

EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATORY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS AND GENDER ON APPLICANT REACTIONS

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ABSTRACT: Justice and signalling theory were used to explain the effects of discriminatory interview questions on applicant reactions. Participants were randomly assigned to a hypothetical interview condition with four, two or no discriminatory questions. Discriminatory questions had a significant negative effect on participant's reactions to the interview and interviewer; perceptions of employee treatment; and intentions to pursue employment, accept a job offer, and recommend the organization to others. Participants also responded less favorably to a female interviewer, and female interviewees reported more negative perceptions. In addition, a sequential model was supported in which discriminatory questions had a negative effect on reactions toward the interview and interviewer; reactions were positively related to organizational attractiveness; and organizational attractiveness was positively related to intentions to pursue employment, accept a job offer, and recommend the organization.

KEY WORDS: discrimination; interview; applicant; gender; reactions; perceptions.

Although the employment interview is the most common selection technique and perceived by job applicants more favorably than other selection methods, it continues to be plagued with bias and discrimination (Hausknecht, Day, & Thomas, 2004; Posthuma, Morgeson, & Campion, 2002). One of the reasons for this is that interviewers often request inappropriate or unlawful information from job applicants (Bennington, 2001; Keyton & Springston, 1992; McShulskis, 1997;

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Saunders, 1992; Saunders, Leck & Vitins, 1989; Saunders, Leck & Vitins, 1990; Thomas, 1999). Perhaps not surprisingly, minority applicants often receive negative interview evaluations (Arvey, 1979; Arvey & Campion, 1982; Arvey & Faley, 1988; Huffcutt & Roth, 1998; Miceli, Harvey, & Buckley, 2001; Perry, Kulik & Bourhis, 1996; Roth & Campion, 1992). What is less clear, however, is how applicants react to discriminatory interview questions and the effect it might have on their perception of the organization and their job pursuit intentions.

Several researchers have called for research on applicant reactions to the employment interview (Arvey & Campion, 1982; Gilliland & Steiner, 1999; Judge, Higgins, & Cable, 2000) and reactions to inappropriate or unlawful interview questions (Postuma et al., 2002). The purpose of this study was to investigate the effects of discriminatory interview questions on job applicant's reactions, perceptions, and job pursuit intentions. In addition, we also investigated the effects of interviewer and interviewee gender.

EFFECTS OF DISCRIMINATORY INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Despite EEOC guidelines stating unfair and illegal pre-employment inquiries, interviewers have been found to request information from job applicants regarding their membership in a protected group even when human rights legislation forbids it. For example, Jablin (1982) and Jablin and Tengler (1982) found that college placement directors perceived that approximately 5% of campus interviewers asked discriminatory questions during the interview related to sex (34%), age (18%), national origin (16%), handicaps (12%), religion (11%), and race or color (9%). A number of other studies have also found that interviewees report being asked questions concerning their age, marital status, and language abilities (Bennington, 2001; Saunders et al., 1990), and organizations report that they frequently ask questions about arrest record and convictions, age, and handicaps (Keyton & Springston, 1992). McShulskis (1997) found that 100% of respondents indicated that they would ask at least one of five illegal interview questions.

However, very little is known about how applicants react to discriminatory interview questions. Gilliland's (1993) justice model of applicant reactions to selection procedures suggests that applicants are likely to respond negatively. His model categorizes procedural justice rules into three broad categories: formal characteristics (i.e. job relatedness, consistency); explanation (i.e. feedback, information known); and interpersonal treatment (i.e. two-way communication, treatment at test site). Gilliland asserts that these rules influence perceptions of fairness of the selection procedure, which, in turn, influence applicant's perceptions

of the organization. A recent meta-analysis of applicant reactions to selection procedures found that when applicants have positive perceptions about selection, they are more likely to view the organization favorably, and to have stronger intentions to accept a job offer and recommend the employer to others (Hausknecht et al., 2004).

In the context of the present study, discriminatory questions are likely to violate justice rules (e.g., job relatedness) and raise concerns about privacy (Rynes & Connerly, 1993). Concerns about justice and privacy might then lead to negative reactions towards the interview, negative perceptions of the organization, and lower intentions to pursue employment. Signaling theory also suggests that applicants will react negatively to discriminatory interview questions. According to signaling theory, applicants interpret characteristics of the interview and interviewer as signals of organizational attributes. Rynes, Bretz, and Gerhart (1991) found that job applicants interpret a variety of recruitment practices as symbols of unobservable organizational characteristics. For example, interviewer preparedness may be interpreted as a sign of organizational efficiency (Rynes, 1991). Similarly, discriminatory interview questions might send a signal to applicants that the organization is not fair in its hiring practices or in its treatment of employees.

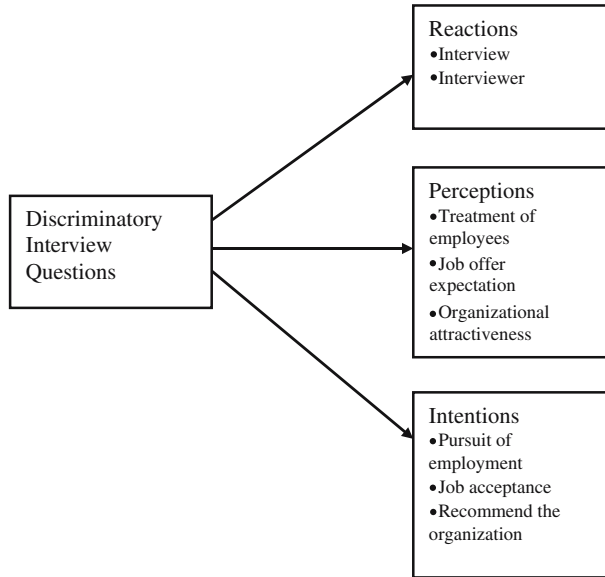
Therefore, based on justice theory and signaling theory, we hypothesized that job applicant reactions, perceptions, and intentions toward the organization will be adversely affected by discriminatory questions during the employment interview. Figure 1 summarizes our hypotheses and the effects of discriminatory interview questions.

EFFECTS OF GENDER IN THE EMPLOYMENT INTERVIEW

The gender of the interviewer and the interviewee has been shown to be an important factor in the employment interview (see Harris, 1989; Taylor & Bergeman, 1987). For example, several studies have found that job applicants perceive organizations as less attractive when the interviewer was female (Liden & Parsons, 1986a; Taylor & Bergeman, 1987). Research has also found that female applicants receive lower performance ratings than males (Arvey & Campion, 1982) and are less likely to receive a job offer and be hired (Mau & Kopischke, 2001; Olian, Schwab, & Haberfeld, 1988; Van Vianen & Willemsen, 1992).

Because females have been discriminated against in the employment interview, they might be particularly sensitive to discriminatory questions. In fact, Rynes et al. (1991) found that women were more affected than men by their interactions with recruiters, such that they mentioned negative recruitment interactions as reasons for their decisions not to accept a job. Similarly, females might respond more negatively than males to

Figure 1
Effects of Discriminatory Interview Questions on Applicant Reactions, Perceptions, and Intentions



discriminatory interview questions. Therefore, we hypothesized a two-way interaction between discriminatory questions and interviewee gender.

Finally, the effect of discriminatory questions might depend on the gender of the interviewer and interviewee. In a review of employment interview research, Harris (1989) reported that interviewer-applicant sex similarity had positive effects. For example, when gender was congruent interviewers had a tendency to ask more positive questions. Extending these findings to discriminatory questions suggests that females might react less negatively when the interviewer is a female, and males will react less negatively when the interviewer is a male. Thus, we hypothesized a three-way interaction between discriminatory questions and interviewer and interviewee gender.

METHOD

Participants

The participants in this study were 116 masters of business (MBA) students. The average age was 31 years and 59% were male. They

reported an average of 8.5 years of previous full-time work experience, and 4.0 years of part-time work experience.

Study Design and Manipulations

The study was a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ between participant design corresponding to discriminatory questions, interviewer gender, and interviewee gender. Participants were randomly assigned to one of six conditions. For the discriminatory question manipulation, each condition had ten questions. One experimental condition included two discriminatory questions (handicaps and plans for marriage and children) and eight non-discriminatory questions; a second experimental condition included four discriminatory questions (handicaps, plans for marriage and children, date of birth, and arrest record) and six non-discriminatory questions; and a control group received ten non-discriminatory questions. The gender of the interviewer was manipulated by referring to the human resource manager as either *John* Anderson or *Joan* Anderson. The stimulus material (described below) refers to the interviewer by name (John or Joan and Mr. or Ms.) a total of six times.

It is important to note that the number of discriminatory questions was based on what previous studies have found to be asked by organizations (Jablin, 1982; Keyton & Springston, 1992; Saunders et al., 1990). For example, Keyton and Springston (1992) found that questions about arrest record (56%), age (47%), and handicaps (42%) were common. Saunders et al. (1990) found that over 33% of employers request information on age and marital status. Thus, the manipulation of discriminatory questions is based on existing findings and is, in fact, conservative in comparison to the actual number of discriminatory questions that are asked by many public and private organizations. It is also worth noting that the non-discriminatory questions were of a very general nature (e.g., What do you consider your greatest strength) and were not based on a job analysis or specifically related to the job. Furthermore, the non-discriminatory questions in the experimental groups were the same as those in the control group. The ten questions asked in each of the three conditions can be found in the Appendix.

Procedure

This study was conducted as a voluntary in-class exercise in a MBA management course. Rather than asking participants how they would respond to discriminatory interview questions as is done in descriptive selection studies, we designed a simulation study and had participants

actually answer the questions in order to create a sense of realism. Hypothetical selection scenarios in which participants assume the role of an applicant for a particular job or company and complete selection tools have often been used in research on applicant reactions to selection procedures (Hausknecht et al., 2004).

In the present study, participants were asked to read a brochure about a company called 'Dandy Toys' which described the organization and various position openings. The brochure described Dandy Toys as a successful and growing organization which was looking for recent MBA graduates for managerial positions in all areas including accounting, finance, marketing, human resource management, manufacturing and engineering. Participants were asked to assume that they had applied for a position in their area of interest and were invited for an interview. Upon arrival for their interview, the receptionist asked them to take a seat. A few minutes later, the human resource manager (John or Joan Anderson) approached them and introduced him or herself. Once in his/her office, the human resource manager thanked the applicant for coming and explained that the company is growing and currently recruiting people for a number of positions.

Following the description of the encounter with the human resource manager, participants were told to act as if they were actually being interviewed for a job and to answer the questions on the following pages as if they were in an actual interview. After answering the questions, the human resource manager thanked them for coming to the interview and their interest in Dandy Toys. Participants then turned the page and completed the dependent measures.

Dependent Measures

The dependent variables were each measured by two items that were interspersed throughout the study questionnaire and based on items used in previous studies on applicant reactions (Liden & Parsons, 1986b; Turban & Dougherty, 1992). Participants were asked to respond to each item using a 7-point Likert scale ranging from, (1) strongly disagree, to (7) strongly agree. Total scores were derived by averaging the sum of the two items for each scale.

Reactions

Participants' reaction to the interview was measured by the following two items: 'I like the way the interview was conducted', and 'As far as interviews go, this one was very good'. Reaction to the interviewer was measured by: 'The interviewer was very professional', and 'I do not think that the interviewer was competent' (reverse scored).

Perceptions

Perceived treatment of employees was measured by the following two items: 'I think Dandy is the kind of organization that would be fair in the treatment of its employees', and 'I think Dandy is the kind of organization that would treat its employees well'. Job offer expectation was measured by: 'I think Dandy would be interested in hiring someone like me', and 'If I were to have a second interview with Dandy, I think there is a good chance that I would receive a job offer'. Organizational attractiveness was measured by the following two items: 'I would be very pleased to have a job at an organization like Dandy after graduation', and 'Dandy is not the kind of organization that I would like to work for' (reverse scored).

Intentions

Intention to pursue employment was measured by: 'If Dandy invited me for a second job interview, I would attend', and 'I would like to have a second interview at Dandy'. Job acceptance intention was measured by the following two items: 'If I was offered a job by Dandy, I would accept it', and 'If I was offered a job at Dandy, I would accept it immediately'. Intention to recommend the organization was measured by: 'I would recommend Dandy to a friend who is looking for a job', and 'I would not suggest Dandy to my friends as an organization to work for' (reverse scored).

The strength of the correlations among the eight dependent measures warranted the use of confirmatory factor analyses (using Amos 5.0, Arbuckle, 2003F) to assess the dimensionality of the criterion variables. Maximum likelihood estimation was used, and four fit indices were employed: the χ^2 -index, the Relative Non-centrality Index (RNI, Goffin, 1993; McDonald & Marsh, 1990), the Normed Fit Index (NFI, Bentler & Bonnett, 1980), and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA, Steiger, 1989). For the RNI and NFI, values approaching 1.0 indicate good fit. In the case of the RMSEA, values approaching 0 indicate a good fit. Given that the dependent measures were related, all factors were allowed to correlate.

As described, the current investigation examined the impact of discriminatory interview questions on eight dependent measures (each of which contained two-items). To this end, an eight-factor model that corresponded to the dependent variables was assessed. The eight-factor model yielded an RNI of .95, an NFI of .90, and an RMSEA of .09 ($\chi^2_{(77)} = 150.66$, $p < .01$). Given that the intercorrelations among the dependent variables were found to be moderate to high, a one-factor model was also tested to examine the possibility that applicant reactions were best understood from a unidimensional perspective. The one-factor model yielded an RMSEA of .73, an NFI of .69 and an RMSEA of .18

($\chi^2_{(104)} = 481.50, p < .01$). Finally, a three-factor model based on Figure 1 and corresponding to applicant reactions, applicant perceptions, and applicant intentions was assessed. The three-factor model yielded an RNI of .87, and NFI of .81 and an RMSEA of .13 ($\chi^2_{(101)} = 288.70, p < .01$).

As indicated, the eight-factor model demonstrated the best fit to the data. Although the Chi-Square was significant, the RNI and NFI indices suggested that the eight-factor model was superior and was a reasonable fit to the data. The RMSEA estimate was also lowest for the eight-factor model. Further support for the eight-factor model was obtained from a chi-squared difference test, which resulted in a significant difference between the one and eight-factor models, and the three and eight-factor models. Finally, all standardized loadings for the eight-factor model were greater than .66 (average = .83), and were significantly different from zero.

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the means, standard deviations, intercorrelations, and reliabilities of the study variables. Scale means approximated the middle of the 7-point scale and sufficient variance was demonstrated for all measures.

To test the study hypotheses, a $3 \times 2 \times 2$ between-participants multivariate analysis of variance was performed on the eight dependent variables. In order to provide a conservative test of our hypotheses, a Type 1 error rate of .005 was adopted. Consistent with the study hypotheses,

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations and Intercorrelations of Study Variables

Variable	<i>M</i>	<i>S.D.</i>	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
1. Interviewee Gender	—	—	—									
2. Interviewer Gender	—	—	—	—								
3. Reaction to the interview	3.29	1.64	.08	-.03	.91							
4. Reaction to the interviewer	3.74	1.72	.14	.01	.83	.86						
5. Treatment of employees	3.84	1.47	.22	-.05	.66	.69	.92					
6. Job offer expectation	4.80	1.32	.22	-.06	.55	.48	.47	.66				
7. Organizational attractiveness	4.06	1.38	.06	.18	.54	.51	.57	.51	.78			
8. Intent to pursue employment	4.91	1.57	.10	.17	.46	.44	.55	.51	.71	.87		
9. Job acceptance intention	3.66	1.35	.17	.18	.52	.47	.54	.49	.73	.75	.79	
10. Intention to recommend the organization	4.38	1.43	.13	.16	.60	.60	.65	.47	.74	.64	.65	.87

Note. $N=116$. Correlations greater than .20 are significant at $p < .05$; correlations greater than .25 are significant at $p < .01$. Internal consistency reliabilities are on the diagonal

significant main effects were found for discriminatory questions, $F_{(16,192)} = 2.36$, $p < .01$, interviewer gender, $F_{(8,95)} = 2.11$, $p < .05$, and interviewee gender, $F_{(8,95)} = 2.06$, $p < .05$. In contrast, support was not obtained for the two-way interaction between interviewee gender and discriminatory questions or the three-way interaction between discriminatory questions and interviewer and interviewee gender.

Table 2 presents the means and standard deviations by discriminatory question condition. The univariate analyses for discriminatory questions revealed significant results for reactions to the interview, $F_{(2,102)} = 3.18$, $p < .05$, and the interviewer, $F_{(2,102)} = 6.95$, $p < .001$; perceived treatment of employees, $F_{(2,102)} = 9.48$, $p < .001$; intention to pursue employment, $F_{(2,102)} = 6.96$, $p < .001$, accept a job offer, $F_{(2,102)} = 4.07$, $p < .05$, and recommend the organization, $F_{(2,102)} = 3.08$, $p < .05$. The results for organizational attractiveness and job offer expectation were non-significant.

The results of the a priori Bonferroni procedure ($\alpha = .005$ for each DV) revealed that ratings for reactions to the interview, intention to recommend the organization, and intention to pursue employment were significantly greater for the control group compared to the group with four discriminatory questions ($p < .05$). The ratings for the reaction to the interviewer and the organization's treatment of its employees were greater for the control group and the group with two discriminatory questions compared to the group with four discriminatory questions ($p < .05$). For job acceptance intention, the ratings of the control group were significantly higher than both of the discriminatory question conditions ($p < .05$).

Table 2
Descriptive and Univariate Analyses for the Discriminatory Question Conditions

Dependent Variables	Group 1 (<i>n</i> =39)		Group 2 (<i>n</i> =34)		Group 3 (<i>n</i> =43)		<i>F</i>
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	
Reaction to the interview	3.73	1.64	3.41	1.62	2.79	1.54	3.18 _(2,102) *
Reaction to the interviewer	4.37	1.54	3.97	1.66	2.99	1.66	6.95 _(2,102) ***
Treatment of employees	4.45	1.24	4.11	1.25	3.08	1.53	9.48 _(2,102) ***
Job offer expectation	4.88	1.33	4.88	1.26	4.65	1.38	0.08 _(2,102)
Organizational attractiveness	4.45	1.21	3.96	1.29	3.80	1.53	2.73 _(2,102)
Intent to pursue employment	5.58	0.97	4.82	1.60	4.36	1.77	6.96 _(2,102) ***
Job acceptance intention	4.17	1.22	3.41	1.20	3.41	1.46	4.07 _(2,102) *
Intention to recommend the organization	4.86	1.24	4.32	1.33	3.99	1.58	3.08 _(2,102) *

Note. Group 1 = No discriminatory questions; Group 2 = Two discriminatory questions; Group 3 = Four discriminatory questions.

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

The results for interviewer gender revealed that the attractiveness of the organization, intention to pursue employment, and job acceptance intention were higher when the interviewer was male ($p < .05$). For the gender of the interviewee, the results revealed that females had lower expectations of receiving a job offer ($p < .05$) and lower perceptions of the treatment of employees ($p < .05$).

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine the effects of discriminatory interview questions on applicant reactions. The results indicate that indeed discriminatory questions have a negative effect on reactions to the interview and the interviewer, perceptions of how the organization treats employees, intention to pursue employment and accept a job offer, and intention to recommend the organization to others.

One of the most interesting findings of this study is that the condition with two discriminatory questions did not always have an adverse effect on applicants. In fact, the group with two-discriminatory questions was significantly more positive than the group with four-discriminatory questions in their reactions to the interviewer and perceived treatment of employees, and only differed from the control group on one of the dependent measures. These findings suggest the existence of a "threshold" effect in which applicants are willing to tolerate a few discriminatory questions. Beyond this threshold, however, they react strongly against them and form negative perceptions and intentions toward the organization.

The results did not, however, support the gender interaction hypotheses. Rather, discriminatory questions were found to have an adverse effect on applicants regardless of their gender or the gender of the interviewer. However, it is worth noting that we did find main effects for interviewer and interviewee gender. The female interviewer resulted in lower ratings of organizational attractiveness, intention to pursue employment, and accept a job offer and female interviewees had lower expectations of receiving a job offer and rated the organization lower in its treatment of employees. These findings are consistent with field studies that have found similar effects for interviewee and interviewer gender (Liden & Parsons, 1986a; Olian et al., 1988; Rynes, 1991; Taylor & Bergmann, 1987).

Implications for Research and Practice

The findings of this study highlight a number of areas for future research. Although we did not find a moderating effect of interviewee

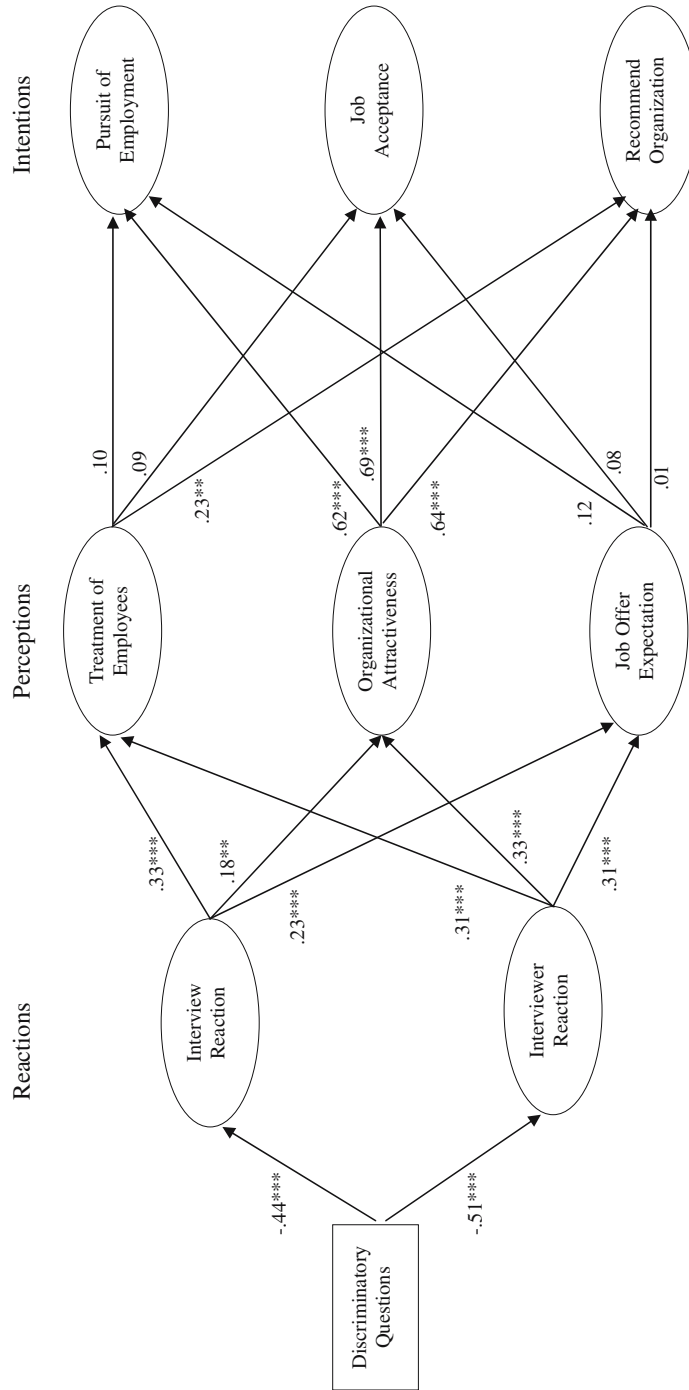
gender, applicant characteristics such as past experiences, personality, and ability might moderate the effect of discriminatory questions on applicant reactions (Ryan & Ployhart, 2000). For example, high ability applicants might be more 'turned off' by discriminatory questions than low ability applicants who probably have fewer job alternatives. It would also be useful to investigate how situational factors such as the labor market and job alternatives influence applicant reactions to discriminatory questions.

Another area for research is to investigate the cognitive processes underlying applicants' evaluation of the job and organization. Open-ended questions or follow-up interviews would be helpful in shedding light on participants' cognitive processing of interview questions. It would also be interesting to know if participants' reactions were due to particular questions, or if it was the combination of all the discriminatory questions that led to their reactions. For example, certain questions might be perceived more offensive than others, and participants' might have reacted negatively to a particular question(s).

A final area worth considering is the sequential relationship between participants' reactions, perceptions, and behaviors. As noted by Ryan and Ployhart (2000), previous research has not examined the sequential set of applicant reactions to a hiring decision. However, it has been suggested that applicant reactions to selection lead to the pursuit and acceptance of job offers through perceptions of attractiveness (Smither, Reilly, Millsap, Perlman, & Stoffey, 1993). Although it was not our intention to examine these relationships, we conducted a post-hoc test of a model in which discriminatory questions influence applicant reactions; applicant reactions lead to perceptions toward the organization; and perceptions lead to intentions.

To test this model, we conducted structural equation modeling (SEM) using AMOS 5 (Arbuckle, 2003). The model is presented in Figure 2, and exhibited a high degree of fit with the data ($\chi^2_{(96)} = 131, p < .01$; RNI = .98, NFI = .92 RMSEA = .06). Moreover, an examination of the critical ratios suggests that most of the paths in the model are significant. In particular, discriminatory questions significantly led to negative reactions to both the interviewer and the interview, which was significantly related to perceptions of job offer expectation, treatment of employees, and organizational attractiveness. However, as illustrated in Figure 2, not all of the relations between perceptions and intentions were significant. In particular, perceptions of organizational attractiveness demonstrated the strongest relations with the three intention variables (i.e., intent to pursue employment, accept the job, and recommend the organization), and perceived treatment of employees related to intentions to recommend the organization. These findings suggest that perceptions of organizational

Figure 2
Assessment of the Sequential Effects of Discriminatory Interview Questions on Applicant Reactions, Perceptions, and Intentions



Note. $^{**}p < .01$, $^{***}p < .001$

attractiveness are of particular importance in predicting subsequent intentions, a finding which is consistent with Smither et al. (1993).

In terms of practice, there are a number of things that organizations might consider. First, organizations should carefully review and audit their interview questions and eliminate any questions that might be perceived by job applicants as unfair, invasive, and discriminatory. Second, training programs that educate interviewers about equal employment opportunity laws and the kinds of questions that they should and should not ask in an employment interview is also recommended. Third, organizations should standardize their interviews to ensure that all interviewers ask the same set of questions that are based on a job analysis and are job-related. Structured interviews, which ask the same questions of all interviewees, are the best method of standardization (Chapman & Zweig, 2005). Research indicates that structured interviews reduce bias (Dipboye, 1994; Dipboye & Gaugler, 1992) and are more defensible in court (Terpstra, Mohamed, & Kethley, 1999).

Study Limitations

A limitation of this study is that it involved a hypothetical selection simulation with student participants. Given the purpose and objectives of this study, a laboratory experiment was deemed an appropriate method. Indeed, it would be extremely difficult to conduct a similar study using an experimental design in the field. It would not have been feasible, practical, or legal for an organization to ask some applicants discriminatory questions. Further, several researchers have called for experimental lab-based research on applicant reactions to selection procedures (Ryan & Ployhart, 2000). To make the study as realistic as possible and enhance the active involvement of participants, we had participants actually answer the questions as if they were applying for a job. In addition, participants were asked to play themselves in a familiar situation (i.e. applying for a job). These characteristics of the role-playing simulation are important for enhancing the effectiveness of the technique (Greenberg & Eskew, 1993).

Nonetheless, the use of students participating in a hypothetical simulation limits the generalizability of the study findings. In particular, the responses might differ from real applicants who have more at stake. Actual applicants might react more negatively if they feel that they are being discriminated against or they might not react as strongly if they feel that a negative reaction might hurt their chances of receiving a job offer.

Caution is also required in generalizing the results to actual employment interviews given that the participants did not actually engage in a face-to-face employment interview. Because the focus of this study was the nature of the interview questions, our simulation is more

akin to a computer-based interview in which applicants respond to interview questions using a keyboard (Chapman, 1999). Thus, some caution is required in generalizing the results to actual face-to-face employment interviews.

In conclusion, the results of this study indicate that discriminatory interview questions can have a negative effect on job applicants. Organizations should carefully review and audit their interview questions and eliminate those that are invasive and discriminatory. Given the increasing shortages in the labor market, the diversity of the workforce, and fierce competition for talent, organizations are well advised to avoid asking discriminatory questions during the employment interview.

APPENDIX

Questions Used in Each of the Three Study Conditions

Control Group Questions

- What is the nature of your previous work experience?
- Have you had any work experience in the toy business?
- What kinds of things do you look for in a job?
- What types of interests or hobbies are you involved in?
- What do you consider to be your greatest strengths?
- What do you consider to be your greatest weaknesses?
- What university subjects do you like the most?
- What qualities should a successful manager possess?
- What are your long-range career objectives?
- What do you think you have to offer a company like Dandy Toys?

Experimental Group—Two Discriminatory Questions

- What is the nature of your previous work experience?
- Have you had any work experience in the toy business?
- What kinds of things do you look for in a job?
- What types of interests or hobbies are you involved in?
- What do you consider to be your greatest strengths?
- Do you have any handicaps?
- What university subjects do you like the most?
- What qualities should a successful manager possess?
- Do you have any future plans for marriage and children?
- What do you think you have to offer a company like Dandy Toys?

Experimental Group – Four Discriminatory Questions

- What is your date of birth?
- What is the nature of your previous work experience?

What kinds of things do you look for in a job?
 Have you ever been arrested for a crime?
 What do you consider to be your greatest strengths?
 Do you have any handicaps?
 What university subjects do you like the most?
 What qualities should a successful manager possess?
 Do you have any future plans for marriage and children?
 What do you think you have to offer a company like Dandy Toys?

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