

„Babeş-Bolyai” University, Cluj-Napoca
Faculty of Sociology and Social Assistance,
PhD in Sociology

PhD Thesis

SUMMARY

Age discrimination in the human resources
recruitment process, in Cluj-Napoca, between
2000 and 2010

Coordinator:
PhD. Univ. Prof. Traian Rotariu

PhD student:
Aurelian Sofică

Cluj-Napoca, 2011

TABLE OF CONTENT

PHD THESIS

Structure of the PhD thesis...	pg. 3
Relevance of the researched topic...	pg. 5
Literature review...	pg. 10
Research methodology...	pg. 19
Research results synthesis...	pg. 27
Conclusions and personal contributions...	pg. 42
References...	pg. 48

KEY WORDS:

Recruitment, selection, age, discrimination, age discrimination, ageism, direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, institutional discrimination, multiple discrimination, contextual discrimination, professional discrimination, discriminatory language, bona fide occupational qualification, relational demography, career stages, personnel requirements, recruitment announcements, recruitment chronocentrism, minimum hiring age, maximum hiring age, ideal hiring age, legal hiring age, causes for age discrimination, effects of age discrimination.

STRUCTURE OF THE PHD THESIS

PART I

*Introduction in age discrimination in
human resources recruitment process*

1. Social relevance of research topic
Why should we care about age discrimination?
pg.5
2. **Triangular concepts**
Discrimination, age, recruitment
pg.12
3. **Theories and meta-theories**
Why choose an epistemological side?
pg.23
4. **Changing the paradigm**
What do we have to lose... or win?
pg.35

PART II

*Analyzing the research methods used in studying
age discrimination in human resources recruitment process*

5. **The alphabet of research methods**
The experiment, observation and sociological inquiry
pg.40
6. **Social experiment**
Measuring age discrimination in human resources recruitment process
pg.44
7. **Observation**
How do we see age discrimination in human resources recruitment process?
pg.52
8. **Sociological Inquiry**
How is age discrimination in human resources
recruitment process understood?
pg.57
9. **Synthesis of research methods**
Great methodological diversity, simple research design
pg.72

PART III

*Planning the research of age discrimination in human resources recruitment process
in Cluj-Napoca, during 2000-2010*

10. **Delimitation of research topic**

What? Who? When? Why? How? Why?

pg.82

11. **Methodological strategy**

Mixed methods: focus-group and interview (qualitative), document analysis (quantitative)

pg.87

12. **Sampling design**

Interview, focus-group, document analysis

pg.93

13. **Research instruments**

Focus group guide, interview guide, grid analysis for job announcements

pg.97

PART IV

*Presentation of research findings on age discrimination in human resources recruitment
process in Cluj-Napoca, between 2000 and 2010*

14. **Proofs of discrimination**

In few words... there is a lot of discrimination ...

pg.105

15. **Recruitment chronocentrism**

Age discrimination coordinates

pg.123

16. **Actors involved**

Visible actors and... less visible actors

pg.134

17. **Problem diagram: causes and effects**

How things tend to connect

pg.150

18. **Conclusions**

We'll care more and more...

pg.162

REFERENCES

pg.182

GRAPHICS, LISTS, TABLES, FIGURES

pg.190

INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH TOPIC

”Our lives are defined by age: the age when we learn how to drive, vote, have sex, buy a house, retire, and travel free of charge with the local bus... Society emits constant judgment about the moment when we have the right age for something – and when we are too old for something else” (Age Concern, 2000, p.2) Age is one of the social coordinates that is so fundamental for the human perception that evaluating a person by this criteria is a “primitive”, “automatic” process (Nelson, 2005; Ferris, Judge, Chachere and Liden, 1991). A social construct is obviously useful in social interactions, but up to a point. This paper attempts to map the diffuse area where age, can change altogether from being a useful demographic characteristic, to a strong discrimination criteria on the labor market, especially in the human resource recruiting process.

Social relevance of the research topic

For a problem to be socially relevant it has to have “impact on the political, social or economic life, to contribute to understanding something that significantly affects the lives of many people or the understanding and prediction of good or bad events” (Phillip Shively quoted by King, Keohane and Verba, 2000, p. 28). In this context, the number of those affected and what they stand to lose or win becomes relevant. Age discrimination in human resources recruitment is the type of a social problem that is important not only from an academic standpoint, but also for social reasons and the high impact it has on the labor market.

In revealing the **number of those affected** we used the conceptual categories designed by Glover and Branine (1997) and Macnicol (2005): potential exposure, declared or perceived exposure and real exposure (each accentuating the different levels of this social reality). On the level of *potential exposure*, age discrimination is the strongest because it can affect the entire active population, in two professional moments – the beginning and the end of the career (Glover and Branine, 1997).

On the level of *declared exposure* or the area of public perception of the phenomenon, there is data that show that more than half of respondents to a questionnaire were affected at one point in their life by age discrimination. A British study shows that 59% of the respondents consider

they were discriminated at their workplace because of their age, and 48% declared that the main moment when they were discriminated based on their age was the recruitment and selection stage (Chartered Institute of Personnel and Development, 2005). On a national level, a study by CURS SA (2005) shows that 54% of the respondents consider that people get different treatments at the workplace based on their age, and 74% consider age discrimination is present in the recruitment process.

Real exposure is the materialized form of discrimination, geographically, time-wise, culturally and economically bounded in a clear social space. This level is very difficult to study because discrimination is most of the times “statistical” (deducted through macroeconomic data, collected on the labor market), “institutional” (deducted through existent procedures or existent rules) or “indirect” (deducted through innuendoes or practices that try to camouflage the phenomenon), and therefore the proofs attached are circumstantial (Macnicol, 2005). In order to respond to this difficulty in measuring the real exposure, this paper focuses on a single activity related to human resources, that of recruitment. This activity represents a system of functional and ethical filters that are applied before having a direct contact with the candidate, before getting to know the candidate or test him. In a selection interview, the employer can eliminate a candidate based on his/her age while building “post factum” arguments that have to do with his/her competences and thus hiding the act of discrimination. In the recruitment stage (which is the focus of this paper), since the employer did not meet the candidate and is only advertising for the job, the direct or indirect mentions about age constitute an “a priori” discrimination which can no longer be camouflaged. As a consequence, age discrimination in human resources selection process can be relatively easy to prove compared with age discrimination in other human resources activities (selection, training, and reward).

Referring to **what the social actors involved stand to win or lose**, we can say, as R. Cialdini (2001) says, peoples’ attention is more likely to be attracted by what an individual stands to lose than by what he/she stands to win; by their problems rather than by their opportunities. That’s why, in order to focus the attention, we need to send a warning signal about “the perfect storm” which is about to come, because of the misfortunate synchronization of a series of socio-economic factors: an increase in the number of individuals over 65, proliferation of prejudices about older people, decrease of fertility rate, massive migration of young labor force (especially in the case of East-European countries that joined the EU recently), difficulties related to the transition period and above all the recent economic downturn.

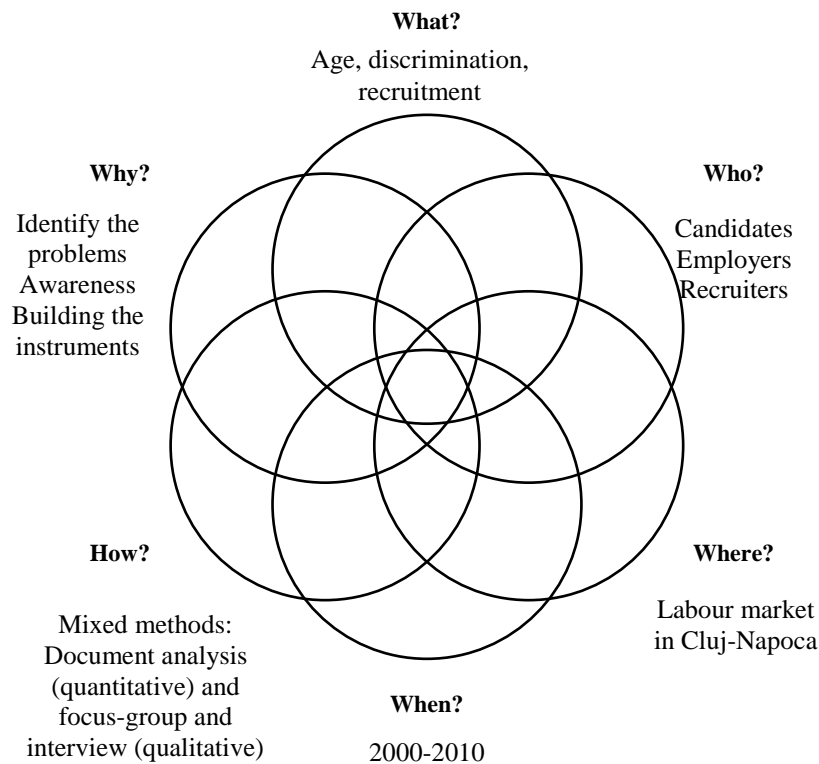
We can discuss the demographic problem, the macroeconomic problem, the legal problem, the organizational problem and the personal problem.

The demographic problem appeared in the beginning of the '60s and is not just a Romanian problem, but rather a European one. As we got used to it, it seems to be more severe in Romania's case, where we have a very low fertility rate of 1.3, one of the lowest in the European Union (Ghețău, 2007; Kroehnert, Hossmann and Klingholz, 2008). The economic or macroeconomic problem refers to the growing burden on the shoulders of the active population to support the inactive population, predominantly the "aged population" (Fotakis, 2000; Karoly, 2005; Kwasniewski, 2005; Kroehnert, Hossmann and Klingholz, 2008). The legal problem comes from the political pressure to implement legal measures regarding equal chances at the European level (Council Directive 2000/78/EC). Implementation of this directive was mechanical, with no previous study or attempts to adapt it to the national specific context (OG nr. 137/2000 regarding sanctions to all forms of discrimination and Law 324/2006) and without being supported by an administrative apparatus that could effectively apply the legal provisions. The organizational problem comes from the fact that, although age discrimination in an organization it makes no sense from an economic standpoint, it is frequently met in the managerial practice (Phipps, 2006; Thomas and Ely, 1996). The personal problem comes from the fact that the lack of interest in the young generations sabotages its' own chances to equal opportunity in the future organizational environment (Gundersen, 2003; Nelson, 2005; Macnicol, 2005).

Research topic delimitation

„Any research must be placed somewhere” and “any research must take place in a specific moment,” says Becker in a pragmatic note (1998, p.51). Miles and Huberman (1994, p.26) support his position highlighting the importance of delimitating the research area considering a few coordinates: the focus or “the heart” of the research, the social unit studied and the temporal dimension or studied period of time. Patton (2002, p.231) who calls it “analysis unit” sets these coordinates to a research: categories of individuals, geographic focus, activities and temporal dimension. Corroborating these authors' recommendations, we came up with a series of coordinates useful in bounding the research topic, while reminding us of the classic series of questions asked by orators such as Hermagoras, Cicero and Quintilian and often used in journalism and than in sociology: What? Who? Where? When? How? Why? (Diagram1)

Diagram 1
Research topic delimitation



Why should we be interested in these details, why these round of questions? Because it helps to localize, personalize and study this social phenomenon. Because, by ignoring them, we “end up ignoring what is local, particular, what has to do with local chemistry, that which is impossible to reproduce in any other place”, and “the environmental conditions of an event, organization or phenomenon are crucial for its appearance or existence in a particular form” (Becker, 1998, p. 52, 54). In the spirit of those mentioned, the research focuses on: the goal and objectives of the research (What?); geographical localization (Where?); social unit or units studied (Who?); temporal localization (When?); research design (How?) and arguments for choosing this topic (Why?)

The goal and objectives of the research (What?). By using Patton’s terminology and classification (2002), the paper is a combination of exploratory research and applied research because its’ purpose is to bring light on a delicate public problem and perhaps in the future, to develop into an action-research in order to solve the identified problem.

Thus, the *goal of the research* is to explore age discrimination in human resources recruitment process with the hope that it will fundament future measures to solve a specific social problem.

The objectives of the research are: 1) Identify proofs of age discrimination; 2) Identify age coordinates for discrimination; 3) Identify social actors involved in this phenomenon; 4) Identify “rations” or causalities that lead to discrimination as they are perceived by involved actors; 5) Identify effects of discrimination on a personal, organizational and social level. Objectives have been transformed into *general research questions* and then detailed in *specific questions* using models suggested by Miles and Huberman (1994).

The social unit or units involved (Who?). According to Beckers’ (1998) classification, the social unit studies in this paper is the labor market in Cluj-Napoca, but more in depth, there is a special focus on the main actors: employers and candidates. The two actors were chosen as our focus for two main reasons: because they are placed at the centre of age discrimination and because there are limited resources available for this research. However, we do not deny the diversity of actors more or less visible that influence this social phenomenon. That is why, research-question no 3, opens the way to future study of the social network that influences the research topic.

Geographical localization (Where?). Age discrimination research was placed in Cluj-Napoca. The city is set on parallel 46° 46’ N, meridian 23° 36’, covers a surface of 179,5 km², has a continental-moderate climate, 318.027 inhabitants (Census 2002), is a university centre with 45.500 students (at Babes-Bolyai University alone) and 23.843 private companies (in 2000). These details are relevant in the research process, even if some links between elements may not be clear at this point. To paraphrase Becker, “the specific chemistry of Cluj-Napoca” (climate, demography, economy, birth rate, mortality and education) cannot be reproduced by any other place and that is why the social phenomenon that is researched is influenced by the “personality of the place.”

Time localization (When?). The research focuses on the period between 2000 and 2010. The time localization gives a specific note to age discrimination in human resources recruitment process in Cluj-Napoca. The period of research was chosen based on *research questions* (if it can be answered in this interval of time) and *continuity of the phenomenon* (whether it is a permanent phenomenon in the organizational life or it is a temporal one) (Raymond-Alain and Samantha, 2001).

Research design (How?). In choosing the design of the research we have started from the classification used by Teddlie and Tsahakkori (2006), who discuss: the mono-method (where a single research method is used, either qualitative or quantitative), quasi-mixed methods (where both qualitative and quantitative methods are used, but the results are not integrated) and mixed

methods (uses both qualitative and quantitative methods and the results are integrated). The research design that was chosen is based on mixed methods, which means that a quantitative method (document analysis) and qualitative methods (focus group and interview) are used for this project in all phases of the research – data gathering, analysis, integration and inference.

Arguments for choosing the topic (Why?). The paper intends to identify the problems at an individual and organizational level or the “bugs” that lead to discrimination. Secondly, it aims to bring to public attention a phenomenon that is not very visible and comes with a great cost for society. The project aims to inquire prejudices actively manifested in the form of discriminatory behavior affecting young and aged people who are in a critical point in their professional career. Thirdly, the paper builds the fundament to develop professional instruments that can insure an ethical and efficient practice in human resources recruitment.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Browsing through older studies on the topic of age discrimination in human resources recruitment process helps getting a “historical perspective” on the research topic, better understanding of terminology, previous research directions and contributions that became milestones in the specialty literature (Buchanan and Bryman, 2007). It also contributes to understanding the existent perspectives and the relevant problems overcome by other researchers, accelerating this way the design process and increasing the qualitative component of the research (Esterby-Smith, Golden-Biddle and Locke, 2008). As a background for mapping the specialty literature, we have made a summary, an alphabet of the research methods (Rotariu and Iluț, 1997; Chelcea, 2004; Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1991; Patton, 2002; Silverman, 2006). Starting from the classic methods (social experiment, observation and sociological inquiry) we analyzed interdisciplinary studies that focused on age discrimination (chapters 6, 7 and 8). Most of the studies cover age discrimination in general, but there are studies that look more specifically at the hiring process (recruitment and selection). The synthesis of knowledge level in the field follows three directions: methods used in studying age discrimination; subjects and central actors in studies related to age discrimination; and methodological strategy: mono-method versus mixed methods.

Methods used in age discrimination study

In terms of *experiments*, the *field experiment* seems to be the dominant method used in the study of age discrimination in human resources recruitment process, while very few *audit tests or lab experiments are used*. In the case of social experiment, unlike other used methods, we notice a historical approach because, in time, researches have build on previous ones developing and improving the methodology in order to correspond to the specific of age discrimination. Thus, the identified methodological problems have been gradually covered. The social experiment method was initially used in 1968 by Daniel William Wentworth (USA) to investigate racial discrimination, while in 1993 was adapted, for the first time, by Bendick, Jackson and Romero to the specificity of age discrimination. They used the methods again in 1996 and 1999. Bendick, Jackson and Romero are considered the parents of social experiment in the field of age discrimination, and their experiments started in 1993 as a reference point in the specialty literature. Riach and Rich improved the method in 2001, when they discovered some

methodological flaws related to older peoples' capacity to engage in physical activities, to use technology and mental flexibility. Another aspect developed by Riach and Rich (2002) was classifying the jobs in four categories: activities depending on age, activities thwarted by age, neutral activities and activities intensified by age, allowing this way to differentiate between contextual discrimination and personal discrimination. Riach and Rich studies started in 2002 in Great Britain and continued until 2006 and 2007 in Spain and France. In 2007, Wilson, Parker and Kan used the method in New Zealand and added a new methodological component – labor market and its' effects over jobs. They divided the jobs considering the human resource crisis: jobs characterized by a shortage of candidates; jobs moderately affected by a shortage of candidates; jobs that have plenty of candidates. The results are very interesting as they show that in the case of jobs affected by a shortage of candidates (like medical nurses), age discrimination was practically inexistent. As a general conclusion, we can say that the social experiment helps checking the pulse of age discrimination in human resources recruitment process and has a strong argument power in highlighting the social studied reality, provided that it is well delimited in time and space, in order to understand the local specificity. Chapter 6 describes social experiments that have age discrimination as a topic.

In the case of **observation**, the predominant method in studying age discrimination was that of *document analysis* (focus on past events) and not the *direct observation* (focused on current events). The clear preference for document analysis comes from the fact that considering this is a complex, delicate and “easily flammable” topic; researchers preferred a less intrusive method. Another argument comes from the fact that participative observation allows taking the pulse of discrimination at a certain time, while document analysis allows seeing the evolution in time of the phenomenon and a better understanding of its' history. At the same time, we can notice that the main category of document analysis is that of publications containing recruitment announcements. These announcements can be “incriminatory evidence” which discriminate directly (by mentioning age limits or age intervals), or indirectly (by mentioning a set of features associated with a certain age group) and they can also offer substantial data for a quantitative approach.

However, we have to notice that the three studies described in the paper (Bennington, 2002, Anghel, 2003, Basim, Sesen and Sesen, 2007) do not consider the entire potential of the method. Bennington (2002) does not mention the studied period, but the small number of the recruitment announcements in “newspapers of important Australian towns” seems to cover no more than a week's time. Anghel (2003) limits to a week in March 2003 in Romania, and Basim, Sesen and Sesen (2007) to a period of 4 weeks from August 1st to August 30th in Turkey and Great Britain. Considering that Basim, Sesen and Sesen (2007) suggest that as the legal system of a country is

improved and the public becomes more aware of age discrimination, the announcement should contain fewer and fewer discriminatory elements. It would be interesting to follow this phenomenon on a longer time interval, like 10-15 years.

Ursel and Armstrong-Stassen (2006) have an atypical, creative approach to document analysis. They are using document analysis, or the articles in the press drawing attention to age discrimination accusations, and they look on the impact that they had on the share price of the accused companies. Their conclusions were that press articles mentioning filing a complaint or beginning a court trial (and not those related to a verdict) had as an effect a 2% drop in the price of stocks and that in the case of big companies, the losses could reach up to 200% more than legal penalties. This causality relation was another strong argument that could be used in public policy to influence the phenomenon, by attacking the so-called “rationality” of the employers in motivating age discrimination. Chapter 7 details studies focus on observation.

In chapter 8, sociological inquiry seems to find a balance between *survey and interview* in age discrimination. Out of the two methods, the survey is the oldest method used in studying the phenomenon. It was used by Palmore in 1977 and resumed again in 1981, 1988, and 2005 to follow the evolution in time of the researched coordinates. Palmore’s works, especially Age Quiz, are considered reference points in the literature. Although his surveys have a general character and a reduced practical applicability for age discrimination in the human resource recruitment process, their creativity comes from the fact that it combines the measuring process of a phenomenon (level of respondents’ information, group differences, measuring training effects) with the educational process, of public awareness, forming clearer images (stimulating discussions during training sessions, clarifying prejudices, comparing information level about older people).

The interview does not seem to have an old “methodological age” in studying age discrimination; most of the studies that use this method are relatively recent (McMullin and Marshal, 2001; Bennington, 2002; Wilson and Kan, 2006; Granleese and Sayer, 2006; Mc Vittie, McKinlay and Widdicombe, 2008; Berger, 2009). On the other hand, the purpose of the interview is to go more in-depth than to verify information, to extend the horizon. Thus, the interviews look at the way age discrimination cumulate with other types of discrimination (Granleese and Sayer, 2006); identify types of social identity assumed by unemployed older people; (Mc Vittie, McKinlay and Widdicombe, 2008); identify tricks used by aged people in searching for a place to work in order to increase their chances to be hired (Berger, 2009); identify reasons for employer and recruiters to affect equality of chances (Wilson and Kan, 2006), identify employees attitudes on anti-discrimination legislation (Bennington, 2002) and

bringing light on dirty tricks and “economic rationale” used by employers in their discriminatory practice (McMullin and Marshal, 2001).

Subjects of studies on age discrimination

About the subjects used to gather data or the social actors that are the object of studies on age discrimination in the human resource recruitment process, they are: employers, candidates, students, recruitment agencies, employees and investors. The reasons to pick one or the other as a main source of information is sometimes clearly stated by the authors, and other times can be deduced through background information.

Employers are the subjects of most field social experiments (Bendick, Jackson and Romero, 1993, 1996; Bendick, Brown and Wall, 1999; Riach and Rich, 2002, 2006, 2007; Bennington, 2002; Wilson and Kan, 2006; Wilson, Parker and Kan, 2007). Employers are considered the main responsible actors for the phenomenon and have a central importance in understanding the age discrimination. Beyond its’ obvious merits, the social experiment method seems to suggest a “legal” paradigm in approaching the topic, as it puts the accent on proving “the crimes of the employers” as an argument for punitive measures and a lot less on going in depth or finding the “rationale” for this behavior. Data was gathered from the employers with the help of a survey run by Busch, Dahl and Dittrich (2004), but both the design of the survey and the interview came very close to the structure and the declared purpose of a social experiment. Bennington (2002) and Wilson and Kan (2006) used the interview to gather data from the employers. In the first case, 180 employers were asked, by telephone, questions that looked at their attitude on anti-discrimination legislation. In the second case, 20 employers went through a structured interview that aimed at identifying the motives and mechanisms used by employers to discriminate. Document analysis, a more specifically qualitative research of recruitment announcements, is another method aiming the employers (Bennington, 2002; Anghel, 2003; Ursel and Armstrong-Stassen, 2006; Basim, Sesen and Sesen, 2007). Because these actors are seen as responsible for age discrimination, there is a tendency to choose “neutral” methods from the standpoint of interaction with them, or methods that put a comfortable distance between the researcher and the subject, because the implicit guilt projected by the research process can give birth to mutual tension or to excessive filtration of information.

Candidates for the position, especially the unemployed and those who fit in the threatened age groups are targeted by interviews or focus groups (McMullin and Marshall, 2001; McVittie, McKinlay and Widdicombe, 2008; Berger, 2009). The contact with them through these methods is much more interactive, and the exchange of information does not look only at confirming a

type of behavior, but also at the entire range of information attached to it: emotions, thoughts, logic, intentions, attitudes, values; aspects that are not visible in methods like the experiment or document analysis. The approach is also more empathic, because we have a higher sensibility towards age discrimination, this time, from the victim's position. The methods used allow the researcher to take into account the impact of age discrimination, the traumas suffered and to personalize the act of research.

Students are preferred in the case of surveys (Peaboy and Sedlacek, 1982; Schwalb and Sedlacek, 1990; Palmore, 1977, 1981, 1988 quoted by Palmore 2005; Loretto, Duncan and White, 2000; Busch, Dahl and Dittrich, 2004) and this raises some questions about the choice. Given the proximity towards the subject and the easy way to gather data in the academic environment, we can consider commodity as the main factor for choosing students. It must be considered though that students are lacking real experience about the phenomenon, most of them not being professionally involved and not suffering from age discrimination. Even if we consider the exception of those who work through college (Loretto, Duncan and White, 2000), they do not have enough experience to develop a professional identity; they do not know and do not interpret enough the legislation on age discrimination. If the objective of these researches were observing the education and socialization as a generator of prejudices and stereotypes (attitudes) then the limits of the study would be clearer. Given the weak involvement of students in the labor market, they are not an active actor in the discrimination process (behavior) and they cannot project their own experience. Speaking from a phenomenological perspective, they expose their own opinions about a reality they haven't lived enough and are not aware of, until the moment of the survey.

Specialists in the recruitment agencies are rarely the objects of studies, although as intermediaries, they seem to be responsible for most part of age discrimination in the human resources recruitment process. Bendick, Jackson and Romero (1996, 1999) in their social experiment targeted the recruitment agencies alongside with employers and they have noticed they these are more willing to discriminate in the recruitment process. A study run in Washington in 1999 shows that 84% of the recruitment agencies are discriminating compared to only 29% of the companies that do their own recruitment. A possible explanation can be the fact that companies, which ask the recruitment agencies for services, solicit this discriminatory behavior (directly or indirectly), and the recruitment agencies, focused on profitability, listen to the clients' requests. Wilson and Kan (2006) give another explanation that underlines the cynical answer a recruiter gave him during an interview. He confesses that it is in the interest of the recruiter to attract candidates that seem good for the job, but who leave after a few years, insuring this way the repetitiveness of his business; and the perfect profile for this type of

candidate is that of young people.

Employees are the subjects to very few studies on age discrimination, although the theory on relational demography shows that they are an important influencing factor in the discriminatory practice. It seems obvious that the demographic profile at the working place is influencing the recruitment policy. McMullin and Marshall (2001) target the employees as they interview them to see how they interpret their experience with age discrimination. Their study shows a series of critical conclusions among which, employers who develop well thought discriminatory practices in order to get rid of the union members who “by chance” are older, solving this way the political obstacle brought by relational demography at the work place and age diversity.

Investors enter the stage as interested or involved social actors in age discrimination as a result of a study run by Ursel and Armstrong-Stassen (2006). This study shows that there is a link between age discrimination and the price of actions on the stock exchange. Unfortunately, it is the only study of this kind in the literature and of interest to investors in the big companies and only in countries with a tradition in law suits on age discrimination.

Methodological strategy: mono-method versus mixed methods

Classically, most of the research papers were based on one research method, but gradually and especially since the ‘90s a new trend started to spread, that of *mixed research methods*, promoting the use of at least two research methods from opposed methodological sides (qualitative and quantitative) in the same study (Punch, 2009). Thus a practice of mixed methods spread, a pragmatic practice of “researchers using multiple approaches, with an accent on what works best and giving greater importance to the researched question than to the methods used.” (Creswell, 2008, p.528) The conflict between qualitative and quantitative reaches a methodological compromise, from which both sides have something to win. After going through all identified studies on age discrimination we can notice that some studies are based on one method, while others on more than one. From this observation and from the methodological categories identified by Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003, 2006) we tried to categorize studies considering the research design in: mono-method research, multiple methods design and mixed method research design. *The mono-method research design* is the design that focuses on a qualitative or quantitative method in all research stages. *The research design using multiple methods* involve diverse methods, but either from the qualitative or from the quantitative methodological side, without intersecting them. *The research design using mixed methods* “collects and analysis data, integrates results and makes inferences using both

qualitative and quantitative methods in the same study or research program” Teddlie and Tsahakkori (2006, p. 15).

About the *mono-method* it’s important to mention that: a) the social experiment used by Bendick Jackson and Romero (1996, 1999) and Riach and Rich (2002, 2006, 2007); b) document analysis, method used by Anghel (2003), Ursel and Armstrong-Stassen (2006) and Basim, Sesen and Sesen (2007); c) survey used by Palmore (1977, 1981, 1988, 2001, 2004), Peaboy and Sedlacek (1982), Schwalb and Sedlacek (1990), Loretto, Duncan and White (2000) and Busch, Dahl and Dittrich (2004); d) interview used by McVittie, McKinlay and Widdicombe (2008), Granleese and Sayer (2006) and e) focus-group used by McMullin and Marshall (2001).

On the side of *multiple methods*, the interview and the participatory observation were used by Berger (2009). *Mixed methods* were common to Bennington (2002) who used the experiment (quantitative), interview and simulation (qualitative) in Australia and Wilson, Parker and Kan (2007) who used the social experiment as correspondence tests (quantitative), alongside with simulation and interview (qualitative) in New Zealand. Bennington (2002) and Wilson, Parker and Kan (2007), using a combined research design solved Albert Einstein’s dilemma about research methods, who said that “not all that can be numbered matters and not all that matters can be numbered.”

Bennington (2002) is impressive for the attention he gives to ethical aspects involved by choosing the methods. For each method, Bennington asks permission to the Ethics Committee from one or more universities before studying age discrimination. The methods used by the author are the following: *document analysis* (recruitment announcements in the press, which reflect the subtle language of discrimination); *social experiment* (audit tests using pseudo-candidates, which show the level of influence that age has over the decision to hire) and *interviews* (with both employers and employees, these two types of interviews mirroring the cynicism of well thought discrimination and the innocence of the candidates). As the title of the paper shows, all data and information gathered with the help of three methods *converges*, highlighting the importance of methodological triangulation in shaping this socially problematic phenomenon.

Wilson, Parker and Kan (2007) elegantly combines *the correspondence tests* (CVs that were sent as an answer to job advertisement) with *simulation* (presenting three CVs to a number of 240 HR managers and soliciting their help in the initial selection of the candidates for an interview by completing a seven steps evaluation grid) and *interview* (interviews with managers

and recruitment consultants who participate in a simulation in order to bring out their preoccupations, opinions about age, reasons for taking the recruitment decisions). By coordinating the three methods, the research has a lot to win in terms of level of in depth, observations and interpretation. The experiment shows the unequivocal link between age discrimination and the need for personnel in a certain field (when the HR crisis is high, discrimination seems to disappear); simulation shows the internal mechanisms of the discrimination process; the interview shows the prejudices and stereotypes than can generate a discriminatory behavior. Adding up the three perspectives, the study shows a very clear “3D” image of age discrimination in the recruitment process. The clearness of the image surpasses the mono-method studies by far, revealing the process of discrimination as well as the reasons for it, and the results.

In conclusion, it becomes obvious the fact that we cannot say that we have a large methodological creativity in terms of age discrimination in the recruitment process, because most studies were mono-method, and only two incorporate more methods, trying to build on the advantages of combined methods. This methodological attempt must be supported because combined methods help: compensate the weak points of each method with the stronger points of the others; develop researchers’ abilities and the pragmatic character required by research in order to fundament public policies.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Punch (2009, p.300) shows that discussing combined research methods must cover four aspects. “First of all to identify the type of combined methods design that will be used. Then the defining characteristics of the design will be detailed, including decisions about time planning, their importance and the selected combination. Third of all, the main goal of the paper, the reason for using the design is specified; and finally, references to literature about the design and the combined methods are introduced.” Following these directions, we presented the methodological choices we made.

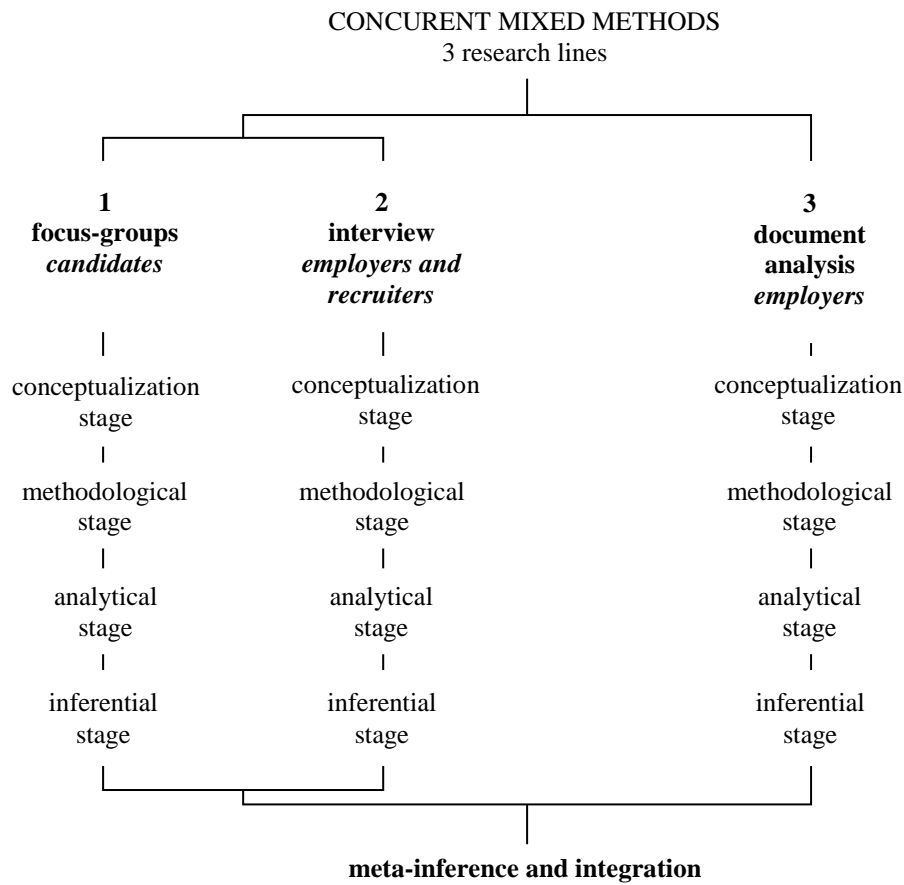
Research strategy

The type of design used in the specific case of age discrimination in the HR recruitment process is a *mixed design* (focus-group and interview as qualitative methods on one hand, and document analysis as a quantitative method on the other hand), *concurrent* (study directions go in parallel and they synchronize) *on several lines of the study* (3 research lines correspond to used methods: focus group, interview and document analysis). The design’s logical diagram is detailed in Diagram 2, using the graphic coordinates suggested by Teddlie and Tshakkori (2006).

The focus group is chosen because it is a sensitive method to the idea of social construction of age discrimination reality. The method is sensitive to interaction and direct negotiation between social actors, a process that marks the limits of the phenomenon and contributes to the reification of social reality. Because in a social context, certain attitudes “grow” in discussions with other individuals, the focus group looks at the way candidates react, stand up for themselves or discriminate interactively. It is interesting to see that there are relational demographic elements between the candidates, if activism suggested by critical theory is active or atrophied and if there are elements of adapting to the reality of age discrimination in the recruitment process. The focus group identifies reactions to something, more than it looks in detail to complex problems (Patton, p.388). These personal reactions get focus and constant feedback from the participants, offering a global image of the studied topic. Information having to do with “*short term memory*”, dynamic, perishable information that cannot be recovered otherwise (reactions, interactions, attitudes, process etc) are gathered.

Diagram 2

Research design used in studying age discrimination, in HR recruitment process



The interview is the second chosen method and completes the focus group following aspects that can be missed in a social, dynamic context, such as more personal, intimate aspects: sentiments, fundamental values and intentions. “The interview is like marriage: everybody knows what it is, a lot of people are involved in it, but behind closed doors there are a lot of secrets” (Oakley, 1981, p.31). The method allows gathering semi-tacit information, information that we can reach through introspection, but only in certain circumstances. As Kaplowitz (Kaplowitz, 2000, quoted by Patton, p.389) says it, individual interviews are up to 18 times more efficient than focus groups in studying delicate subjects. Some people have a public version of reality for the outsiders, a public relation version to create a good impression and a different version for the insiders, those with a higher degree of honesty. That is why, most of the times, researchers get the first version of information, the one for the outsiders. This type of information is very important especially in the case of sensitive topics (and age discrimination comes in this category), but in order to get the insider’s version we need projective techniques (Rugg and Petre, 2007).

Document analysis is the third chosen method and it completes the focus group. Although it looks at the same interaction and negotiation between actors, the difference is that this interaction is not a direct one, but one mediated by the text. Documents register ephemeral events, silent details that are easily forgotten if not registered immediately. “All entities leave their mark in paper or artifacts, a kind of spores that can be used in the field work” (Patton, 2002, p.293). Silverman (2010) offers a series of solid arguments regarding the complementary role that document analysis has. First of all, data gathered from documents appear naturally, the researcher having no influence in generating them, except in the form of registering or interpreting them. Secondly, document analysis avoids problems created by interactive research methods (interview and focus-group) where information offered by the interviewed subjects is “filtered” for the exterior. Thirdly, the focus of the method is on what happens, on the process, on behavior or results of behavior, rather than on the attitudinal component. One last advantage of the method is the possibility to follow the phenomenon from a temporal perspective and to count relevant aspects. Documents can offer a greater image, a sort of a temporal “zoom out” which includes multiple events that took place before the research starts, placing it in a sequence of events that create a much richer context (Adams and Schvaneveldt, 1991). Piergiorgio (2003, p.299) says the “the press is an endless information mine about society”, and that job advertisements can be considered an important vein. In this case, there is certain heterogeneity of the documents, and their format facilitates content analysis. For these reasons, the focus of the research is the job announcements published in the local press in the last 11 years. The ideal situation will include not just the recruitment announcements, but also the documents that explain the genealogy of age discrimination in the recruitment process (notes in the job analysis process, personnel requirements, job description, CV evaluation grid, HR policies, internal e-mails, etc). However, this is a topic for a future research topic.

Complementarity is the main argument in choosing the three methods, a complementarity on equal positions, none of the methods having a central or predominant role. The way each method covers the weak points of the other is explained in Table 1, following relevant methodological dimensions (goal, objectives, temporal perspective, and type of gathered information). Complementarity given by the pluralism of the methods increases the quality of the research giving more details and enhancing the understanding the multiple perspectives, generating solid inferences and the distinct value of the researched topic. (Esterby-Smith, Golden-Biddle, and Locke, 2008).

Table1
Complementarity of chosen research methods
(focus-group, interview and document analysis)

Dimensions	Sociological Inquiry		Document analysis
	Focus-group	Face to face interview	Content analysis
Goal	Understanding the social actors' <i>interaction</i> in "negotiating" age discrimination in the HR recruitment process.	<i>Empathic</i> knowledge of individual perspectives, identifying emotions, thoughts, attitudes, logic of intentions and unique values.	Identifying, <i>counting</i> and <i>measuring</i> "significance units such as words, phrases, categories or themes" (Robert Philip Weber, 1990, p.71)
Objectives	To answer research questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Which are the social actors involved in this phenomenon? 2. Which are the main causes for discrimination? 3. What are the effects of age discrimination in the recruitment process? 	To answer research questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Which are the social actors involved in this phenomenon? 2. Which are the main causes for discrimination? 3. What are the effects of age discrimination in the recruitment process? 	To answer research questions: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Are there any "evidences" of age discrimination in the HR recruitment process? 2. Can we trace the coordinates of age discrimination?
Temporal Perspective	Allows the focus on " <i>here and now</i> ", on immediate interaction of studied social actors.	Allows focus on " <i>here and now</i> ", but not on the interaction between actors, but on the personal universe of a single actor	Allows observation of a <i>chain on events</i> , the dynamic of the phenomenon in time.
Type of data and information	Information having to do with " <i>short term memory</i> ", dynamic information, perishable, information that cannot be otherwise recovered (emotions, interactions, attitudes) is registered	Information having to do with " <i>short term memory</i> ", "inside information", profound, personal, sensitive information that cannot be gathered through observation or document analysis.	Information having to do with " <i>long term memory</i> ", that can be stocked, is less rich in significance (details, dates, numbers, words, etc), but that can offer a overall perspective.

Sampling

In the case of interview the focused stratified sampling, takes into consideration the need to answer the research questions and targets those people who are selected deliberately for the relevant information they have and that cannot be gathered otherwise. (Teddlie and Yu, 2007) Interviews target employers (decision makers in HR recruitment – companies and NGOs) and recruiters (recruitment consultants outside the hiring company) because of the proximity and influence they have on the phenomenon. The socio-demographic variables considered are: gender and age (Table 2). The focused sampling pursues data gathering not only from the most relevant actors, but also from subjects with a great involvement and rich information. This is why the sampling requires building intensity criteria (Onwuegbuzie and Collins, 2007; Patton, 2002), which come in the shape of compulsory socio-professional variables: college degree (to maintain the technical level of the discussion), number of recruitment campaigns (minimum 10), workplace in Cluj-Napoca in the last 5 years, recruitment activity aims for Cluj-Napoca candidates.

Table2
Sampling scheme for employers (A) and recruiters (B) interviews

Gender	Age categories		
	under 30	between30 - 45	over 45
women	2R	2A	2R
men	2A	2R	2A

For the focus group the focused stratified sampling is also chosen and it follows three social-demographic variables: studies, gender and age (Table 3). Sampling follows getting relatively homogenous groups, so that in the same focus-group subjects from the same education level and age group will participate, in order to facilitate a safer environment. Gender is the only diversity element in the focus group. Sampling targets subjects that answered recruitment adds published in the local press in Cluj-Napoca (they were candidates in a recruitment process) and have lived in Cluj-Napoca in the past five years.

Table3
Sampling scheme for focus group candidates (6 focus-groups of 8 subjects each)

Education	Gender	Age category		
		Under 30	Between 30 - 45	Over 45
High school	women	4	4	4
	men	4	4	4
College	women	4	4	4
	men	4	4	4

For document analysis we can discuss at the first level about the area sampling; the weekly newspaper "Piața de la A la Z" representing a virtual area of major relevance for the labor market, and this area can be "divided into smaller areas, which become random, simple or stratified selection objects" (Rotariu and Iluț, 1997, p.144). From another perspective, we can discuss about "cluster" type of sampling, which does not target the individual documents, but groups ("clouds") of documents that appear naturally among the population (Teddlie and Yu, 2007). The weekly "Piața de la A la Z" can be considered a "cluster" because it groups into "work places" category most recruitment adds in Cluj-Napoca and it is the only source of "natural" primary data on a period of 11 years. The "cluster" character is given by the fact that Piața de la A la Z was launched in August 1996 and it grew from 1,500 copies (16 pages and 750 adds) to 40,000 copies in 2009 (30,000 adds/issue). The market share of 48% in advertising services and promotion of Cluj companies is very high, compared to Adevărul de Cluj or Monitorul de Cluj with 8% and 7%. 44% of the readers are interested in the job announcements. (Metro Media Transilvania, quoted by www.piata-az.ro/images/prezentare.pdf). On a different level, given the great number of issues and recruitment announcement and the heterogeneous character of the announcements, we have opted for a stratified sampling, considering the even years in the 2000-2010 interval, in a 8 issues step. The sampling scheme is presented in Table 4.

All in all, the 3 sampling schemes try to calibrate the research effort and the available time, without sacrificing the quality standards from both the qualitative and quantitative standpoint. The element of difficulty comes from the fact that in the case of quantitative research, the number of researched publications (37) and announcements (25090) involved a high effort in gathering data. On the other hand, this strategy allows the research to look at some longitudinal features, a dimension that has not been approached so far in other papers on age discrimination in the recruitment process.

Table4
 Sampling scheme for document analysis,
 8 issues step, every two years for Piața de la A la Z, between the years 2000-2010.

2000	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010
No. 170. 21.12.99-10.01.00	No. 274 29.01.02-04.02.02	No. 378 24.02.04-01.03.04	No. 474 24.01.06-30.01.06	No. 578 19.02.08-25.02.08	No. 674 19.01.10-25.01.10
No. 178 29.02.00-06.03.00	No. 282 26.03.02-01.04.02	No. 386 20.04.04-26.04.04	No. 482 21.03.06-27.03.06	No. 586 15.04.08-21.04.08	No. 682 16.03.10-22.03.10
No. 186 25.04.00-01.05.00	No. 290 21.05.02-27.05.02	No. 394 15.06.04-21.06.04	No.490 16.05.06-22.05.06	No. 594 10.06.08-16.06.08	No. 690 11.05.10-17.05.10
No. 194 20.06.00-26.06.00	No. 298 16.07.02-22.07.02	No. 402 10.08.04-16.08.04	No.498 17.07.06-17.07.06	No. 602 05.08.08-11.08.08	No. 698 06.07.10-12.07.10
No. 202 15.08.00-21.08.00	No. 306 10.09.02-16.09.02	No. 410 05.10.04-11.10.04	No.506 05.09.06-11.09.06	No. 610 30.09.08-06.10.08	No. 706 31.08.10-06.09.10
No. 210 10.10.00-16.10.00	No. 314 5.11.02-11.11.02	No. 418 30.11.04-06.12.04	No.514 31.10.06-06.11.06	No. 618 25.11.08-01.12.08	No. 714 26.10.10-01.11.10
No. 218 05.12.00-11.12.00					

Research instruments

The guide for the focus group includes questions that evolve from a general level to a particular level, by combining two instruments: 1) the Gallup method in 5 steps and 2) the round of questions (Krueger and Casey, 2000). *The Gallup method* includes: getting information about the degree to which subjects are aware of the topic or have information about it; identifying general attitudes about the discussed topic; identifying specific attitudes that the subjects have about the topic; identifying motivations, causes for the attitudes, including motives, rationale and invoked arguments, and estimating the intensity of these attitudes. *The round of questions*: opening, introduction, transition, key questions and final questions. Time allocated for one focus group is approx 90 minutes. During the focus group we use a written exercise to focus peoples' attention and to allow them, as Patton (2002) says to think a little before discussing in the group. By doing the exercise, each participant had enough time to structure his/her arguments and to shape an overall image on the topic before starting the group debate. This way, the spontaneous influence or pressure coming from the others was diminished and it increased the quality of the discussion. Chapter 13 details the guide for the focus group.

The interview guide uses the same format as the focus group, combining the two types of instruments: 1) Gallup method in 5 steps and 2) round of questions (Krueger and Casey, 2000)

(Table 10). The significant difference between the two instruments is the dimension of the research 3 (specific attitudes that the participants have in relation to the topic) and 5 (effects produced by considering age as an important criteria in the recruiting process), these being different for candidates (focus-group: information focused on personal aspects) and for the employees (interview: information focused on organizational technical aspects or aspects related to labor market). The allocated time for answers is shorter than in the case of focus group, and there is a higher accent on the more technical details of the recruitment process. Time for an interview is around 60 minutes. Chapter 13 details the interview guide.

The document analysis grid “categorizes data, using units of text and labeling them as belonging to certain categories, in a way that allows later analysis” (Marks and Yardely, 2004, p.60). It is an instrument that facilitates “quantitative treatment of a material that is symbolically qualitative”, and which helps us “state the hypothesis which can be translated in categories which can, in turn, be translated into measurable indicators” (Iluț, 1997, p.135). The grid for recruitment announcements analysis has the goal of gathering data that answer the research questions 1 and 2 (see Table 1). The instrument identifies a series of relevant categories linked to *the message characteristics* (publication date, number of words in the add, language), *personnel requirements* (minimum age, maximum age, discriminatory language, gender), *job description* (job position, relational demography, solicited experience) and *identifying the social actor* (field of activity, identity, type of actor). Each category was split into variables, for which correspondent values were set or examples were given. By analyzing and interpreting the data we use SPSS 16 (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), the analysis grid of recruitment announcements using the software variables and values defining technique. Concerning the categories and indicators grid, a special attention is given to abiding the quality methodological criteria: completeness, exclusivity, objectivity and pertinence. (Rotariu, 1991)

RESEARCH RESULTS SYNTHESIS

The results of this research aim the main objectives and answer the research questions stated at the beginning of the thesis: 1) Are there any „evidences” for age discrimination in human resource recruiting? 2) Is it possible to identify some coordinates for age discrimination? 3) Which are the main actors involved in this social phenomenon? 4) What are the main perceived causes that lead to age discrimination? 5) What are the main perceived effects for age discrimination in the recruiting process?

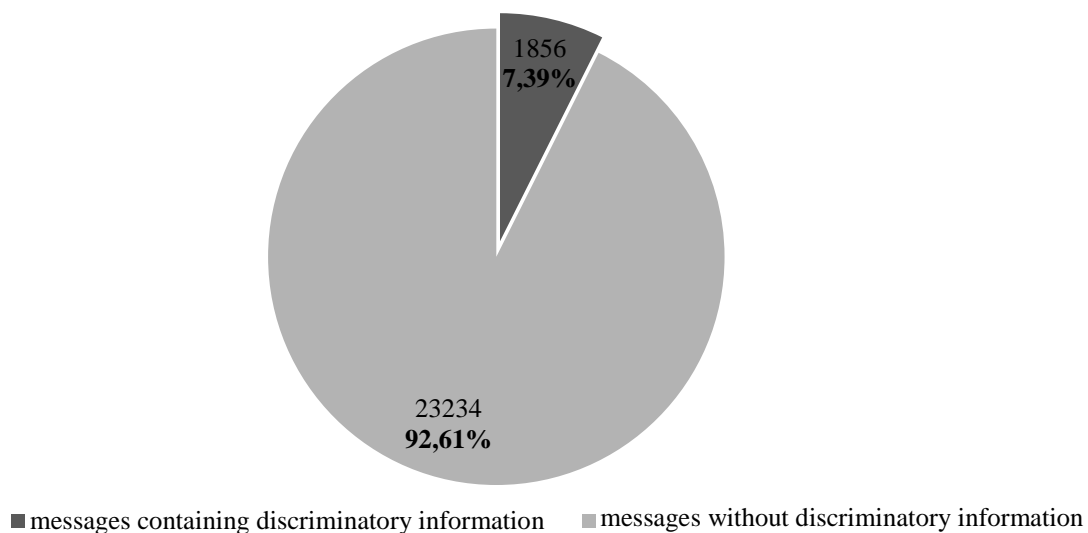
1. Are there any „evidences” for age discrimination in human resource recruiting?

Apparently this is a simple question, but represents a “sine qua non” requirement for the existence of this paper, and a very tough task. In order to answer this question we tried to reduce our research area and to give a longitudinal perspective to it. We focus our attention on the weekly advertising newspaper “Piața de la A la Z”, and analyze the recruiting ads published in an interval of eleven years (2000-2010). The main difficulty in proving age discrimination in the recruiting process comes from the fact that it is important to counteract, without any doubt, the arguments of the main actors accused of age discrimination, the employers. Thus, the research focus goes deeper than the employment process as a whole (job analysis, recruitment, selection and integration) and settles only on the recruiting moment because, as we already said, it offers some advantages. To build further on the concept of “evidence”, we removed from the data connected with certain types of jobs in which age is a “bona fide occupational qualification” (masseur 160 cases, dancer, 109 cases, model 22 cases and guard agent 27 cases); and data connected with supposed affirmative action directed to the students (150 cases).

This filtering process put us in a safer position, where we can say with confidence, that, as a result of the content analysis for the weekly “Piața de la A la Z” **we have 1856 evidences of recruiting ads containing age discriminatory information, or 7, 39% from a total of 25090 analyzed ads (Graphic 1)**. From this 1856 recruiting ads we have: 856 cases or 45% *evidences of direct discrimination* (the age interval, or a specific age was mentioned); 780 cases or 41% *evidences of indirect discrimination* (discriminatory language suggesting a certain age) and 264 cases or 14% *evidences of mixed discrimination* (direct and indirect discrimination combined in the same recruiting ad). If we dare to multiply the number of age discriminatory evidence with the sampling pace, the possible number raises around 29696 evidences in eleven years. In order for a problem to be considered seriously, it has to affect a great number of people, and the

numbers above suggest just that. Even though the number is great, **it is possible that 1856 of solid evidences, or 29696 possible evidences, to represent only the tip of the iceberg in the recruiting process.** Some comments made by the focus-group participants and of the employers suggested a much ample reality. *“Are they that stupid to ask for a specific age?” (focus group participant). “Those who specify the age are those who have the guts to say what they think. The others think that too, but they know that it is not allowed to write something like this in an ad” (recruiting specialist). “Is age one of the traits employers ask you to consider? Not explicitly because it is not allowed, but it would be recommended... ha, ha, ha!” (recruiting specialist). “What percent of the employers ask you to consider the candidate’s age when you recruit? Everybody, I am sure of that... or I don’t know, 99%. They are very few are who let us consider if a specific age is necessary.” (recruiting specialist).* And if we want to be even more pessimistic about it, we have to remember that age discrimination is present in more than the one human resource management activity under scrutiny in this paper (recruiting), it is present in various activities: selection, training, performance appraisal, training, and career management.

Graphic 1
 Number/percentage of recruiting ads containing *discriminatory information*,
 Piața de la A la Z, 2000-2010 interval

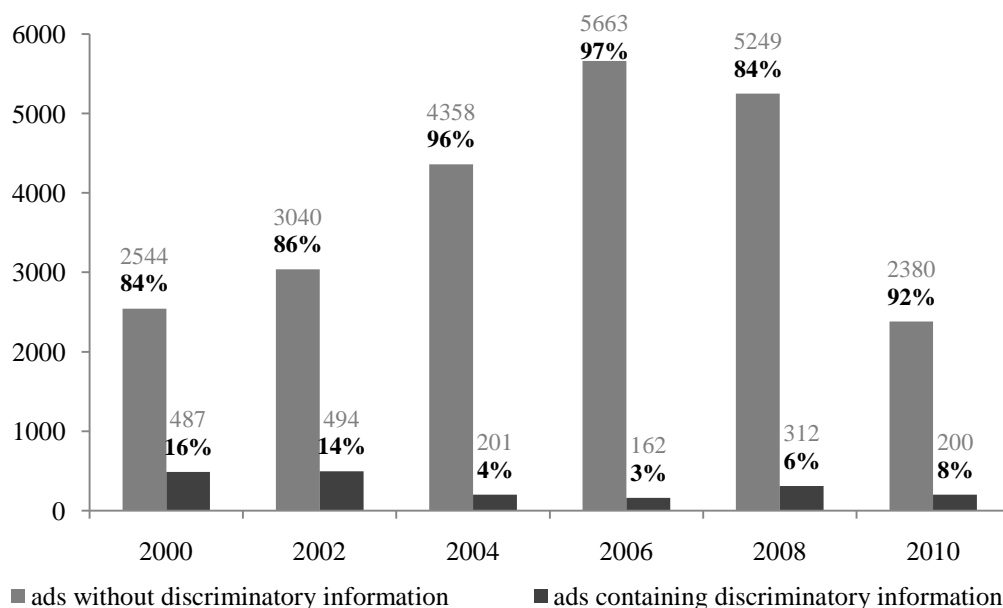


If we trace the trend of age discrimination evidences we can notice that since 2000, until 2006 and 2008, the number of recruiting ads with discriminatory information dropped from 16% of the total number of ads published, to 3%. After this interval, the number of discriminatory ads raised, from 3% of the total number of ads published, to 8%. We have a reverse trend if we consider the number of discriminatory ads from the total of published ads. Therefore, **age**

discrimination in the recruiting process, in Cluj-Napoca, is characterized by temporal sensitivity and it is possible to reflect macroeconomic changes, especially because the majority of the focus-group and interview participants saw the 2008 as a turning point for the economy and implicitly for age discrimination in the recruiting process (Graphic 2). „*Since the crisis started... the entry level recruiting just melted. Before we had many positions... 2007, 2008 were glorious years and the candidates were extremely unprepared for the labor market... we were amazed how lame they were, and their expectation were the size of China. In spite of that they had to be hired because the firms needed them.*” (recruiting specialist). „*The crisis changed many minds. Once the crisis settled a lot of young people applied for entry level, apprentice jobs, but before 2008 nobody wanted this kind of position. I have apprentices in welding, a heavy, dirty work; I have apprentices in assembly line... The context forced them to find an occupation... I am in the ninth heaven!*”(general manager, production firm).

Graphic 2

The evolution of the number/percentages of *recruiting ads with no discriminatory information* regarding age and *recruiting ads with discriminatory information*, Piața de la A la Z, 2000-2010 interval

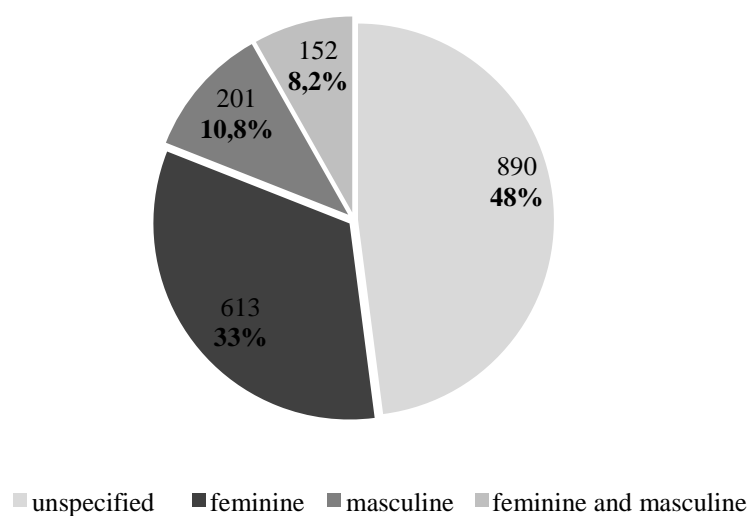


The evidence also points that, in the context of the recruiting ads from “Piața de la A la Z”, **age discrimination has a feminine gender**. 613 or 33% from the total number of discriminatory ads are aimed at women and only 201, or 10,8% are aimed at men (Graphic 3). It is obvious that the gender combines with the age to create a bigger problem for some candidates.

„*Categorically, age is a greater disadvantage for women. A young woman can marry, have children, and if the firm is small, the problem is even greater. But is the same in great firms with*

a lot of women employees. We have a firm as a client with more than 90% women and we know that it is a blessing for us to find a male candidate because the percentage of women leaving for maternity leave is extraordinary.” (recruiting specialist). “Clearly, look at the secretary positions... they prefer women between 25 and 35 years of age. You have two 25 years age secretary and at the same time the genitor is a 55 years of age woman. This is the classic story where the boss and the genitor have the same age.”(manager, construction firm). If you have a woman of 55 and a man of 55 years, the man will find quicker and easier a job. Probably because when hiring women the looks matter more than when you hire a man.... after all, women are the beautiful sex.”(focus-group participant). Considering this, approaching the age discrimination in the recruiting process from a liberal feminist perspective is important because the recruiting practices have heavy patriarchal influences and corrupts the idea of social justice and equality of chances on the labor market.

Graphic 3
Number/percentage of recruiting ads with discriminatory information, grouped by age and gender, 2000-2010 interval



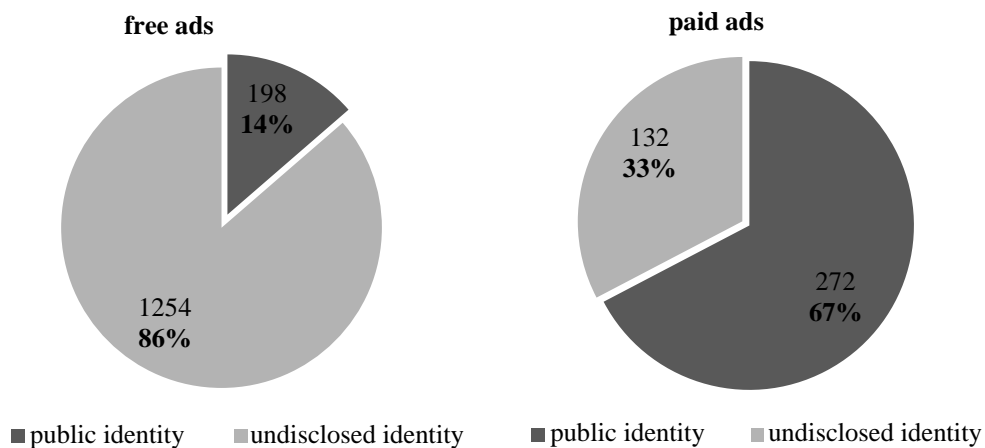
Age discrimination has a “contextual sensibility” because; the frequency of discrimination is influenced by the type of the job and by the activity domain. Age discrimination was more frequent in domains like: commerce (478 recruiting ads, or 25,8%), hotels and restaurants (287 recruiting ads, or 15,5%), health and social assistance (109 recruiting ads or 5,9%), processing industry (104 recruiting ads, or 5,6%), real estate industry (97 recruiting ads, or 5,2%) and construction industry (91 recruiting ads, or 4,9%). If we consider some specific jobs, then the top looks like this: retailer (233 recruiting ads, or 12,6%), salesman (176 recruiting ads, or 9,5%), barman (116 recruiting ads, or 6,2%), real estate agent (95 recruiting ads, or 5,1%), waiter (87 recruiting ads, or 4,7%), secretary (81 recruiting ads, or 4,4%), babysitter (70

recruiting ads, or 3,8%), driver (59 recruiting ads, or 3,2%), housekeeper (33 recruiting ads, or 1,8%), and cook (27 recruiting ads, or 1,5%). Quantitative data from “Piata de la A la Z” is “qualitatively” confirmed by the people involved in focus-group and interview, majority of them noticing the same connection between age discrimination frequency and the activity domain.

Age discrimination in the recruiting process is going “incognito”, because 1386 recruiting ads, or 75% from the total number of discriminatory ads, do not disclose the employers’ identity. If we analyze a little bit further the collected data, we can see that the majority of employer (firms, NGO and individuals) don’t disclose their identity, but this is not the case with the recruiting agencies. Considering also the cost variable and the identity of the employer, we noticed that when the recruiting ads are free of charge (under 25-30 words), the identity of the employer is not disclosed (1254 from the recruiting ads were “incognito”, or 86% from the total, and in 198 cases the identity was disclosed). When the recruiting ads were paid, the identity of the employer is disclosed (272 recruiting ads with public identity, or 67%, and 132 recruiting ads with undisclosed identity, or 33%) (Graphic 4). This kind of sensitivity was a surprise, because it is a way to increase credibility and a minimal sign of professional courtesy to mention the employers name.

Graphic 4

Number/percentage of recruiting ads containing age discrimination information, considering *the cost of the ad and the employer identity*, 2000-2010 interval

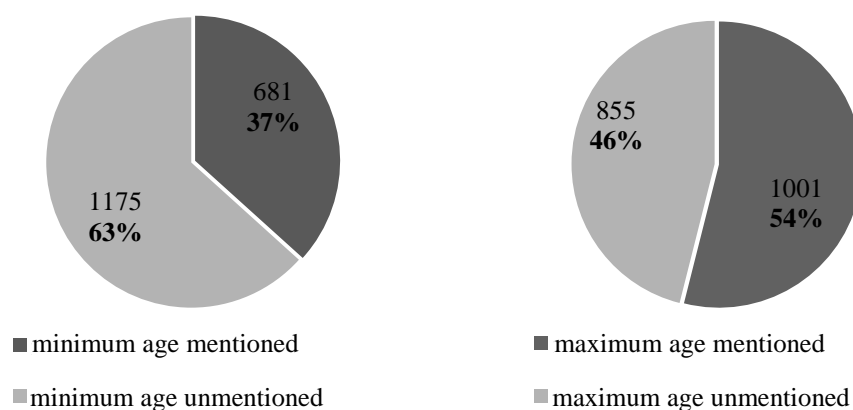


2. Is it possible to identify age discrimination coordinates?

The answer is yes. **The median age for the recruiting ads published in “Piata de la A la Z”, in the 2000-2010 interval is 22,93 years for the minimum age required and 36,34 years for**

the maximum age required. This is a very rough picture for the cronocentric interval created in a “natural” manner by age discrimination in the recruiting process. What stands out from the data is that **maximum age is required in the recruiting ads more often than the minimum age, underlying that age discrimination in the recruiting process affect older candidates in a much greater degree.** Maximum age is required in 1001 recruiting ads, or 54% from the total number of discriminatory ads; and the minimum age is required in 681 recruiting ads, or 37% from the total number of discriminatory ads (Graphic 5).

Graphic 5
Minimum and maximum age frequency in discriminatory recruiting ads, Piața de la A la Z, 2000-2010 interval

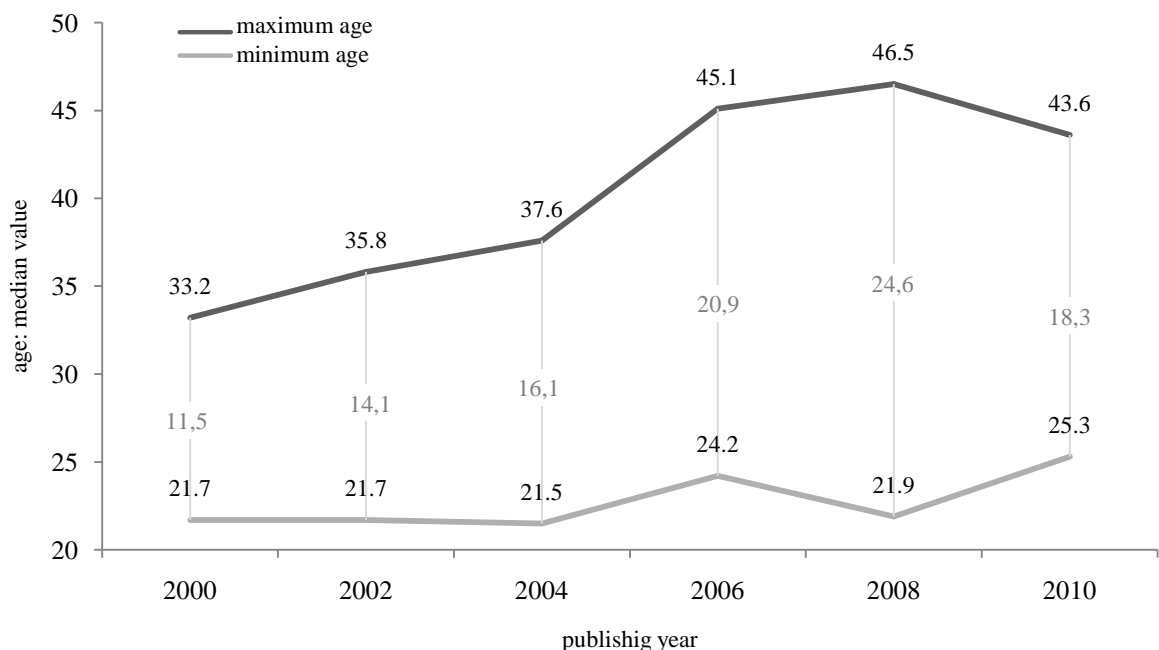


Another interesting aspect regarding chronocentrism in recruiting ads is that the majority of ages required are 5 multiple, reflecting the fact that, professionally speaking, we are used to think in time units of five. Also a series of cronocentric peaks were identified, concentrating the age required around some specific values. For the minimum age, this cronocentric peaks are: 25, 30, 40, 45 and 55 years of age, and there is a powerful resemblance with age marks referred by career stage theory, or the professional and personal identity development theory as described by Donald Super (1980). 18 years of age is an absolute starting landmark for the employers, and if we add 2 or 3 years as the necessary time to finish collage, and another 2 to 5 years of experience necessary for a middle management position, the “exploratory career stage” is quite visible. *“The employers hire in this time interval because it is profitable for them. They don’t ask for a lot of money, they can’t ask for a lot of money, and they finished their studies.” (focus-group participant).* Also, the “perfect age”, or the recruiting chronocentrism (23-36 years of age), seems to correspond with the “establishment career stage”, the interval where the employee starts to have a substantial contribution. *“It is far better today to be a middle aged employee because you have some young age qualities and also some experience. You have experience working with older employees, but you are still dynamic and ready to learn” (focus-group participant).* The next career stage is “growth and maintenance”, between 30 and 55

years of age. One of the main traits of this stage is the fact that promotions are fewer, and the new generation starts to see those in this area as old school. The last career stage is “disengagement”; it starts after 55 years of age, and in this stage it is obvious that the chances to find a new job drop abruptly. Although the “evidences” of similarity between age discrimination and career stages are not very solid at this stage, they are too attractive not to be considered in a future research project.

Temporal sensitivity is present also in the case of recruiting chronocentrism, because if in 2000 the perfect age interval for recruiters spanned over 11,5 years (median value for the minimum age was 21,7 years and the median value for maximum age was 33,2 years), in 2008 this interval increased to 24,6 years (median value for minimum age was 21,9 years and the median value for maximum age was 46,5 years), and then dropped in 2010 to 18,3 years (median value for minimum age was 25,3 years and median value for maximum age was 43,6 years). (Graphic 6)

Graphic 6
Temporal sensitivity for minimum and maximum age in the recruiting ads, Piața de la A la Z, 2000-2010 interval

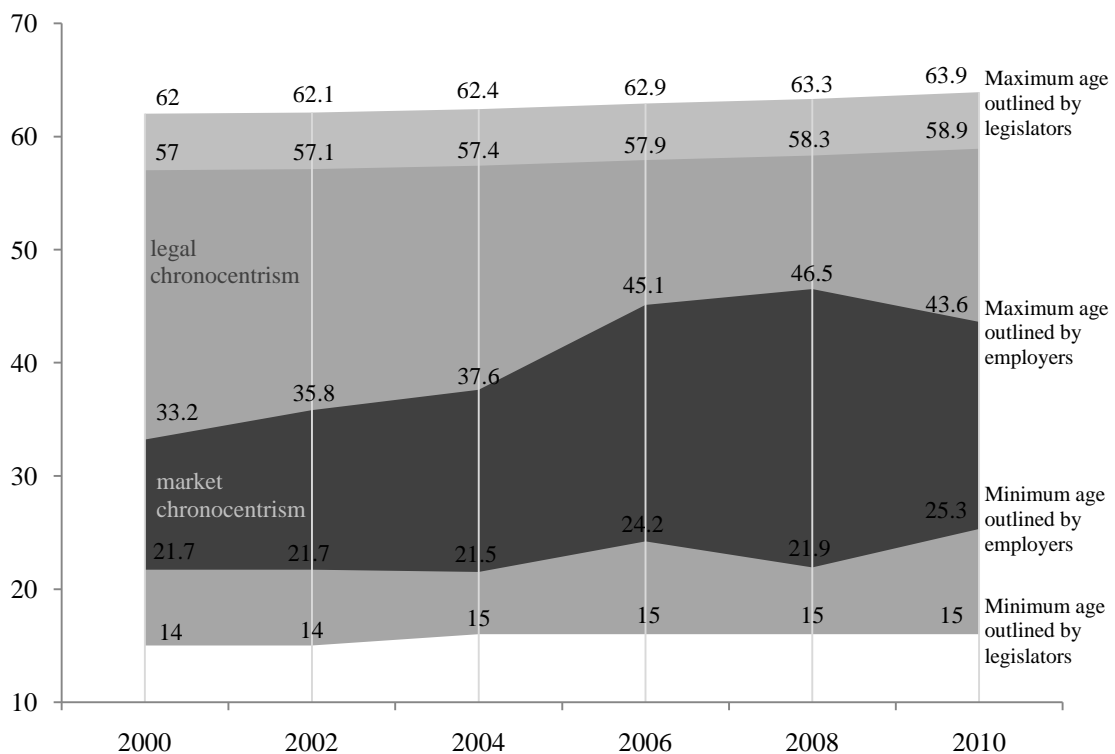


Another aspect revealed by data is the **existence of a series of “natural” cronocentric layers on the labor market, different by the “legal” cronocentric layers** (Graphic 7). It seems that there are two different dimensions of the same reality. The first one is the legal dimension and is more permissive: the minimum age required to be accepted on the labor market varied between

14 to 15 years of age in the research period; and the maximum age varied from 57 to 58,9 for women and from 62 to 63.9 for man. The second cronocentric dimension outlined by employers is not so concerned with equal opportunities. In this case, the minimum age required for employment varied from 21,7 to 25,3 years of age, and the maximum age required varied between 33,2 and 46,5 years of age. This disproportionate ratio between the legal dimension of recruiting chronocentrism and employers' dimension of recruiting chronocentrism worries us because in over 2/3 from our professional life, we are exposed to age discrimination in the recruiting process. This is not only about macroeconomic conditions, but also about the failure of punitive legislation and a doubtful organizational culture, tacitly expressed in the recruiting policies and practices.

Graphic 7

Cronocentric layers (median value for *minimum and maximum age required in recruiting ads*) as outlined by employers (Piața de la A la Z) and legislators (Law 10/1972 and Law 53/2003), 2000-2010 interval



3. Whom are the main social actors involved in this social phenomenon?

Although the initial stage of the research was aimed at the main actors involved: the employers (the villains) and the candidates (the victims), as the research advanced, it became obvious that the number of persons directly or indirectly involved, or interested by this topic, is much larger, reaching at the end over 20 actors, more or less visible in the “social network” of things. This new actors were grouped in the Chapter 16 in **various emergent roles, outlined by the focus-**

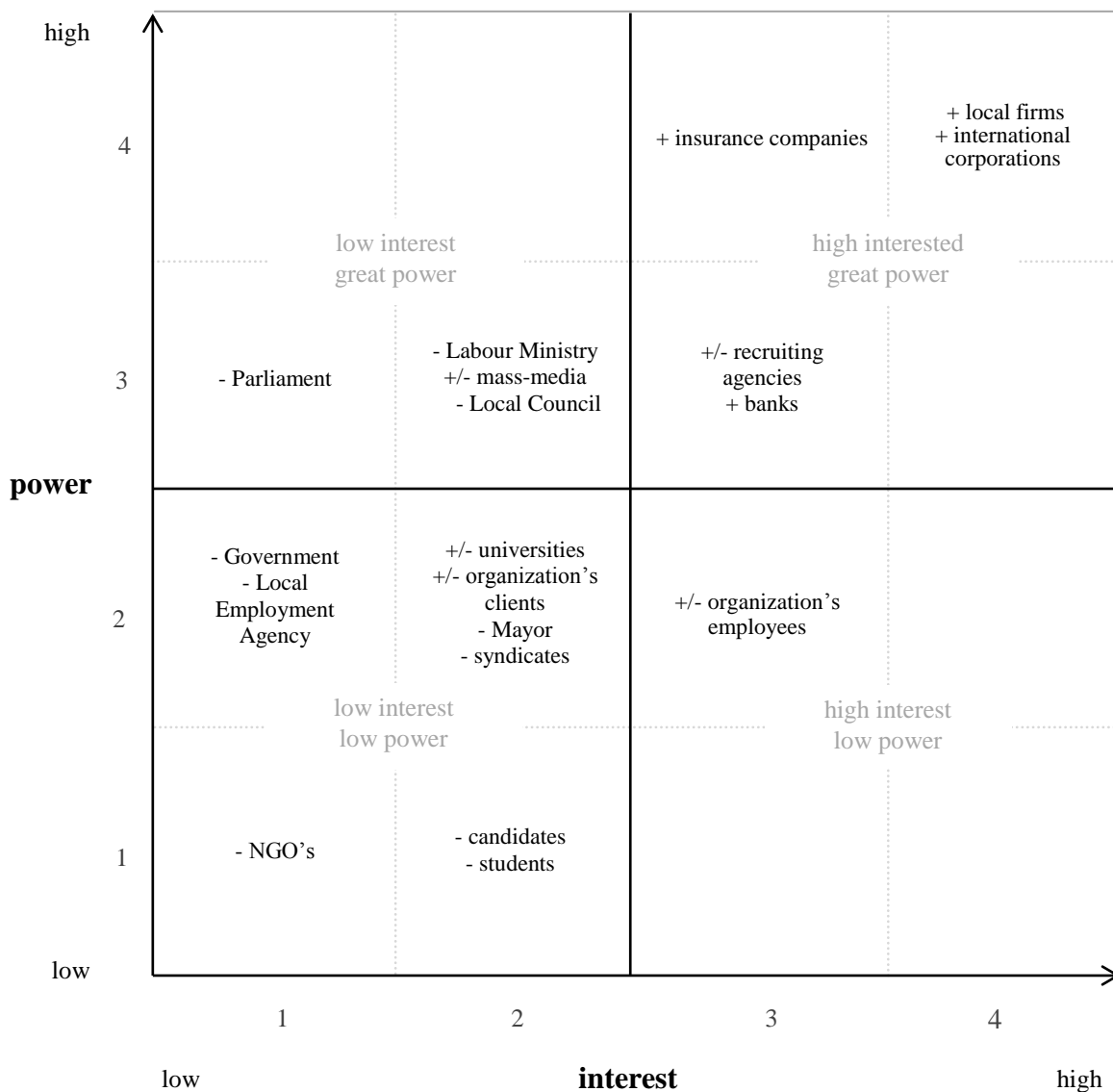
groups and interview participants.

The first category is the *employers* and consists of: private firms, public institutions, NGO's and individuals. The second category is *candidates* and consists of: young candidates, middle aged candidates and older candidates. The third category is "*guardians*" or *the state institutions* and consists of national institution: Government; Parliament; Labor Ministry of Labor, Family and Social Protection; National Council for Combating Discrimination; and local institutions: District Council, Local Council and Mayors. The fourth category, *mediators*, is responsible for facilitating the relations between employers and candidates and consists of: Local Agencies for Employment, trade unions, recruiting agencies and NGO's. The last category, "*spectators*", even though they don't have a visible or immediate interest in age discrimination in the recruiting process, they have the power to influence this social phenomenon. As spectators we can name: universities, mass-media, employers and organization's clients. It is obvious that the actors identified above can be categorized even further in a future research project. For example, discussions around private firms indicated that we have to pay special attention to the origins of the firm (local firms and international corporations) or to activity domain (IT, banks and insurance companies). Also, it is important to underline that this categories, or roles, are not clearly bounded because, some of the actors can play double roles: state institutions can be an employer and a guardian at the same time or NGO's can be an employer and a mediator at the same time. Research experience makes us confidently say that some of the actors are more socially visible, some of them are less visible, and some of them are invisible at this stage, waiting to be discovered in future research endeavors.

Age discrimination in the recruiting process in Cluj-Napoca seems to be an **interactive play, where the reality is socially constructed by the main actors, the border between actors and spectators is sometimes blur**, and where every actor close to the phenomenon can contribute in various degrees. Also, the legal texts regarding age discrimination in recruiting process are interpreted consistent with their awareness, power and interest in the matter. Actors' map, or the "geopolitical map" as drawn by the focus-groups participants, reveals the degree of interest and the power of the main actors they perceived (Diagram 2). The four main areas reflect **the central role of the employers (interested and with great power)**. They are followed by Parliament, Labor Ministry of Labor, Family and Social Protection and Local Councils (uninterested but with great power). Employees of companies are next (interested but without power). Finally, in the background of this map we have: Government, Local Agencies for Employment, Mayors, NGO's, universities, organization's clients, trade unions, students and, unexpectedly, the candidates themselves (uninterested and without power). What is worrying in this picture is the fact that the candidates indulge themselves in this "natural" situation,

unwilling to approach it critically because “*this is how things are done around here*”, and they will not change soon. The degree of victimization, the fact that the victims don’t care or are not aware of the gravity of the situation, the atrophy of the critical attitude, is a form of self-sabotage regarding the equal chances on the labor market. This process reminds us of Freire (1970) and his “Pedagogy of the oppressed” because we need a process of raising awareness, a process of critical education in order to break the silence and counterbalance the power distribution.

Diagram 3
Actors map for age discrimination in recruiting process,
 as resulted in focus-groups discussions



4. What are the main causes for age discrimination in the recruiting process?

One of the causes identified in the focus-groups and interview detailed in Chapter 17 is the fact that **the “opportunity cost” is not enough to motivate employers to give up to discriminatory practices.** The employer *gives up*: the financial advantages offered by state to stimulate employment of certain categories of candidates exposed to age discrimination; the safety of being on the right side of the law; the public relations advantages of being ethical; the creativity and the energy of young candidates and the experience and reliability of older candidates. The employer *favors* in his decision over those mentioned above: balanced salaries, more stable employees, healthier employees, more efficient employees and a greater tuning with information technology and personal development. It is a matter of strategic choice in some participants’ opinion rather than lack of knowledge. **Relational demography creates an additional pressure for an employer in order to discriminate on the grounds of age,** because employees are more comfortable working with colleagues from the same generation with them. As a result, when hiring on the same hierarchical level, young people hire young people and older individuals hire older individuals; but in the case of hiring on different hierarchical level, higher position tend to be filled by older people and entry level position by younger people. Relational demography is also the case when clients exert pressure over a company to hire employee in the same age category with them. Another cause is the fact that **the employer has an advantaged negotiation power in the hiring process, and the “natural” style in these situations is forcing.** Because the power of the employers is great, the threat posed by candidates or state institution is negligible and the process of hiring is always characterized by a time crisis; the Darwinian mechanism is naturally activated. As a focus-group participant states it, the employer is “on top of the food chain”. Yet another cause identified warns of the fact that, **sometimes, we may have systemic discrimination because of the mental patterns or shortcuts activated by employers in order to reduce their time and effort in the recruiting process,** even though this act undermines professionalism. When the work volume is high, simple criteria as age are used for rapid filtering of the candidates, and this practice is accepted even if the end results are not the best. Another twisted logic supporting the age criteria is that focusing only on certain age intervals, the “safety” of the recruiting increases. **The lack of personal development in the case of older candidates** is another “objective” cause for age discrimination in the recruiting process. The main idea behind this cause is the fact that continuous development is a new concept, unassimilated by older generations, and their professional development lacks momentum. **Technological cleavage is another cause of age discrimination for older generations** and in this informational era, IT savvies is a premium quality for candidates. There are technological waves influencing age discrimination, and the young generation is surfing the IT wave, while older candidates are surfing the industrial wave. **Low mobility on the labor market for older candidates is another cause,** with roots in the family “obligations” (kids, house and car loan, relatives, etc.), and it seems that sometimes is a

cultural artifact very deep embedded in Romanian culture. **Increased personnel fluctuation, especially at younger candidates, is another cause** for age discrimination. Age 25 is seen by the majority of the employers as the lower limit for employment because the professional identity of young candidates is not fully formed. **Macroeconomic context is a major cause in the dynamic of age discrimination, or the cronocentric recruiting interval.** Participants in focus-groups and interviews confirmed quantitative data, believing that in economic development periods, age discrimination decreases and in economic recession, age discrimination in recruiting increases. **Intergenerational conflict** is the last cause identified in discussions, and reflects a cynical aspect of age discrimination: different victims (young and older persons) blames mutually for the problems they have. Young people blame older people for holding their jobs regardless of their competence, and older people blame younger people for selling themselves too cheap on the labor market.

5. What are the effects of age discrimination in the recruiting process?

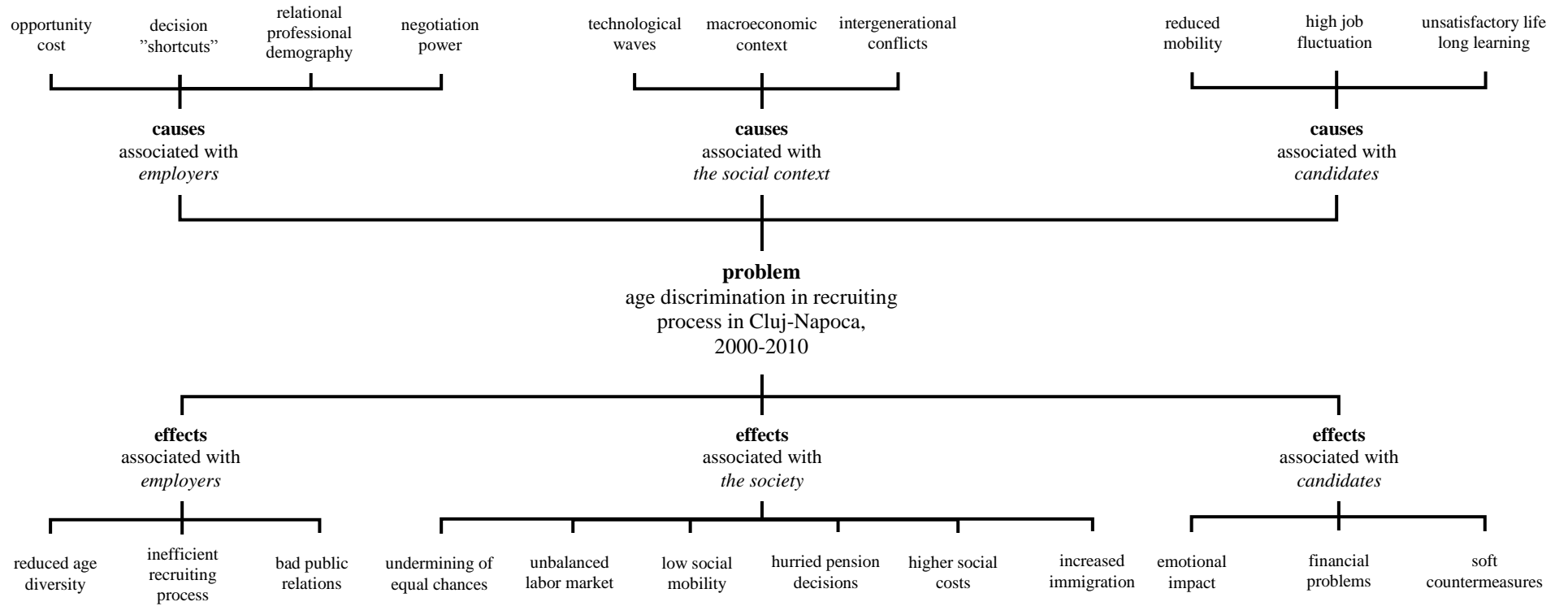
Invariably, in all group discussions, **the negative emotional impact of age discrimination in the recruiting process** is present, and it especially affects older candidates. Even though age discrimination in the recruiting process doesn't hurt as much as age discrimination in the selection process because is not face-to-face, constant blocking of accessing employment often leads to depressions. **Candidates take countermeasures to avoid age discrimination even though it seems they are at a superficial level.** We don't have complaints or litigations with the purpose of balancing the lack of equal opportunities, but rather soft countermeasures like CV embellishment, aiming to reduce the impact of age, and with reduced impact. **Equal opportunity turns in to an empty concept** because it is not supported by the legislation and by the administrative apparatus. We can say that, in Romania, laws had the opposite intended effect because a powerful concept gradually lost its' aura, and became the target of public irony. **Labor market is thrown out of balance because the number of old unemployed people increase rapidly**, not as a result of incompetence but as a result of age discrimination. In the context of a strong migration of the labor force from Romania towards EU countries and a sharp drop in fertility, this unbalanced labor market represents a S.O.S. message. **Atrophied mobility for the labor market especially for older candidates** because the older persons will not experiment with new professional opportunities considering the risk of ending unemployed. They will try to armor their professional positions, sacrificing their flexibility. **The social costs attached to age discrimination will increase because the active population will carry even harder the economic burden of social security.** The active population consists of people in the concentric interval, and their ranks will shrink even further. **Increased immigration** is another effect anticipated by some employers, due to an unbalanced labor market and the "natural" model of globalization. Developed countries that faced the same problem, partially resolved it

not by increasing birth rate, or retaining young and educated work force, but in a much simpler manner, by accepting the wave of immigrants from poorer countries. **Anticipatory pension decisions increase**, as an honorable way for the older victims of age discrimination to exit the labor market.

Synthesizing the information from focus-groups and interviews, we created a logical diagram, a problem tree, a black-box representation with inputs (causes) and outputs (effects) in a way that allows the information obtained to be interconnected (Diagram 3). This causality, obviously, is not a simple, linear one, but a contextual, dynamic one, every cause exerting multiple influences over other causes and effects. Even though we understand the problem of representing qualitative data in a quantitative way, the need to imagine some kind of order in findings is stronger. Also the “mixed method” paradigm helps us to resolve this apparent conflict.

Diagram 4

Problem tree: *causes and effects* identified by focus-groups and interviews' participants



CONCLUSIONS AND PERSONAL CONTRIBUTIONS

“We will care more and more, because the other zone is coming closer...” (focus-group participant, 30-45 years of age). The key moment we start to really care about something, when we start to understand it in a phenomenological manner, is the moment when our life is affected by it. The first moment of awareness regarding age discrimination in recruiting process starts, according to focus-group participants, when you try for the first time to find a job, during high school or college. *“I became aware of this problem 4 years ago, when I tried to find a job for the first time as an advertising agent. They picked me and not the other girls, because they were too old for the job. The other girls were 25.” (focus-group participant).* The second major wave of awareness comes at the other pole of career continuum. *“I tried to find a job. They asked me what they had to ask and they said to me they are happy with my experience and my competencies but... they are still in the recruiting phase and when they enter the office it is important to see the a sunshine... for the friend coming from Italy... When they come around it is important for them to see young people. And I said to myself that I will never apply again for any secretarial positions. I was offended.” (focus-group participant, over 45 years of age).*

At a personal level, the degree of awareness seems to rise steadily, as well as the critical thinking about this topic, but unfortunately, concrete actions are not yet present. The cohesion of the “oppressed” is low, their power of negotiation is not significant, and the legal mechanisms are powerless because of the long and complicated process. Age discrimination is still “silent” because there is no actor with a powerful enough voice to channel the energy of those disadvantaged and to tackle the lack of equal opportunities. If we look at the bigger picture (the macroeconomic context of discrimination), there are alarm signals some participants in focus-groups and interviews are aware of, warnings that a major change is on the way. A “perfect storm” is on the way because the population is ageing¹ and the birth rate is extremely low² and the emigration phenomenon is huge³. *“We will be forced to work with employees of 60 years of age... it will be a common fact even without state intervention because you will have no other age category to recruit. This is sad because the state will force you and me to work after*

¹ According to INSSE, data for Cluj district, show that between 2000 and 2008 population aged between 0-14 years of age dropped from 114955 to 90652, meaning 24303 persons, while population aged over 60 years of age grew from 137037 to 141726, meaning 4689 persons.

² Birth rate in Romania is in the interval 2000-2008, according to EUROSTAT, 1.3, one of the lowest in European Union.

³ According to EUROSTAT, between 2001-2009, the number of Romanian citizens established abroad in an EU country raised from 0,3 millions, to 2 millions.

the age of 70.”(employer, NGO executive director). Cialdini (2001) warnings seem to come true: the arguments are convincing only when we start to see what we stand to lose, what we can suffer, when we are cornered. Only then, we react.

Personal contribution

At a **theoretical level**, personal contribution is visible as the *extension of conceptual mapping regarding age discrimination*, connecting key concepts such as: recruitment, selection, age, discrimination, age discrimination, ageism, direct discrimination, indirect discrimination, institutional discrimination, multiple discrimination, contextual discrimination, professional discrimination, discriminatory language, bona fide occupational qualifications, relational demography, career stages, personal requirements, recruitment announcements, minimum hiring age, maximum hiring age, ideal hiring age, legal hiring age, causes for age discrimination, effects of age discrimination etc. Secondly, *the paper develops an important concept, recruiting chronocentrism*. Chronocentrism is a relatively new term coined by John Powelson in 1994⁴ and consists in considering a certain stage of human existence as superior to all others. Transferring the term in human resource recruiting we can see that a certain state (age) is superior to others (too old or too young). The employers mention in recruiting ads, as personnel requirements, a certain age, an age interval (maximum 45 years of age, between 30 and 45 years of age) or certain traits associated with age (energetic, dynamic, rapid learner etc.). Thirdly, *the paper realized a meta-analysis of the relevant literature for age discrimination in the recruiting process*. The papers were analyzed considering three main coordinates: the research methods used, social actors studied and research strategy. The authors analyzed were: Palmore (1977, 1981, 1988, 2005); Peaboy and Sedlacek (1982); Schwalb and Sedlacek (1990); Bendick, Jackson and Romero (1993, 1996); Bendick, Brown and Wall (1999); Loretto, Duncan and White (2000); McMullin and Marshal (2001); Bennington (2002); Riach and Rich (2002, 2006, 2007); Anghel (2003); Busch, Dahl and Dittrich (2004); Wilson and Kan (2006); Ursel and Armstrong-Stassen (2006); Granleese and Sayer (2006); Wilson, Parker and Kan (2007); Basim, Sesen and Sesen (2007); Mc Vittie, McKinlay and Widdicombe (2008) and Berger (2009). Forth, the paper pointed the connections between research theme and the main epistemological trends (objectivism, constructivism and subjectivism), building on few authors like: Berger and Luckmann (1966), Becker (1998), Girod-Seville and Perret (2001), Crotty (2003), Johnson and Duberley (2003) and Denzin and Lincoln (2008).

At a **methodological level**, *the paper covers a series of gaps connected with the longitudinal*

⁴ Chronocentrism is used for the first time by Powelson John (1994) in *Centuries of Economic Endeavor*. Ann Arbor: University. The concept is not well developed, but attracts scientific community attention.

aspect of previous research. This kind of gaps were identified at few authors using the document analysis (Bennington, 2002; Anghel, 2003; Basim, Sesen și Sesen, 2007). The research paper analyses 25090 recruiting ads, covering an interval of 11 years, in order to obtain a panoramic view of the age discrimination. Also, *inspired by the meta-analysis of relevant research papers, we choose a mixed methods strategy* (quantitative: document analysis and qualitative: interview and focus-group), strategy used only by few authors because of the effort methodological triangulation involves (Bennington, 2002 and Wilson, Parker and Kan, 2007). Thirdly, *we used an element of methodological creativity, as suggested by Patton (2002), introducing a written exercise in the focus-group*, exercise that allows participants to structure their answers before group discussions. This way the group pressure diminished, and the quality of shared information increased.

At **empirical level**, the paper efficiently answers the research questions and generates a series of new, emergent research lines, unplanned in the initial research design. First *the paper brings solid evidence for the existence of age discrimination in the recruiting process*, as behavioral discrimination with real consequence and not as attitudinal discrimination. The evidences were gathered intentionally on a narrow segment of reality (age discrimination in the recruiting ads, Piata de la A la Z newspaper, Cluj-Napoca, 2000-2010), to increase their reasoning power. Moreover, information collected with qualitative data gives additional insight to the phenomenon because they suggest that, the quantitative data obtained is just the tip of the iceberg, and the danger posed by age discrimination in the recruiting process is far greater than the evidence suggest. Secondly, *the paper corroborates Chartered Management Institute (2006) research on temporal sensitivity of age discrimination*, because frequency and cronocentric interval of recruiting over this period varied vigorously. For example, if in 2000 the median value of maximum age required in recruiting ads was 33,2 years, in 2008, the median age for maximum age reached 46,5 years, meaning a variation of 13,3 years in an interval of 8 years. *The paper also supports Granleese and Sayer (2006) findings, which connect age discrimination more often with women candidates than with man candidates and argues that age discrimination is a compound result of multiple discriminatory prejudice.* Beside age, gender and physical appearance, we can add the civil status (“unmarried” or “without obligations”), a “job requirement” encountered in some recruiting ads aimed at women candidates, but in no ads aimed at man candidates. Fourth, *the paper supplies additional evidence for the contextual or professional sensitivity of age discrimination.* As other authors noticed, age discrimination varies according with the economic field and with the job position: secretarial positions (Bendick, Jackson and Romero, 1996; Bennington, 2002); sales (Bendick, Brown and Wall, 1999; Riach and Rich, 2007; Wilson, Parker and Kan, 2007; Wilson and Kan, 2006); nurses (Wilson and Kan, 2006; Wilson, Parker and Kan, 2007); hotels and restaurants

(Riach and Rich, 2006). *A new aspect identified by the paper is the “incognito” character of age discrimination in the recruiting ads.* In the majority of cases (74% of the total discriminatory ads), the employers identity is not revealed. The situation changes when we go deeper and take in to account the cost attached to the recruiting ad (67% of the paid ads reveal the employers’ identity). The implications of these findings are far reaching. We can say that either we talk about ignorance or we talk about arrogance in recruiting practice. Fifth, *another new aspect revealed by the paper is connected with cronocentric layers of discrimination, socially constructed by different actors.* We have a legal chronocentrism because the “minimum age required by law” to enter the labor market was 14 years of age (Law 10/1972) until 2003, and now is 15 years of age since 2003 (Law 53/2003), and the “maximum age” to exist the labor market is 62-63,9 years of age (Law 19/2000). Parallel with the legal chronocentrism we have a “natural chronocentrism”, constructed by employers, and the minimum age preferred by them revolves around 21,7 and 25,3 years of age, and the maximum age required revolves around 33,2 and 46,5 years of age. If we overlap the legal layer of chronocentrism with the employers’ layer of chronocentrism, the constructivist metaphor of various layers of successive meaning solidifying in time and reifying reality is confirmed (Berger and Luckman, 1966).

At a **practical level**, *even though the paper didn’t plan to do this, during focus-group discussions, potential solutions emerged.* “How can we change things? What measures can we take to broaden the “perfect age”? Who is capable to help?” This kind of questions appeared in group discussions and was aimed at the whole spectrum of change strategies suggested by Kotter and Schlesinger (1979): education and communication, participation and facilitation, negotiation and compromise, manipulation and cooptation and finally coercion. Also at a practical level, *we extended the visible social actors with direct or indirect influence over age discrimination in recruitment and started to build a “geopolitical map”* to create a coherent image of the social context. It is very important considering the power and interest level of these actors if we plan future policies or projects to stimulate equal opportunities.

The limits of the research and future research directions

At the end of data collection process we realized that *the research design was prone to an elegant upgrade, by analyzing not only the “job offers” sections, but also the “job requests”* section of the weekly magazine, “Piata de la A la Z”. This way we could compare in the mirror age discrimination behavior of employers with the candidates own self-discriminatory practice. At a first glance it seems that the majority of the candidates give freely age related information with great undermining potential for their success chances. Also, *the longitudinal approach didn’t extend to online recruiting, missing an important part of age labor market* aimed mainly

at younger candidates. Unfortunately the resources for this endeavor were not available. Finally, *the research lacks the access to various relevant internal documents* (job description, personnel requirements, recruiting policies) *and processes* (job analysis, recruiting sources and recruiting methods synchronization, CV short listing, etc.) necessary for a better understanding of the specific decisions patterns. The access to this kind of documents was burdened by the delicate nature of the topic.

Future research directions identified are characterized by an interdisciplinary approach (law, public policies, sociology, political science, psychology, human resource management) and we eagerly foresee them. The next research steps aim to develop in an incremental way the topic of the paper and gradually transform the process in a bigger applied research project. The first direction for further study aims a comparative analysis of EU legislation regarding age discrimination in employment. Second research direction aims to analyze the way civil society and specific NGO's take a stand and protect equal opportunities on the labor market for people "too young" or "too old". Third research direction aims to build a system capable to monitor in real time age discrimination in recruiting. Fourth, we intend to further analyze the systemic discrimination or the internal organizational mechanisms that can lead, without intention, to age discrimination. Fifth, we aim to develop a system to approximate the business costs attached to age discrimination in recruiting in order to counteract the employers' pragmatic arguments for discriminatory practices. Sixth, we plan to develop the actors map and to include all those interested or with power to influence this social problem. Seventh, we intend to inquire the personal experiences lived by the victims of age discrimination in recruiting, their emotional experience, their reactions to unequal treatment and the possible responses available to them.

REFERENCES

- Adams, G.R. and Schvaneveldt, J.D. (1991). *Understanding Research Methods*. Second Edition, Longman.
- Advisory, Conciliation and Arbitration Service – ACAS (2006). *Age and the workplace. A guide for employers*.
http://www.acas.org.uk/media/pdf/d/t/6683_Age_and_the_Workplace_AWK.pdf
- Age Concern (2000). *How Ageist is Britain?*
http://www.ageconcern.org.uk/AgeConcern/Documents/how_ageist_is_britain.pdf
- Age Concern (2006). *Calling time on age discrimination. A mini-guide to age discrimination at work*.
http://www.ageconcern.org.uk/AgeConcern/Documents/Your_Rights_Mini-guide.pdf
- Allan, J. K., (1988). Introduction. Ethics and Values in Applied Social Research. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc., pp. 9-24.
- Andrews, M. (1999). The seductiveness of agelessness, *Aging and Society*, 19, Cambridge University Press, pp. 301-318.
- Anghel, N. (2003). *Manifestări discriminatorii în procesul de angajare*. CEDES
- Arrowsmith, J., & McGoldrick A. E. (1997). A flexible future for older workers? *Personnel Review*, 26(4), pp. 58-273.
- Aubrey de Grey (2005). *Ending Age*. www.ted.com.
- Basim, H.N., Sesen, H. and Sesen, E. (2007). Are They Equal? Comparison of Turkish and English Job Announcements in Terms of Some Discrimination Factors. *Humanity & Social Sciences Journal*, 2 (1), pp. 34-42.
- Beardwell, I. & Holden, L. (1997). *Human Resource Management. A Contemporary perspective*. First ed. London: Pitman Publishing.
- Becker, G.S. (1971). *The Economics of Discrimination*, 2nd edition, University of Chicago Press.
- Becker, H.S. (1998). *Tricks of the trade. How to think about your research while you're doing it*. The University of Chicago Press.

- Becker, H.S. (1996). The Epistemology of Qualitative Research, Chapter in Jessor, R., Colby, A. and Shweder, R.A. (Eds). *Ethnography and Human Development*, pp. 53-73
- Bendick Jr. M., Brown E. L. and Wall K. (1999). No Foot in the Door: An Experimental Study of Employment Discrimination Against Older Workers, in *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, Vol. 10(4), pp. 5-23
- Bendick Jr. M., Jackson W. C. and Romero J. H. (1996). Employment Discrimination Against Older Workers: An Experimental Study of Hiring Practices, *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, 8(4), pp. 25-46
- Bendick Jr.M., Brown E.L.& Wall K. (1999). No Foot in the Door: An Experimental Study of Employment Discrimination Against Older Workers. *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, 10 (4), pp. 5-23.
- Bendick Jr.M., Jackson W.C. & Romero J.H. (1996). Employment Discrimination Against Older Workers: An Experimental Study of Hiring Practices. *Journal of Aging & Social Policy*, 8(4), pp. 25-46.
- Bennington, L. (2002). Age Discrimination: Converging Evidence from Four Australian Studies. *Employee Responsibilities and Rights Journal*, 13(3). Plenum Publishing Corporation.
- Berger, E.D. (2009). Managing Age Discrimination: An Examination of the Techniques Used When Seeking Employment. *The Gerontologist*, 49(3); pp. 317-332.
- Berger, P.L. și Luckmann, T. (1966). *Construirea socială a realității*. București, Editura Univers.
- Bodner, E. (2009). On the origins of ageism among older and younger adults, *International Psychogeriatrics*, 21(6), pp.1003-1014.
- Brannen, J. (2005). *Mixed Methods Research: A Discussion Paper*. ERSC National Center for Research Methods.
<http://eprints.ncrm.ac.uk/89/1/MethodsReviewPaperNCRM-005.pdf>.
- Brosi, G., & Kleiner B.H. (1999). Is Age a Handicap in Finding Employment? *Equal Opportunities International*, 18(5/6), pp. 100-104.
- Bryman, A. and Bell, E. (2007). *Business research methods*, Oxford University Press, pp. 641-660.

- Buchanan, D.A. and Bryman, A. (2007). Contextualizing Methods Choice in Organizational Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 10(3), Sage Publications, pp. 483-501.
- Butler, R.N. (2005). Ageism: Looking Back Over My Shoulders, *Generations*, Vol. XXIX, 3, pp.84-86
- Büsch, V., Dahl, S.A., & Dittrich, D.A.V. (2004). Age Discrimination in Hiring Decisions – A Comparison of Germany and Norway. *Papers on Strategic Interaction*, 14, Max Planck Institute of Economics, Strategic Interaction Group.
- Centola, D., González-Avella, H.C, Eguíluz, V.M., & Miguel, M.S. (2007). Homophily, Cultural Drift and the Co-Evolution of Cultural Groups. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 51, Sage Publications, pp. 905-929, <http://digital.csic.es/bitstream/10261/6082/2/Homophily.pdf>
- Centrul de Sociologie Urbană și Regională CURS-SA (2006). *Percepții și atitudini față de fenomenul de discriminare*. <http://www.curs.ro/uploads/raport%20sondaj%20discriminare.pdf>.
- Chartered Management Institute (2006). *Tackling age discrimination in the workplace. Creating a new age for all*. <http://www.cipd.co.uk/NR/rdonlyres/9011EE0F-3DD0-4090-BE6C-65181FFDECBF/0/agedisc1005.pdf>
- Chelcea, S (2004). *Inițiere în cercetarea sociologică*. Editura Comunicare
- Cialdini, R.B. (2001). Harnessing the Science of Persuasion. *Harvard Business Review*, October Issue, pp. 70-80.
- Consiliul Național pentru Combaterea Discriminării (2008). Raport de activitate. <http://www.cncd.org.ro/files/file/Raport%20de%20activitate%20CNCD%202008.pdf>
- Comfort, A. (1976). Age prejudice in America. *Social Policy*, 7, pp. 3-8
- Creswell, J.W. (2008). Mixed Research methods, in Given, L.M., ed., *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage Publications, pp.526-529
- Creswell, J.W. (2008). Mixed Research Methods, in Given, L.M., ed., *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*. Sage Publications, pp.526-529
- Crotty, M. (1998). *The foundations of social research. Meaning and perspective in the research process*. Sage Publications.
- Dawson, C. (2002). *Practical Research Methods. A user-friendly guide to mastering research*. How To Books

- Delbert, C. M., and Neil, J. S., (2002). THE ORIENTATION AND COMMITMENT OF THE APPLIED RESEARCHER. *Handbook of Research Design & Social Measurement*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc, pp. 5-8.
- Dennis, H., & Thomas, K. (2007). Ageism in the Workplace. *Ageing Workforce*, XXXI(1), pp. 84-89.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln Y.S. (2008). The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. *Strategies for Qualitative Inquiry*, 3rd edition, eds Denzin, N.K., Norman, K., & Lincoln, Y.S, Sage Publications, pp. 1-45.
- Dipboye, R. (eds) (2005). *Discrimination at work. The psychological and organizational bases*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Durakovic, Z., & Durakovic, M.M. (2006). Anthropology of Aging. Physical (Biological) Anthropology, In Rudan, P. (eds) *Encyclopedia of Life Support Systems (EOLSS)*, Eolss Publishers, Oxford.
- Eco, U. (1990). *Interpretation and Over interpretation: World, History, Texts*. The Tanner Lectures on Human Values delivered at Clare Hall, Cambridge University, March 7 and 8 1990.
- Esterby-Smith, M., Golden-Biddle, K. and Locke, K. (2008). Working with Pluralism: Determining Quality in Qualitative Research. *Organizational Research Methods*, 11(3), Sage Publications, pp. 419-429.
- European Commission, Directorate - General for Employment and Social Affairs (2001). *Social Protection in Europe Report*.
- Featherstone, M., Hepworth, M. (1991). The Mask Of Ageing and the Postmodern Life Course, Chapter in Featherstone, M., Hepworth, M., and Turner, B.S. *The Body. Social Process and Cultural Theory*. Sage Publications, pp. 371-389
- Ferris, G.R., Judge, T.A., Chachere, J.G., & Liden, R.C. (1991). The Age Context of Performance-Evaluation Decisions. *Psychology and Aging*, 6(4), pp. 616-622.
- Fotakis, C. (2000). *Demographic Ageing, Employment Growth and Pensions Sustainability in The Eu: The Option of Migration*, paper presented in Expert Group Meeting on Policy Responses to Population Ageing and Population Decline, United Nations Secretariat. www.un.org/esa/population/publications/popdecline/fotakis.pdf
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Continuum.

- Ghețău, V. (2007). *Declinul demografic și viitorul populației României*. Editura Alpha MDN.
- Girod-Seville, M., & Perret, V. (2001). Epistemological Foundations. In Thietart, R.A. (eds) *Doing management Research: A Comprehensive Guide*. GBR: Sage Publications, pp. 13-30.
- Glover, I., & Branine, M. (1997). Ageism and the labour process: towards a research agenda. *Personnel Review*, 26(4), pp. 274-292.
- Granleese, J. and Sayer, G. (2006). Gendered ageism and “lookism”: a triple jeopardy for female academics, *Women in Management Review*, 21(6), pp. 500-517.
- Gregory, D. A., and Gerry, R., (1993). *Research Design. Doing Urban Research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Gregory, R.F. (2001). *Age discrimination in the American workplace: old at a young age*. Rutgers University Press.
- Gunderson, M. (2003). Age Discrimination in Employment in Canada. *Contemporary Economic Policy*, 21(3), pp. 318-328.
- Higgs, P., & Jones, I.R. (2009). *Medical Sociology and Old Age. Towards a sociology of health in later life*. Routledge Taylor & Francis Group.
- Hobcraft, J. , Menken, J. , and Preston, S. (1982). Age, period, and cohort effects in demography: A review. *Population Index* vol. 42, pp. 4–43.
- Iluț, P. (1997). *Abordarea calitativă a socioumanului*, Ed. Polirom.
- Iluț, P. (2000). *Iluzia localismului și localizarea iluziei*, Ed. Polirom.
- Jaggar, A.M. (1996). Love and Knowledge: Emotions in Feminist Epistemology. In Garry A. & Pearsall, M. (eds) *Women, Knowledge, Reality*, 2nd edition, Routledge, pp. 166-190.
- Johnson, P., & Duberley, J. (2003). *Understanding Management Research: An Introduction to Epistemology*. London, GBR: Sage Publications Incorporated.
- Johnson, G. (2010). *Research Methods for Public Administrators*. Second edition. M.E.Sharpe, pp. 31-54
- Karoly, L. (2005). *The Demographic Challenge in Europe. Paper for the European Parliament*.
www.europarl.europa.eu/inddem/docs/papers/The%20demographic%20challenge%20in%20Europe.pdf.

- King, G., Keohane, R., & Verba, S. (2000). *Fundamentele cercetării sociale*. Editura Polirom, pp. 17-57.
- Kotter, J. P., & Schlesinger, L. A. (1979). Choosing strategies for change. *Harvard Business Review*, 2008, 57, pp. 106-114
- Kroehnert, S., Hossmann, I., & Klingholz, R. (2008). *Europe's Demographic Future - Growing Regional Imbalances*. Berlin Institute of Population and Development.
- Kulick, C.T. (2004). *Human Resources for the Non-HR Manager*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Incorporate.
- Kwasniewski, K. (2005). Europe's Demographic Challenge. *Intereconomics*, 40(2), pp. 54-55.
- Loretto, W., Duncan, C. and White, P.J (2000). Ageism and employment: controversies, ambiguities and younger people's perceptions. *Ageing and Society*, 20, Cambridge University Press, pp. 279-302.
- Lyon, P., & Pollard, D. (1997). Perceptions of the older employee: is anything really changing? *Personnel Review*, 26(4), pp. 245-257.
- Macnicol, J. (2005). *Age Discrimination. An Historical and Contemporary Analysis*. Cambridge University Press.
- Marks, D.F and Yardely, L. (2004) *Research Methods for Clinical and Health Psychology*, Sage, pp.56-68
- McHugh, K. (2003). Three faces of ageism: society, image and place, *Ageing and Society*, 23, Cambridge University Press, pp.165-185.
- McMullin, J.A. & Berger, E.D. (2006). Gendered Ageism/Age(ed) Sexism: The Case of Unemployed Older Workers. In Calasanti T.M., & Slevin, K.F. (eds) *Age Matters: Re-Aligning Feminist Thinking*. New York: Routledge. pp. 201-223.
- McMullin, J.A. and Marshall, V. (2001). Ageism, Age Relations, and Garment Industry Work in Montreal. *The Gerontologist*, 41(1), The Gerontological Society of America, pp.111-122.
- McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L.M., & Cook, J. (2001). Birds of a Feather: Homophily in Social Networks. *Annual Reviews Sociology*, 27, pp. 415–444.
- McVittie, C., McKinlay, A. and Widdicombe, S. (2008). Passive and active non-employment: Age, employment and the identities of older non-working people. *Journal of Ageing Studies*, 22, Elsevier Inc., pp. 248-255.

- Metro Media Transilvania (2007). *Barometru de opinie publică privind discriminarea în România*. <http://www.mmt.ro/Cercetari/discriminare%202004.pdf>.
- Miles, B.M., & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis*. 2nd edition, Sage Publications.
- Miller, H.T., & Fox, C.J. (2001). The Epistemic Community. *Administration and Society*, 32, pp. 668-685.
- Mujtaba, B.G., Hinds, R.M. & Oskal, C. (2004). Cultural Paradigms of Age Discrimination and Unearned Privileges. *Journal of Business & Economics Research*, 2(12), pp. 31-44.
- Nelson, T.D. (2005). Ageism: Prejudice Against Our Feared Future Self. *Journal of Social Issues*, 61(2), pp. 207-221.
- Noe, R.A., Hollenbeck, J.R., Gerhart, B., & Wright, P.M. (2009). *Fundamentals of Human Resource Management*, 3rd edition, McGraw-Hill Irwin.
- Oakley, A. (1981). Interviewing women: a contradiction in terms, in Roberts, H. (Ed.) (1981), *Doing Feminist Research*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, pp.30-61
- Olsen, W. (2004). Triangulation in Social Research: Qualitative and Quantitative Methods Can Really Be Mixed, in *Developments in Sociology*, 2004, ed. M. Holborn, Ormskirk: Causeway Press.
- Onwuegbuzie, A.J, and Collins, K.M.T (2007). A Typology of Mixed Methods Sampling Designs in Social Science Research, in *The Qualitative Report*, vol. 12(2), pp. 281-316
- Palmore, E.B. (2001). The Ageism Survey: First Findings. *The Gerontologist*, 41(5), Academic Reserch Library, pp.572-575.
- Palmore, E.B. (2004). Research Note: Ageism in Canada and the United States. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Gerontology*, 19, Kluwer Academy Publishers, pp.41-46.
- Palmore, E.B. (2005) Tree Decades of Research on Ageism. *Generations*, XXIX(3), The American Society on Ageing, pp.87-90.
- Palmore, E.B., Branch, L.G. and Harris, D.K. Eds (2005). *Encyclopedia of ageism*, Haworth Press.
- Patton, M.Q. (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. 3rd edition, Sage Publications.

- Peabody, S. A., and Sedlacek, W. E. (1982). Attitudes of younger university students toward older students. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 23, pp.140–143.
- Peppitt, E. (2003). *Recruitment*. Teach yourself, London.
- Phelps, E.S. (1972). The Statistical Theory of Racism and Sexism, *The American Economical Review*, 62(4), pp. 659-661.
- Phipps, F.M. (2006). Is ageism the acceptable face of discrimination? Changing the attitude toward older workers. *Managerial Law Journal*, pp. 521-524.
- Piergiorgio, C., (2003). *Social Research: Theory, Methods and Techniques*. [e-book]. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd. Available at: <http://srmo-dev.ifactory.com/view/social-research-theory-methods-and-techniques/SAGE.xml>
- Polgar, S. (1975). *Population, ecology, and social evolution*, Mouton & Co
- Punch, K.F. (2009). *Introduction to Research Methods in Education*. Sage Publications, Chapter 13, pp. 287-303.
- Race, R. (2008). Qualitative Research in Education, in Given, L.M., ed., *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Sage Publications, pp.240-243
- Raymond-Alain, T., and Samantha, W., (2001). *Longitudinal Analyses. Doing Management Research*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd
- Riach P.A. and Rich J. (2002). Fields Experiments of Discrimination in the Market Place, in *The Economic Journal*, Royal Economic Society, pp. 480-518.
- Riach P.A. and Rich J. (2006). *An Experimental Investigation of Age Discrimination in the French Labour Market*, Discussion Paper Series, Institute for the Study of Labour IZA.
- Riach P.A. and Rich J. (2007). *An Experimental Investigation of Age Discrimination in the English Labour Market*, Discussion Paper Series, Institute for the Study of Labour IZA.
- Riach P.A. and Rich J. (2007). *An Experimental Investigation of Age Discrimination in the Spanish Labour Market*, Discussion Paper Series, Institute for the Study of Labour IZA.
- Riach, P.A. & Rich, J. (2002). Fields Experiments of Discrimination in the Market Place. *The Economic Journal*, Royal Economic Society, pp. 480-518.
- Riach, P.A. & Rich, J. (2006). *An Experimental Investigation of Age Discrimination in the French Labour Market*. Institute for the Study of Labour IZA.

- Riach, P.A. & Rich, J. (2007). *An Experimental Investigation of Age Discrimination in the English Labour Market*, Institute for the Study of Labour IZA.
- Riach, P.A. & Rich, J. (2007). *An Experimental Investigation of Age Discrimination in the Spanish Labour Market*, Institute for the Study of Labour IZA.
- Roscigno, V.J., Mong, S., Byron, R. and Tester, G. (2007). Age Discrimination, Social Closure and Employment. *Social Forces*; 86(1), Academic Research Library, pp. 313-334.
- Rotariu, T. (1991). *Curs de metode și tehnici de cercetare sociologică*, Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai.
- Rotariu, T. și Iluț, P. (ed.) (1996). *Sociologie*, ediția a II-a, Editura Mesagerul.
- Rotariu, T., și Iluț, P. (1997). *Ancheta sociologică și sondajul de opinie*. Iași, Ed. Polirom.
- Rugg, G. and Petre, M. (2007). *A Gentle Guide to Research Methods*. McGraw Hill Open University Press.
- Rupp, D.E. and Vodanovich, S.J. (2006). Age Bias in the Workplace: The Impact of Ageism and Causal Attributions, *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 36, 6, pp. 1337–1364.
- Sargeant, M. (2007). *Age discrimination in employment*, 13, Gower Publishing Limited.
- Schensul, J.J. (2008). Methods. in Given, L.M., ed., *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Qualitative Research Methods*, Sage Publications, pp.521-529
- Schwalb, S.J. and Sedlacek, W.E. (1990) Have College Students' Attitudes Toward Older People Changed? *Journal of College Student Development*, 31, pp. 127-132
- Schwartz, D.A., & Kleiner, B.H. (1999). The Relationship Between Age and Employment opportunities. *Equal Opportunities International*, 18(5/6), pp. 105-110.
- Scott, A. M., (2007). *Qualitative and Applied Research. Developmental Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Shen, G.G.Y., & Kleiner, B.H. (2001). Age Discrimination in Hiring, *Equal Opportunities International*, 20(8), pp. 25-32.
- Shore, L.M., & Goldberg, C.B. (2005). Age discrimination in the workplace, In Dipboye R.L. (eds), *Discrimination at work. The psychological and organizational bases*, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, pp. 203-235.

- Shore, L.M., Cleveland, J.N., & Goldberg, C. (2003). Work Attitudes and Decisions as a Function of Manager Age and Employee Age. *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 88, pp. 529-537.
- Silverman, D. (2004). *Interpretarea datelor calitative. Metode de analiză a comunicării, textului și interacțiunii*. Editura Polirom.
- Silverman, D. (2006), *Interpreting qualitative data: methods for analyzing talk, text, and interaction*. 3rd Edition, Sage Publications
- Silverman, D. (2010), What is naturally occurring data?
<http://srmo.sagepub.com/view/what-is-naturally-occurring-data/SAGE.xml?rskey=rdygg8>
- Skirbekk, Vegard (2003). *Age and Individual Productivity: A Literature Survey*, Max Planck Institute for Demographic Research, WP 2003-028.
- Smith, R. D. (1998). Social Structures and Chaos Theory. *Sociological Research Online*, 3(1), <http://www.socresonline.org.uk/socresonline/3/1/11.html>
- Snape, E., & Redman, T. (2003). Too Old or Too Young? The impact of Perceived Age Discrimination. *Human Resource Management Journal*, 13(1), pp. 78-89.
- Sofică, A. (2003). Incentives dynamics for graduate hiring in Romania between 1994 and 2003, in *Small and Medium Enterprises in European Economies*, Ed. Alma Mater, pp. 202-208.
- Sofică, A. (2007). The Perfect Age in Human Resource Recruiting; or the Social Construction of Age Discrimination, in *Competitiveness and European Integration*, Ed. Risoprint, pp.120-134
- Sofică, A. (2007). Hermeneutics of job recruiting messages. Techniques to enhance jobs attractiveness in the EU environment, 2007, in “*The impact of FDI on Growth and Employment in the New EU Member States*”, Ed. Efes, pp. 67-81
- Sofică, A. (2009). Age Discrimination in Human Recruiting Process, in *Studia Negotia*, pp. 95-102.
- Stegăroiu, D.C și Sofică, A. (2002). *Recrutarea, selectarea și promovarea personalului*, Ed. EFES
- Stegăroiu, D.C și Sofică, A. (2002). *Psihologie organizațională*, Ed. Alma Mater.
- Strauss, C.L. (1966). The Science of the Concrete. Chapter in *The Savage Mind*, University of Chicago Press, pp. 1-35.

- Sullivan, S., & Crocitto, M. (2007). The Developmental Theories: A Critical Examination of Their Continuing Impact on Careers Research. *Handbook of Career Studies*. SAGE Publications. http://www.sage-rereference.com/hdbk_career/Article_n15.html.
- Super, D. E. (1980). A life span, life space approach to career development. *Journal of Vocational Behavior*, 13, pp. 282-298
- Tajfel, H., & Turner J., (1979). An Integrative Theory of Intergroup Conflict, In Austin W.G and Worchel (eds) *The Social Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, Brooks Cole, pp. 33-47.
- Tashakkori, A., Teddlie, C. (2003). *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social & Behavioral Research*. Sage Publications. Chapter 1, pp. 3-50.
- Teddlie, C. and Tashakkori, A. (2006). A General Typology of Research Design Featuring Mixed Methods. *Research in the Schools*, Mid-South Educational Research Association, 3(1), pp. 12-28.
- Terry, E. H., Leonard, B., and Debra, J. R., (1993). The Nature of Applied Research. *Applied Research Design*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Thomas, D.A. & Ely, R.J. (1996). Making Difference Matter: A New Paradigm for Managing Diversity. *Harvard Business Review on Managing People*, Harvard Business School Press, pp. 121-154.
- Thomas, K.W. & Kilmann, R.H. (1974). *Conflict Mode Instrument*, Xicom and CPP, Inc.
- Toffler, A. (1980). *The Third Wave*, Bantam Books.
- Ursel, N. and Armstrong-Stassen, M. (2006). How Age Discrimination in Employment Affects Stockholders. *Journal of Labor Research*, XXVII (1), pp.89-99.
- Uwe, F., (2007). Qualitative research designs. *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications, Ltd
- Vincent, J.A. (2006). Ageing Contested: Anti-ageing Science and the Cultural Construction of Old Age. *Sociology*, SAGE Publications, 40(4), pp. 681–698.
- Wagner, W.G., Pfeffer J., & O'Reilly, C.A. (1984). Organizational Demography and Turnover in Top-Management Group. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 29(1), pp. 74-92.
- Walford, G. (2004). No discrimination on the basis of irrelevant qualifications, *Cambridge Journal of Education*, 34(3), pp. 353-361.

- Wilson, M. and Kan, J. (2007). *Barriers to entry for older workers*. University of Auckland. <http://www.neon.org.nz/documents/HRC%20research%20report-27Oct06>
- Wilson, M., Parker, P. and Kan, J. (2007). Age biases in employment: Impact of talent shortage and age on hiring. *Business Review*, 9(1), University of Auckland.
- Wood, R., & Payne, T. (1998). *Competency Based Recruitment and Selection. A Practical Guide*. John Wiley & Sons.