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Ageism and experience bias in employment interviews

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AGEISM AND EXPERIENCE BIAS IN EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEWS

by

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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

University of North Dakota
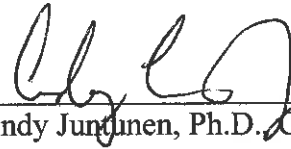
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for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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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.

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Cindy Juntunen, Ph.D., Chairperson

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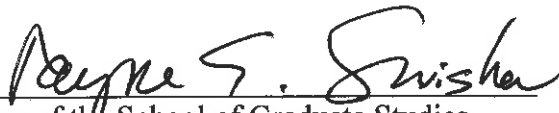David Perry, Ph.D.

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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.

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Dean of the School of Graduate Studies

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July 23, 2014
Date

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PERMISSION

Title   Ageism and Experience Bias in Employment Interviews

Department   Counseling Psychology

Degree   Doctor of Philosophy

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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

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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). Kinsalla 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 Smolinksi (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 5th in terms compliance with regulatory requirements held an average stock return of 18.3% whereas organizations in the lower 5th 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.

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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

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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)

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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 2001	Fiscal Year 2005	Fiscal Year 2009	Fiscal Year 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).

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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 20th 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

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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 difficultly 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).

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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 & Ranzijin 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.

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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 reminder 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 temp 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 & Ranzijin, 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.

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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 student 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.

<div align="center">

Results

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     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
2Excerpt B interviewee is much older than interview excerpt A interviewee	100	5.58	.502
5The interview excerpts are successful at capturing the age differences between candidates	100	5.65	.49
8The 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 excepts 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
3Excerpt B's interviewee works longer hours than interview excerpt A's interviewee	64.5	4.87	.763
6Excerpt B's interviewee would make a better leader than interview excerpt A's interviewee	71	4.06	.814
9Excerpt 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.

<div align="center">

Results

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  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 Qulatrics, 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

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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 α = .91.

Analysis of Results

Results were analyzed using Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS),

20.0. Preliminary analyses included examination of differences by participate 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 where highly unified (alpha > .900).

Table 8

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

	Mean (SD)	ADJ Fraboni	2nd 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 (22.83)	1														
2nd interview	6.54 (2.96)	.2** p=-.005														
Finalist?	6.00 (2.80)	.14* p=.05	.9** p=.00													
Likely to Hire	5.62 (2.58)	.14 p=.05	.84** p=.00	.84** p=.00												
Experience Amount	5.80 (2.75)	.09 p=.2	.86** p=.00	.84** p=.00	.83** p=.00											
Learning Ability	6.10 (2.09)	.23** p=.001	.56** p=.00	.59** p=.00	.62** p=.00	.59** p=.00										
Overall Fit	5.95 (2.39)	.18* p=.01	.84** p=.00	.88** p=.00	.89** p=.00	.86** p=.00	.70** p=.00									
Too Much Experience	6.12 (2.23)	.30** p=.00	.42** p=.00	.44** p=.00	.48** p=.00	.38** p=.00	.50** p=.00	.53** p=.00								
Knowledge Current	6.79 (2.22)	.31** p=.00	.5** p=.00	.52** p=.00	.51** p=.00	.49** p=.00	.61** p=.00	.56** p=.00	.56** p=.00							
Enjoy Working With Them	5.96 (2.16)	.3** p=.00	.47** p=.00	.55** p=.00	.56** p=.00	.52** p=.00	.59** p=.00	.61** p=.00	.5** p=.00	.57** p=.00						
Techno Savvy	7.08 (2.14)	.34** p=.00	.53** p=.00	.57** p=.00	.56** p=.00	.51** p=.00	.66** p=.00	.6** p=.00	.57** p=.00	.73** p=.00	.59** p=.00					
Seeking Promotion	5.91 (2.43)	.22** p=.00	.39** p=.00	.44** p=.00	.46** p=.00	.38** p=.00	.49** p=.00	.47** p=.00	.48** p=.00	.53** p=.00	.45** p=.00	.59** p=.00				
Flexibility	5.71 (2.10)	.21** p=.00	.52** p=.00	.53** p=.00	.61** p=.00	.55** p=.00	.71** p=.00	.65** p=.00	.61** p=.00	.59** p=.00	.6** p=.00	.65** p=.00	.6** p=.00			
Experience Fit	6.02 (2.49)	.19** p=.00	.80** p=.00	.82** p=.00	.85** p=.00	.83** p=.00	.63** p=.00	.85** p=.00	.46** p=.00	.6** p=.00	.6** p=.00	.6** p=.00	.46** p=.00	.64** p=.00		
Liability	6.41 (2.11)	.17* p=.01	.67** p=.00	.69** p=.00	.74** p=.00	.68** p=.00	.69** p=.00	.78** p=.00	.47** p=.00	.62** p=.00	.6** p=.00	.65** p=.00	.43** p=.00	.65** p=.00	.76** p=.00	
Leadership Abilities	6.03 (2.12)	.1 p=.17	.62** p=.00	.66** p=.00	.69** p=.00	.64** p=.00	.60** p=.00	.69** p=.00	.43** p=.00	.57** p=.00	.56** p=.00	.59** p=.00	.58** p=.00	.65** p=.00	.65** p=.00	.72** 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 (η^2 = .07) was found to exceed Cohen's (1988) convention for a medium effect (η^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 participate 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_2max, $F(1, 101) = 264.638$, $p < .000$, $R^2 = .470$. 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 Mean/SD		26-35 Mean/SD		36-45 Mean/SD		46-55 Mean/SD		56-65 Mean/SD		66-75 Mean/SD		p	Effect 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			

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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 M	Vignette SD	Aged M	Vignette SD	*p*	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, Vodanovish 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 mangers 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

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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.

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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.

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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 in 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

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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.	**Highest Degree Area** ___ Bachelor's ___ Master's ___ Specialist's ___ Doctorate

		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

Gender

___ Male
___ Female

What is your current position

___ Career Professional
___ Student
___ Faculty

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 2
Fraboni Scale of Ageism

1. Many old people are stingy and hoard their possessions.

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

2. Many old people are not interested in making new friends, preferring instead the circle of friends they have had for years.

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

3. Many old people just live in the past.

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

4. Most old people should not be trusted to take care of infants

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

5. Many old people are happiest when they are with people their own age.

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

6. Most old people would be considered to have poor personal hygiene

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

7. Most old people can be irritating because they tell the same stories over and over again.

    | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
    Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

8. Old people complain more than other people do.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

9. I would prefer not to go to an open house at a senior's club, if invited.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

10. Teenage suicide is more tragic than suicide among the old.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

11. I sometimes avoid eye contact with old people when I see them.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

12. I don't like it when old people try to make conversation with me

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

13. Complex and interesting conversation cannot be expected from most old people.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly Agree

14. Feeling depressed when around old people is probably a common feeling.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

15. Old people should find friends their own age.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

16. Old people should feel welcome at the social gatherings of young people.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

17. Old people don't really need to use our community sports facilities.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

18. It is best that old people live where they won't bother anyone.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

19. *The company of most old people is quite enjoyable.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

20. *It is sad to hear about the plight of the old in our society these days.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

21. *Old people should be encouraged to speak out politically.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

22. *Most old people are interesting, individualistic people.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

23. I personally would not want to spend much time with an old person.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

24. There should be special clubs set aside within sports facilities so that old people can compete at their own level.

1	2	3	4	5
Strongly disagree				Strongly agree

25. *Old people deserve the same rights and freedoms as do other members of our society.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

26. Most old people should not be allowed to renew their drivers licenses.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

27. * Old people can be very creative.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

28. I would prefer not to live with an old person.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

29. Old people do not need much money to meet their needs.

1   2   3   4   5
Strongly disagree   Strongly agree

*Items scored in reverse.

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

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

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:
_____
_____

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 2nd interview	--	Does not warrant 2nd 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

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 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.

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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

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