002). "Representativeness Revisited: Attribute Substitution in Intuitive Judgment". In Thomas Gilovich, Dale Griffin, Daniel Kahneman. *Heuristics and Biases: The Psychology of Intuitive Judgment*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 51–52. ISBN 9780521796798.
- Kinsella, K., & Wan, H. (2009). An Ageing World: 2008. U.S. Census Bureau, International Population Reports, P95-09-01. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office
- Johnson, R. and Neumark, D. (1997).Age discrimination, job separations and employment status of older workers. *Journal of Human Resources*, 32, 779–811.

- Jessop, B. (2001). Series preface. In Jessop, B. (ed.), *Regulationist Perspectives on Fordism and Post-Fordism – Regulation Theory and the Crisis of Capitalism*, Vol. 3. London: Edward Elgar, pp. ix– xxiii.
- Katz, I., & Hass, R. G. (1988). Racial ambivalence and American value conflict: Correlational and priming studies of dual cognitive structures. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 55, 893–905.
- Kelly, J. (1998). *Rethinking Industrial Relations: Mobilization, Collectivism and Long Waves*. London: Routledge.
- Kennedy, R. (1994). The employment interview. *Journal of Employment Counseling*, 31(3), 110-114.
- Kim, T. (2010). Cultural intelligence and employee job outcomes: The role of leadership. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 70, Retrieved from EBSCOhost..
- King, E. B., Kaplan, S., & Zaccaro, S. (2008). Metaperceptions in diverse workgroups: Intrapersonal perspectives and intragroup processes. In B. Mannix, M. Neale, & K. Phillips (Eds.), *Research on managing groups and teams*. Oxford, United Kingdom: Elsevier.
- Kite, M. (1996). Age, gender, and occupational label: A test of social role theory. *Psychology of Woman Quarterly*, 20(3), 361-374.
- Kite, M., Stockdale, G., Whitley, B., & Johnson, B (2005). Attitudes towards younger and older adults: *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2), 241-266.

- Kotlikoff, L. and Gokhale, J. (1992). Calculating a firm's age-productivity profile using the present value of workers' earnings. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 107, 1215–1242.
- Kraiger, K., & Ford, J. (1985). A meta-analysis of ratee race effects in performance ratings. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 70(1), 56-65. doi:10.1037/0021-9010.70.1.56
- Kristof-Brown, A., Zimmerman, R., & Johnson, E. (2005). Consequences of individual fit at work: A meta-analysis of person-job, person-organization, person-group and person-supervisor fit. *Personal Psychology*, 58(2), 281-342.
- Kunze, F., Boehm, S. A., & Bruch, H. (2011). Age diversity, age discrimination climate and performance consequences—A cross organizational study. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 32(2), 264-290.
- Landy, F. J. (2005). Phases of employment litigation. In F. J. Landy (Ed.), *Employment discrimination litigation: Behavioral, quantitative, and legal perspectives* (pp. 3–19). San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lance, C. E., Hedge, J. W., & Alley, W. E. (1989). Joint relationships of task proficiency with aptitude, experience, and task difficulty: A cross-level, interactional study. *Human Performance*, 2(4), 249-272.  
doi:10.1207/s15327043hup0204\_2
- Larkey, L. K. (1996). Toward a theory of communicative interactions in culturally diverse workgroups. *Academy of Management Review*, 21, 463-491.



- Lavelle, M. (1997, march 9). On the edge of discrimination. *New York Times Magazine*, 66-69.
- Lazear, E. (1976). Age, experience, and wage growth. *American Economic Review*, 66, 548–558.
- Levy, B., & Banaji, M.(2002). Implicit ageism. *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons* (pp. 49-75). Cambridge, MA US: The MIT Press.
- Lott, B., & Maluso, D. (1995). The social psychology of interpersonal discrimination. New York: Guilford.
- Lyon, P. and Pollard, D. (1997). Perceptions of the older employee: is anything really changing? *Personnel Review*, 26, 245–257.
- Luhtanen, R., & Crocker, J. (1992). A collective self-esteem scale: Self evaluation of one's social identity. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 18, 302–318.
- Madey, S. (2000). Toward a social psychology of ageing. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 22(3), 133-135.
- Macnicol, J. (2006). *Age Discrimination*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Macrae, C. N., Milne, A. B., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (1994). Stereotypes as energy-saving devices: A peek inside the cognitive toolbox. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 66, 37–47.
- Macrae, C. N., Stangor, C., & Milne, A. B. (1994). Activating social stereotypes: A functional analysis. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 30, 370–389.

- Martin, M& Vaughn, B (2007)."Strategic Diversity & Inclusion Management" magazine, pp. 31-36. DTUI Publications Division: San Francisco, CA.
- McCann, R., & Giles, H. (2002). Ageism in the workplace: A Communication Perspective. *Ageism: stereotyping and prejudice against older persons* (pp. 163-199). Cambridge, MA US: The MIT Press.
- McConahay, J. B. (1986). Modern racism, ambivalence, and the modern racism scale. In J. F. Dovidio & S. L. Gaertner (Eds.), *Prejudice, discrimination, and racism* (pp. 91–125). San Diego: Academic Press.
- McConahay, J. B., Hardee, B. B., & Batts, V. (1981). Has racism declined in America? It depends on who is asking and what is being asked. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 25, 563–579.
- McConahay, J.B., & Hough, J.C., Jr. (1976). Symbolic racism. *Journal of Social Issues*, 32(2), 23-45.
- McDonald, F. and Potton, M. (1997).The nascent European policy towards older workers. *Personnel Review*, 26, 293–306.
- McGregor, J. and Gray, L. (2001).*The Mature Job Seeker*. Palmerstone North: Massey University.
- McGregor, J. and Gray, L. (2003).*Older Worker Employment Transition*. Palmerstone North: Massey University.
- McNair, S. and Flynn, M. (2005).*The Age Dimension of Employment Practices: Employer Case Studies*. Employment Relations Research Series No. 42, London: DTI.

- McNaught, W., & Barth, M. (1992). Are older workers “Good Buys”? – A case study of Days Inns of America. *Sloan Management Review*, 33(3), 53-63.
- McVittie, C., McKinley, A. and Widdicombe, S. (2003). Committed to (un)equal opportunities: ‘new ageism’ and the older worker. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 42, 585–612.
- Medoff, J. (1994). Why business is axing older workers. *U.s. News & World Report*, 117(17), 78
- Monteith, M. J. (1993). Self-regulation of prejudiced responses: Implications for progress in prejudice-reduction efforts. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 65, 469–485.
- Monteith, M. J., Deneen, N. E., & Tooman, G. D. (1996). The effect of social norm activation on the expression of opinions concerning gay men and Blacks. *Basic and Applied Social Psychology*, 18, 267–288.
- Montepare, L., & Zebrowitz, L. (2002). A social developmental view of ageism. *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons* (p.77-125). Cambridge, MA US: The MIT Press
- Morse, N. C., & Weiss, R. S. (1955).The function and meaning of work and the job. *American Sociological Review*, 20, 191–198.
- Mumford, M. D., & Stokes, G. S. (1992). Developmental determinants of individual action: Theory and practice in applying background measures. In M. D. Dunnette, L. M. Hough (Eds.) , *Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology, Vol. 3 (2nd ed.)* (pp. 61-138). Palo Alto, CA US: Consulting Psychologists Press.

- Nelson, T.D. (Ed.). (2004). *Ageism: stereotyping and prejudice against older person*.  
Cambridge, MS: Massachusetts Institute of Technology.
- Neumark, D. (2003). Age discrimination legislation in the United States. *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 21, 217–317.
- Neville, H. A., Lilly, R. L., Duran, G., Lee, R. M., & Browne, L. (2000). Construction and initial validation of the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS). *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47, 59–70.
- Neville, H. A., Spanierman, L. B., & Doan, B. (2006). The association between color-blind racial ideology and multicultural counseling competencies. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 12, 275–290.
- O’Boyle, E. (2001). Salary compression and inversion in the university workplace. *International Journal of Social Economics*, 28, 959–979.
- OECD.(2004). *Ageing and Employment Policy, United Kingdom*. Paris: OECD.
- Ogbu, J. U. (1981). Origins of Human Competence: A Cultural Ecological Perspective. *Child Development*, 52(2), 413-429. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.ep8860349
- Pack-Brown, S.P. & Williams, C.B. (2003). *Ethics in a multicultural context*. Thousand Oaks, A: Sage.
- Palmore, E., Burcett, B., Fillenbaum, G., George, L. and Wallman, L.  
(1985). *Retirement: Causes and Consequences*. New York: Springer.
- Palmore, E. (2001). The ageism survey: First Findings. *Gerontologist*, 41. 572-575.
- Panek, P.E. (1997). The older worker. In A.D. Fisk & W.A. Rogers (Eds.), *The handbook of human factors and the older adult* (p. 363-394). San Diego: Academic Press

- Patrickson, M. and Ranzijn, R. (2004). Bounded choices in work and retirement in Australia. *Employee Relations*, 26, 422–432.
- Penner, R., Perun, P., & Steuerle, E. (2002). *Legal and institutional barriers to partial retirement and part-time work by older workers* [Online publication by the Urban Institute]. Retrieved from [http://www.urbaninstitute.org/UploadPDF/410587\\_SloanFinal.pdg](http://www.urbaninstitute.org/UploadPDF/410587_SloanFinal.pdg)
- Perkins, L. A., Thomas, K. M., & Taylor, G. A. (2000). Advertising and recruitment: Marketing to minorities. *Psychology and Marketing*, 17, 235-255
- Perrin, T. (2005). *The Business Case for Workers Age 50+: Planning for Tomorrow's Talent Needs in Today's Competitive Environment*. Washington: AARP.
- Pfeffer, J., & Salancik, G. (1978). The external control of organizations: A resource dependence perspective. New York: Harper & Row.
- Pingitore, R., Dugoni, B. L., Tindale, R. S., & Spring, B. (1994). Bias against overweight job applicants in simulated employment interview. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 79, 909–917.
- Pinsent Masons. (2005). Age discrimination rife in the UK. *Out-Law*, 26 October. Available at: [http://www.theregister.co.uk/2005/10/26/age\\_discrimination/](http://www.theregister.co.uk/2005/10/26/age_discrimination/) (accessed 15 May 2011).
- Piwinger, Manfred; Ebert, Helmut (2001). "Impression Management: Wie aus Niemand Jemand wird". in: Bentele, Guenther et al. (Ed.), *Kommunikationsmanagement: Strategien, Wissen, Lösungen*. Luchterhand, Neuwied.

- Posthuma, R. A., Morgeson, F. P., & Campion, M. A. (2002). Beyond employment interview validity: a comprehensive narrative review of recent research and trends over time. *Personnel Psychology*, 55, 1–81.
- Purkiss, S., Perrewé, P. L., Gillespie, T. L., Mayes, B. T., & Ferris, G. R. (2006). Implicit sources of bias in employment interview judgments and decisions. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes*, 101(2), 152-167. doi:10.1016/j.obhdp.2006.06.005
- Quadagno, J. (2008). *Ageing and the life course: An introduction to social gerontology* (4<sup>th</sup> ed.). Boston: McGraw Hill.
- Quinones, M., Ford, J., & Teachout, M. (1995). The relationship between work experience and job performance: A conceptual and meta-analytic review. *Personnel Psychology*, 48(4) 887-910.
- Quintero, J. The Working Poor Families Project. (2011). *Improving access to work supports: Strengthening state policies and practice*. [http://www.workingpoor-families.org/pdfs/WFPF\\_PolicyBrief\\_Spring2011.pdf](http://www.workingpoor-families.org/pdfs/WFPF_PolicyBrief_Spring2011.pdf)
- Quinn, R. P., Tabor, J. M., & Gordon, L. K. (1968). *The decision to discriminate: A study of executive selection*. Ann Arbor, MI: Institute for Social Research.
- Richard, O.C. (2000). Racial diversity, business strategy, and firm performance: A resource-based view. *Academy of Management Journal*, 43, 164-177
- Rix, S. (2005). *Update on the Aged 55+ Worker:2005*. Washington: AARP Public Policy Institute.

- Roberts, L. M. (2005). Changing faces: Professional image construction in diverse organizational settings. *Academy of Management Review*, 90,695–711.
- Rosenthal, R., Rosnow, R.(1991). Essentials of behavioral research: Methods and data analysis. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- Rupp, D. E., Vodanovich, S. J., & Credé, M. (2005). The Multidimensional Nature of Ageism: Construct Validity and Group Differences. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 145(3), 335-362. doi:10.3200/SOCP.145.3.335-362
- Sackett, P. R. (2000). Personnel selection: Techniques and instruments. In A. E. Kazdin, A. E. Kazdin (Eds.) ,*Encyclopedia of psychology, Vol. 6* (pp. 152-156). Washington, DC New York, NY USUS: American Psychological Association.
- Sargeant, M. (2001).Lifelong learning and age discrimination in employment. *Education and the Law*, 13(2), 141–154.
- Saucier, D. A., Miller , C. T., & Doucet, N. (2005). Differences in helping whites and blacks: A meta-analysis. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 9(1), 2-16.
- Schmidt, F., & Hunter, J. (1998). The valididty and utility of selection methods in personnel psychology: Practical and theoretical implications of 85 years of research findings. *Journal of Applied psychology*, 12(4)262-274.
- Sears, D.O., & McConahay, J.B. (1973). The politics of violence: The new urban Blacks and the Watts riot. Boston. Houghton-Mifflin.
- Sears, D. O., van Laar, C., Carrillo, M., & Kosterman, R. (1997). Is it really racism? The origins of white Americans’ opposition to race-targeted policies. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 61, 16–53.

- Sechrist, G. B., & Stangor, C. (2001). Perceived consensus influences intergroup behavior and stereotype accessibility. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 80, 645–654.
- Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The role of racial identity in perceived racial discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 84, 1079–1092.
- Shelton, J. N. (2003). Interpersonal concerns in social encounters between majority and minority group members. *Group Processes and Intergroup Relations*, 6, 171–185.
- Shen, G. and Kleiner, B. (2001). Age discrimination in hiring. *Equal Opportunities International*, 20(8), 25–32.
- Sherman, J. W., Lee, A., Bessenoff, G., & Frost, L. (1998). Stereotype efficiency reconsidered: Encoding flexibility under cognitive load. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 75, 589–606.
- Sidanius, J., Pratto, F., van Laar, C., & Levin, S. (2004). Social dominance theory: Its agenda and method. *Political Psychology*, 25, 845–880.
- Sidanius, J., Levin, S., Rabinowitz, J. L., & Federico, C. M. (1999). Peering into the jaws of the beast: The integrative dynamics of social identity, symbolic racism, and social dominance. In D. A. Prentice, & D. T. Miller (Eds.), *Cultural Divides: Understanding and Overcoming Group Conflict* (pp. 80–132). New York: Russell Sage Foundation.



- Singer, M., & Bruhns, C. (1991). Relative effect of applicant work experience and academic qualification on selection interview decisions: A study of between-sample generalizability. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 76*(4), 550-559
- Snape, E., & Redman, T. (2003). Too old or too young? The impact of perceived age discrimination. *Human Resource Management Journal, 13*, 78–89.  
DOI:10.1111/j. 1748-8583. 2003.tb00085.x
- Snir, R., & Harpaz, I. (2002). To work or not to work: Nonfinancial employment commitment and the social desirability bias. *Journal of Social Psychology, 142*, 635–644.
- Sodowsky, G.R., Kuo-Jackson, P.Y., Richardson, M.F., & Corey, A.T. (1998). Correlates of self-reported multicultural competencies: Counselor multicultural social desirability, race, social inadequacy, locus of control racial ideology, and multicultural training. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 45*, 256 – 264.
- Soidre, T. (2005). Retirement preferences of women and men aged 55–64 in Sweden. *Ageing and Society, 25*, 943–963.
- Spanierman, L. B., & Heppner, M. J. (2004). Psychosocial Costs of Racism to Whites scale (PCRW): Construction and initial validation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 51*, 249–262.
- Spanierman, L. B., Neville, H. A., Liao, H., Hammer, J. H., & Wang, Y. (2008). Participation in formal and informal campus diversity experiences: Effects on students' racial democratic beliefs. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education, 1*, 108–125.

- Spencer, S. J., Fein, S., Wolfe, C. T., Fong, C., & Dunn, M. A. (1998). Automatic activation of stereotypes: The role of self-image threat. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 24, 1139–1152.
- Stephan, W.G., & Stephan, C.W. (2001). Improving intergroup relations. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Sterns, H.L., & Sterns, A.A. (2006). Industrial gerontology. In R. Schulz (Ed.), *The encyclopedia of ageing* (4<sup>th</sup> ed., p. 580-581). New York: Springer
- Sue, D. (1982). Position paper: Cross-cultural counseling competencies. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 10(2), 45-52. doi:10.1177/0011000082102008
- Sue, D.W. (1991). A model for cultural diversity training. *Journal for Counseling and Development*, 70, 99-105.
- Sue, D.W. (1992). The challenge of multiculturalism: The road less traveled. *American Counselor, Winter*, 7-14.
- Sue, D. W. (2001). Multidimensional facets of cultural competence. *Counseling Psychologist*, 29, 6, 790-821.
- Sue, D. W. (2004). Whiteness and Ethnocentric Monoculturalism: Making the Invisible Visible. *American Psychologist*, 59, 759-769.
- Sue, D. W., Arrendondo, P., & McDavis, R. J. (1992). Multicultural counseling competencies and standards: A call for the profession. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 70, 477-486.
- Sue, S. (1998). In search of cultural competence in psychotherapy and counseling. *American Psychologist*, 53, 440–448.

- Sumner, W. G. *Folkways*. New York: Ginn, 1906.
- Swann, W. B., & Ely, R. J. (1984). A battle of wills: Self-verification versus behavioral confirmation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 46, 1287–1302
- Syndell, E. J., & Nelson, E. S. (2000). Modern racism on campus: a survey of attitudes and perceptions. *The social science journal* , 37(4), 627-635.
- Tarman, C., & Sears, D. O. (2005). The conceptualization and measurement of Symbolic racism. *Journal of Politics*, 67, 731–761.
- Taylor, P. and Walker, A. (1997). Age discrimination and public policy. *Personnel Review*, 26, 307–318.
- Taylor, P. and Walker, A. (1994). The ageing workforce: employers' attitudes towards older people. *Work, Employment and Society*, 8, 569–591.
- Taylor, P. and Unwin, P. (2001). Age and participation in vocational education and training. *Work, Employment and Society*, 15, 763–779.
- Taqi, A. (2002). Older people, work and equal opportunity. *International Social Security Review*, 55(1), 107–120.
- Tempest, S., Barnatt, C., & Coupland, C. (2002). Grey advantage - new strategies for the old. *Long Range Planning*, 35, 475–492.
- The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, (2009). *Federal laws prohibiting job discrimination*. Annapolis Junction, MD: U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Publications Distribution Center.
- Retrieved from <http://www.eeoc.gov/facts/qanda.html>

- Thomas, R. R. (1991). *Beyond race and gender: Unleashing the power of your total workforce by managing diversity*. New York: AMACOM.
- Tynes, B. M., & Markoe, S. L. (2010). The role of color-blind racial attitudes in reactions to racial discrimination on social network sites. *Journal Of Diversity In Higher Education*, 3(1), 1-13.
- Urwin, P. (2004). *Age Matters: A Review of Existing Survey Evidence*. Employment Relations Research Series 24. London: Department of Trade and Industry.
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.(2008). Older Workers. Retrieved 20th May 2011, from [http://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2008/older\\_workers/](http://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2008/older_workers/).
- U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. (April, 2011). Local area unemployment statistics map. Retrieved 24th April 2011, from <http://data.bls.gov/map/MapToolServlet>.
- U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.(2010). Age discrimination. Retrieved 10th May 2011, from <http://www.eeoc.gov/laws/types/age.cfm>.
- Vecchio, R. P. (1980). The function and meaning of work and the job: Morse and Weiss (1955) revisited. *Academy of Management Journal*, 23, 361–367.
- Vorauer, J. D. (2006). An information search model of evaluative concerns in intergroup interaction. *Psychological Review*, 4, 862–886.
- Wahlgren, E. (2001, July). What's age got to do with it?. Business Week Online. Retrieved from [http://www.businessweek.com/print/careers/content/jul2001/ca2001079\\_051.htm](http://www.businessweek.com/print/careers/content/jul2001/ca2001079_051.htm)
- Walker, A. (1993). *Age and Attitudes*. Brussels: European Commission.
- Walker, A. (2005a). The emergence of age management in Europe. *International Journal of Organizational Behavior*, 10(1), 685–697.

- Walsh, W.S. (1966). *Handy-book of literary curiosities*. Gale Group.
- Wells, S. (2004). Too Good to Hire? (cover story). *HR Magazine*, 49(10), 48-54.
- Weber, C. (Ed.). (2002). *Webster's dictionary* (4th ed., Vols. 1-4). Chicago: Webster Press
- Weiss, E., & Maurer, T. (2004). Age Discrimination in Personnel Descsion: A Reexamination. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 34(8), 1551-1562.
- Welford, A.D. (1992). Psychological studies of aging: their origins, development and present challenge. *International Journal of Ageing Human Development*, 34, 185–197.
- Welford, A.D. (1988). Preventing adverse changes of work with age. *International Journal of Ageing Human Development*, 27, 283–291.
- Welford, A.D. (1986). Forty years of experimental psychology in relation to age: retrospect and prospect. *Experimental Gerontology*, 21, 469–481.
- Whitbourne, S., & Sneed, J.(2002). The paradox of well-being, identity processes, and stereotype threat: Ageism and its potential relationships to the self in later life. *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons* (p. 274-273). Cambridge, MA US: The MIT Press.
- Whitley, B. E.; Kite, M. E. (2010). *The psychology of prejudice and discrimination*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
- Wikinson, J., & Ferraro, K. (2002). Thirty years of ageism research. *Ageism: Stereotyping and prejudice against older persons* (p.339-358). Cambridge, MA US: The MIT Press.

- Wittenbrink, B., & Henly, J. R. (1996). Creating social reality: Informational social influence and the content of stereotypic beliefs. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 22, 598–610.
- Wood, G., Wilkinson, A., & Harcourt, M. (2008). Age discrimination and working life: Perspectives and contestations: A review of the contemporary literature. *International Journal of Management Reviews*, 10(4), 425-442.
- Worthington, R. L., Mobley, M., Franks, R. P., & Tan, J. (2000). Multicultural counseling competencies: Verbal content, counselor attributions, and social desirability. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 47(4), 460-468.
- Worthington, R. L., Navarro, R. L., Loewy, M., & Hart, J. (2008). Color-blind racial attitudes, social dominance orientation, racial-ethnic group membership and college students' perceptions of racial climate. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 1, 8–19.