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4	Older and younger job seekers' attention towards metastereotypes in job ads
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6	Short title: ATTENTION TO METASTEREOTYPES
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Abstract

24 Building on social identity theory and cognitive models on information processing, the present 25 paper considered whether and how stereotyped information in job ads impairs older/younger job seekers' job attraction. Two eye-tracking experiments with older (Study 1) and younger job 26 seekers (Study 2) investigated effects of negatively metastereotyped personality requirements 27 (i.e., traits) on job attraction and whether attention to and memory for negative information 28 29 mediated these effects. Within-participants analyses showed for both older and younger job 30 seekers that job attraction was lower when ads included negative metastereotypes and that more 31 attention was allocated towards these negative metastereotypes. Older, but not younger job 32 seekers, also better recalled these negative metastereotypes compared to not negative metastereotypes. The effect of metastereotypes on job attraction was not mediated by attention 33 or recall of information. Organizations should therefore avoid negative metastereotypes in job 34 35 ads that may capture older/younger job seekers' attention and lower job attraction.

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Keywords: age-metastereotypes, job advertisements, eye-tracking

Despite an ongoing 'war for talent' (1,2), qualified older and younger job seekers still 37 38 experience more difficulties entering the labor market compared to their prime-aged 39 counterparts. Indeed, recent studies report hiring discrimination against older and younger 40 candidates (3–5). Whereas research preliminary focuses on this age discrimination in hiring 41 (i.e., *select-out*), job seekers' *self-select out* of application procedures is considered to a smaller extent. That is, job seekers might refrain from applying on the basis of stigmatizing information 42 in job advertisements (6,7). The present study investigates effects of stigmatizing information 43 44 in job ads on older and younger job seekers' job attraction and hence focuses on job seekers' own attitudes and experiences (8,9). Based on social identity theory, for instance, it is expected 45 46 that job ads can attract job seekers when the content of job ads indicates a fit between the 47 organization and job seekers' own social identity (10), that is, the identity that refers to one's social group (e.g., being female, being older, being younger). If job ads contain age-related 48 49 cues, this might differently attract older or younger job seekers. However, information in job 50 ads might also capture job seekers' attention in a *negative* way and lower their attraction to the advertised job. Surprisingly, this has been investigated to a lesser extent and is considered here. 51 52 Imagine, for instance, a job ad that includes 'flexible' in the personality requirements section. Older job seekers might attribute more attention to those traits in job ads that they think others 53 54 (like recruiters) have negative stereotypes about. When reading 'we are looking for *flexible* 55 candidates', older job seekers might believe that others think that older workers are not flexible. Similarly, younger job seekers' attention might be captured by traits such as 'punctual', when 56 they believe that others think younger workers are not punctual. These negative stereotypes that 57 58 group members think out-group members hold about them, or 'metastereotypes' (11), might negatively affect job seekers' job attraction (6.7) by signaling that the job/organization will not 59 60 fit their social identity. Therefore, as a first goal, we investigated whether negatively

metastereotyped personality requirements (i.e., traits) in job ads are less attractive for older and
 younger job seekers than not negatively metastereotyped personality requirements.

While Wille and Derous (6,7) showed that negative metastereotypes in job ads lower 63 64 ethnic minority and female job seekers' attraction, we considered older and younger job seekers and additionally investigated the underlying attentional processes that have - to the best of our 65 knowledge – not been considered before. Typically, negative and threatening information 66 captures a reader's early attention more (12) and is better recalled (13) than non-threatening 67 68 information. Hence and based on social identity theory (10), we investigated whether negatively 69 metastereotyped personality requirements in job ads might capture job seekers' attention more 70 and whether they are recalled better than not negatively metastereotyped personality 71 requirements in job ads. As a second goal, and answering a call for more research on underlying 72 mechanisms (6), we not only investigated whether, but also how negative metastereotypes in 73 job ads affect older/younger job seekers' job attraction by investigating whether this effect is 74 mediated by job seekers' attention and recall. In two eye-tracking experiments, we studied 75 visual attention patterns towards (not) negatively metastereotyped personality requirements in 76 job ads for older (i.e., aged 50-65; Study 1) and younger job seekers (i.e., aged 18-30; Study 2). Below we first discuss effects of metastereotyped information on job seekers' job attraction, 77 78 followed by a discussion on the underlying cognitive mechanisms.

79

Metastereotypes in Job Ads

Stereotypes are defined as beliefs about the characteristics of members of a certain group (14). Age stereotypes, for example, include the idea that younger people are typically more irresponsible and lazy, while older people are typically less flexible and less agreeable (15–17). Interestingly, older and younger people might be *aware* of these negative age stereotypes and might believe that other people hold these about their own age group. This is referred to as metastereotypes, or "beliefs regarding the stereotype that out-group members hold

about his or her own group" (11, p. 917). For instance, research showed that older workers
believed that younger workers find them stubborn, while younger workers believed that older
workers find them irresponsible (17). Note that these cognitions can shape individuals' attitudes
towards and interactions with out-group members, regardless of whether they are true or not.

90 During recruitment procedures, job seekers can activate negative age-related 91 metastereotypes about information in job ads, for instance, the personality requirements, which 92 can make job seekers' social category (in this case: age group) more salient. Hence, one may 93 become more aware of the social age group one belongs to (e.g., older job seekers/younger job 94 seekers) and one may perceive oneself more in terms of their social identity (i.e., their social 95 group and related stereotypes), instead of their personal identity (i.e., their own skills, personality, etc...). This social identity (10) is important for job seekers during the recruitment 96 97 process. When reading job ads, job seekers use the limited information in job ads as cues to 98 evaluate whether the job will fit their social identity, which may hence affect job attraction (18). 99 Indeed, according to the symbolic attraction theory (18), information that triggers job seekers' 100 social identity activates a process of making 'symbolic inferences' in which job seekers 101 determine whether the job will either fit their social identity or threaten it. Subsequently, job 102 seekers' job attraction will be higher or lower, respectively.

103 Thus, when job ads activate age-related metastereotypes that are *negative* in nature, this 104 might pose a threat to older and younger job seekers' social age identity (19) and impact 105 whether they intent to apply for the job (20). Research indeed showed that negative 106 metastereotypes in job ads lowered job attraction compared to job ads without negative 107 metastereotypes for female job seekers (7) and ethnic minority job seekers (6). Similarly, for 108 older and younger job seekers who were shown to each hold specific negative age 109 metastereotypes related to their own age group (17), we expected based on the social identity 110 theory (10) that:

Hypothesis 1. Job seekers' job attraction is lower for job ads with negatively
metastereotyped traits than for those without negatively metastereotyped traits.

113

Early Attention Bias

114 Research showed that people have a vigilance for cues that are negative or threatening 115 (21), meaning that *early* in one's cognitive processing of information, there might be an 116 attention/detection bias towards negative, threatening information (i.e., 'early attention'; 22). 117 Evidence for this attention bias – stemming from the historic survival value of threatening 118 information (23) - was shown for different types of threatening cues, such as: pictures of 119 death/suffering (21), pain cues (24), angry faces (25,26), threatening animals (27,28), and even 120 visual stimuli that signal an aversive white noise (29). Interestingly, vigilance for negative 121 information has also been shown for threats to one's social identity, for instance for words that 122 activated sexism for women (30). Since research showed that negative age-related 123 metastereotypes might threaten job seekers' social age identity (19,31), the present study aimed 124 to investigate whether this attention bias towards social identity threatening words might occur 125 among older/younger job seekers in a recruitment context.

126

Early Attention to Metastereotypes in Job Ads

Studies have reported that stigmatizing information (e.g., facial stigma) has an 127 128 attention-grabbing effect for recruiters during the interview stage and can hence hurt 129 candidates' chances (32,33). In the current study, we investigated whether *job seekers*' attention 130 towards stereotyped cues in stages prior to the interview stage, namely the recruitment stage in 131 which job seekers read job ads, can hinder their chances through self-selection processes 132 (6,7,34). That is, negatively metastereotyped traits portrayed in job ads might act as cues that pose a threat to job seekers' social identity and capture job seekers' attention in a negative way, 133 134 which may lower job attraction. Indeed, previous studies support this signaling purpose of cues 135 during recruitment (6,7,35,36) but did not directly measure the cognitive, attention processes

136 that underlie these effects (6). Studies did touch on the idea the amount of attention that certain 137 job ad components receive affects attitudes towards the job (ad). For instance, Barber and 138 Roehling (37) employed a thinking-aloud interview method to investigate how applicants 139 process job ad information while reading job ads and how this effected their decisions to apply 140 for the job ad. Such self-report may of course induce demand characteristics, decrease external 141 validity, and participants may also not always be aware of their unconscious mental processes. 142 More recently, Pfiffelman et al. (38) used *eye-tracking* methodology to investigate job seekers' 143 attentional patterns towards information in job ads that is perceived as negative, as well as the 144 consequential effect on attitudes towards the job. More specifically, they found that 145 personalized LinkedIn job ads (i.e., including job seeker's name and LinkedIn picture) captured job seekers' attention, which negatively affected attitudes towards the job ad through perceived 146 147 intrusiveness of job ad information. In line with these studies, we expect that visual attention to 148 negative job ad information may be associated with more negative attitudes towards the job. 149 Hence, we expected more visual attention towards negative/threatening information in the job 150 ad to lower job attraction for job seekers. Taken together, we expected for older and younger 151 job seekers:

Hypothesis 2. Job seekers will allocate more early attention towards negatively
metastereotyped traits in job ads compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits,
which will hence lower job attraction for job ads with negatively metastereotyped traits.

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Information Recall

156 Stereotyped cues that pose a threat to one's social identity might not only capture 157 individuals' attention, they might also impair one's cognitive functioning (39), like working 158 memory. For instance, information recall levels of older-aged people (40) as well as younger-159 aged people (41) can be impaired when confronted with cues that activate negative age 160 stereotypes (i.e., task instructions or explicit statements that imply that older/younger people

161 tend to perform worse). Building on self-regulation theory (42), dealing with negatively 162 stereotyped information requires more self-regulating processes and hence may deplete 163 cognitive resources that are needed for working memory tasks, such as information recall (i.e., 164 of new, non-threatening information; (43) For instance, Johns et al. (44) found that inducing 165 gender-threatening cues to the experimental lab setting decreased women's performance on a 166 reading-span task in which female participants were presented with (non-threatening) words 167 that they were asked to recall. In a study of Buijsrogge et al. (33) in a job interview context, 168 interviewers' recall of general, non-threatening interview content (e.g., candidate information 169 like work experiences) was impaired when interviewers were presented with candidates with 170 visual stigma (like a port-wine stain). In the present study, we investigated recall of not only 171 the neutral/non-threatening job ad information, but also the *threatening* information in job ads 172 (i.e., the negatively metastereotyped traits) itself. That way, we aimed to directly compare job 173 seekers' memory for stereotyped versus non-stereotyped information in job ads. Similarly, 174 Kanar et al. (13) showed that negative information about the job/organization (i.e., transferred 175 through word of mouth or a business press articles) was better recalled by job seekers than 176 positive information during the pre-hiring stage.

Kanar et al. (13) did not consider the effects of the discrepancy in information recall 177 178 between negative and positive job information on attitudes towards the organization, such as 179 attraction. However, according to the memory-for-facts model (45), information that 180 individuals can recall (e.g., about advertisements) does affect their attitudes. Yet, over the years, 181 scholars found that the relationship between information recall and attitudes might depend on 182 the exact reading or processing task and should therefore be investigated in a multitude of 183 contexts/situations to further establish the boundary conditions of this relationship (46–50). 184 Addressing this call, the present study studied the relationship between recall and job attraction 185 in the context of job advertisements. While studies have indeed linked working memory

186 processing of job ad information to job seekers' attitudes to the organization (8), this has been 187 done in a more indirect way. For instance, job ad information with a higher level of specificity 188 led to higher attraction to the organization, because more specific information is assumed to 189 generate a more elaborate cognitive processing (51). However, this assumption regarding 190 underlying working memory processes was not empirically tested. The present study aims to 191 investigate information processing in job ads in a more direct way, through measuring 192 older/younger job seekers' recall of negatively metastereotyped personality requirements in job 193 ads. We hence expected for older and younger job seekers:

Hypothesis 3. Job seekers will better recall negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads
compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits, which will hence lower job attraction
for job ads with negatively metastereotyped traits.

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From Early Attention to Recall to Job Attraction

198 While we expect that negative metastereotypes will receive more early attention and 199 will be better recalled by job seekers, it is also expected that more attention towards negative 200 metastereotypes will be related to a better recall of those negative metastereotypes. That is, 201 building on Baddeley and Hitch (52)'s working memory model, ample evidence has shown 202 that more visual attention to a certain location leads to a better transfer of information on that 203 location into the working memory (53–55). Negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads that 204 are expected to capture older/younger job seekers' early visual attention more, might therefore 205 also be better recalled by older/younger job seekers than not negatively metastereotyped traits 206 in job ads. Taken together, since both attention and recall are expected to be mediators in the 207 relationship between type of traits (negatively metastereotyped or not) and job attraction and 208 attention is expected to - in its turn - affect recall, we expected the following serial mediation 209 model to explain why negatively metastereotyped traits lower job attraction for older and 210 younger job seekers:

Hypothesis 4. Job seekers will allocate more early attention towards negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits, which will hence increase recall of negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads and in turn, lower job attraction for job ads with negatively metastereotyped traits.

215 To test the hypotheses we conducted two eye-tracking experiments. While different 216 methods and tasks can be used to measure one's attention to stimuli (e.g., attentional search 217 task; Posner cueing tasks and modifications; 29), the current study measured participants' eye-218 movements by means of eye-tracking technology, which is often used in a marketing context 219 to study people's visual attention towards information in advertisements, as well as in more 220 fundamental research on reading tasks (56,57). In eye-movement research, a distinction is made 221 between fixations (i.e., when the eyes remain stationary) and saccades (i.e., the fast movement 222 from one fixation point to the next). During the fixations, information from the visual field is 223 extracted, so a tight link between fixations and the locus of attention is presumed (57,58). An 224 important advantage of eye-tracking is that it allows for a detailed spatial and temporal 225 measurement of eye-movements, while people perform tasks that are highly similar to their 226 daily life counterparts (e.g., reading job ads), so that the ecological validity of the method is high. Since research showed that both older and younger people might experience threat when 227 228 being confronted with negative cues and hence experience consequences for their cognitive 229 processing (40,41), we tested identical paths for both older (Study 1) and younger (Study 2) job 230 seekers. However, as the content of the metastereotypes differs for older and younger job 231 seekers (17), we conducted two separate experiments in which we used negative 232 metastereotypes that are specific for either older or younger job workers, as further explained in Studies 1 and 2. Fig 1 presents diagrams with the hypotheses of Study 1 and Study 2. 233

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Fig 1. Diagram of Hypotheses 1-4. *Note*. H1 (striped line) investigates the effect of Trait on
Job Attraction (total effect). H2 (thin lines) investigates the effect of Trait on Job Attraction
via Attention (first mediation). H3 (dotted lines) investigates the effect of Trait on Job
Attraction via Recall (second mediation). H4 (bold lines) investigates the effect of Trait on
Job Attraction via Attention and Recall (serial mediation).

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Study 1

Study 1 investigated whether *older* job seekers allocate more early attention to, better recall and are less attracted to negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads, compared to not negatively metastereotyped requirements as well as mediating effects of attention and recall. Older participants were aged 50-65 years, based on McCarthy et al. (59) who found that managers typically consider someone an 'older' worker when they are aged 50 or older and research that established that people older than 50 experience specific metastereotypes and discrimination from that age on (17,60).

249 Method of Study 1

250 Participants

A total of 54 older job seekers (ranging from 50 until 65 years old, $M_{age} = 54.74$ years, $SD_{age} = 3.43$; 66.7% women; 100% White/Caucasian ethnicity) were recruited (between September 1st 2020 and August 31st 2021) via professional networks (i.e., via official social media accounts of the research consortium) and snowballing method. Participants received financial compensation (i.e., $\in 10$) for their participation in the study.

256 Design and Measures

An eye-tracking experiment was conducted that featured a two-condition withinparticipants design, in which personality requirements in job ads (*trait:* negative metastereotypes vs. not negative metastereotypes; see paragraph 'Stimuli' for examples) were

manipulated and job attraction, attention and recall were the outcome variables. Job attraction 260 was measured after each job ad with three items based on Van Hooft et al. (61), e.g., "I am 261 262 attracted to the advertised job", on 5-point Likert scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly* 263 agree. Cronbach's alpha for the items ranged from .94 to .97 in the condition with negative 264 metastereotype ($M_{\text{cronbach's alpha}} = .96$) and .88 to .97 in the condition without negative metastereotype ($M_{cronbach's alpha} = .94$). In order to measure *early visual attention* to traits in job 265 266 ads, compared to early visual attention to other job ad information, we divided study materials 267 (i.e., job ads) into seven interest areas and investigated visual attention towards each of these areas by means of eye-tracking (i.e., eye fixations, see below). More specifically, to measure 268 269 participants' early attention to the profiles, we measured their *first run dwell time* (22), i.e., the 270 sum of the duration (in milliseconds) of all fixations within the interest area of the profile during participants' first pass through the job ad, and compared that to their first run dwell time to the 271 272 other interest areas. In order to account for job seekers' visual attention towards the profiles, as 273 well as to the other interest areas of the job ad, we calculated the difference between 274 participants' first run dwell time to the interest area of the profiles and the average of their first 275 run dwell time to all other interest areas and used this difference score as our early visual attention measure. 276

277 To measure *recall* of the traits, we built on Kanar et al. (13). After reading and rating 278 the job ads, participants were asked to write down the traits that they were able to recall from 279 the profiles in the ads in a two-minute window. Next, manipulation checks were administered 280 to ascertain that our manipulations of the content of the traits and their metastereotyped 281 connotation were perceived as intended. Example items are "Does the person profile show that they were looking for an *agreeable* or *conscientious* person? [choose one option]", and "To 282 283 what extent do you believe that younger workers think that older workers are [obedient / flexible / friendly / patient / compliant]?", with 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. Finally, 284

287 Stimuli

288 Study materials were fictional job advertisements. Building on Hilberink-Schulpen et 289 al. (62), we distinguished the following sections in the job ads (see Fig 2): picture, logo, title, 290 company information, profile with personality requirements (i.e., traits), job offer and contact 291 information. Manipulations were situated in the profile section; profiles contained HEXACO-292 traits (63,64) that older job seekers held either negative or no negative metastereotypes about. 293 These negatively metastereotyped and not negatively metastereotyped traits for older people 294 were developed and pilot tested in a previous study of this research project (20). A more detailed 295 description of the procedure and results of this pilot study can be retrieved from the first author. 296 Results of the pilot study showed that older job seekers hold a negative metastereotypes about 297 the HEXACO-trait Agreeableness, and no negative metastereotype about the HEXACO-trait 298 Conscientiousness. Subsequently, the pilot study revealed the most negatively metastereotyped 299 adjectives "obedient", "flexible", "friendly", "patient", and "compliant", which represent the 300 condition with a negative metastereotyped connotation (Agreeableness) and the least negatively 301 metastereotyped adjectives "punctual", "perfectionistic", "orderly", "disciplined", and negative 302 "dutiful", which represent the condition without a metastereotype 303 (Conscientiousness). The (not) negatively metastereotyped personality requirement was 304 supplemented with other requirements that were held constant across job ads (i.e., required 305 language proficiency and relevant educational degree for the advertised job). No organization 306 name or type of organization/industry was mentioned ("Company A", "Company B"), as 307 research has suggested that organizational familiarity might affect job seekers' application 308 intention (65). Similarly, no job characteristics were mentioned as those characteristics might 309 differentially attract older job seekers (66). A short company description of the company was held constant across job ads, as well as the offer and contact information. The logo was adjusted
based on the letter of the company "*A*" for company A, "*B*" for company B etc. (see Fig 2).

313 Fig 2. Example of Job Advertisement with Seven Interest Areas

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315 Procedure and Experimental Apparatus

316 Study 1 was approved (through written consent) by the Ethical Commission of Ghent 317 University in accordance with the Helsinki declaration [Special Ethical Protocol no 2020/77]. 318 At the start of the experiment, participants signed an informed consent (i.e., written consent) 319 and were positioned in front of the eye-tracker. They placed their head in a chin- and headrest to minimize head movements. Once seated, they performed a 9-point calibration procedure. 320 321 After a successful calibration, participants were instructed to carefully read and evaluate the 322 presented job advertisements. They were also instructed to imagine that the parts of the job ads 323 that were not displayed would suit their interest/qualifications. A total of ten job ads (five for 324 each experimental condition) were presented to participants in a randomized order. After each 325 job ad, participants answered the three items regarding job attraction on the computer screen. On completion of reading all job ads, participants moved away from the eye-tracker and 326 327 completed the recall question and additional manipulation checks/demographical questions 328 through an online survey on a different computer. Participants' eye-movements and fixations 329 were measured by means of the Eyelink 1000 (SR Research, Canada; see Table 1) with a spatial 330 resolution of less than 1/4 degrees of visual angle at a sampling rate of 1000Hz. Viewing was 331 binocular, but only the right eye was tracked; Job advertisements were presented on a 1920x1080 Beng XL2411Z LED-monitor at a viewing distance of 95cm with a refresh rate of 332 333 144 Hz. Additional to the calibration at the start of the experiment, eye-tracking accuracy was 334 also measured during the experiment by mean of drift checks. When eye-tracking accuracy was

- 1335 low (i.e., higher average error than 0.5°), the experiment was terminated and data was not
- included in the analyses.

337 Table 1. Description and Performance Estimates of EyeLink 1000 Tower and Desktop

- 338 Mount
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- 340

341 Results of Study 1

		EyeLink 1000 Tower Mount performance estimates	EyeLink 1000 Desktop Mount performance estimates
Measure			
	Max. Sampling Rate	2000 Hz (Monocular)	2000 Hz (Monocular)
	Tracking principle	Pupil with Corneal Reflection	Pupil with Corneal Reflection
	Accuracy	Down to 0.15° ; $0.25^\circ - 0.5^\circ$ typical	Down to 0.15° ; $0.25^\circ - 0.5^\circ$ typical
	Resolution	0.01° RMS, micro-saccade resolution of 0.05°	0.01° RMS, micro-saccade resolution of 0.05°
	Sample Delay	M < 1.34 msec, $SD < .2$ msec	M < 1.34 msec, $SD < .2$ msec
	Real-Time data	1.4 msec (SD < 0.2 msec) @ 2000 Hz	1.4 msec (SD < 0.2 msec) @ 2000 Hz

342 **Preliminary Analyses**

343 Table 2 shows descriptives, reliabilities, and correlations among study variables. First, 344 manipulations were successful. Generalized Estimating Equation analysis (SPSS, v26) showed 345 that older participants perceived those traits referring to Conscientiousness significantly more as Conscientiousness (75.9%) than Agreeableness (24.1%), compared to the traits referring to 346 347 Agreeableness, which were perceived significantly more as Agreeableness (96%) than Conscientiousness (4%), b = 4.34, SE = 0.37, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 133.00$, p < .001. Further, results 348 349 from a repeated measures anova on all adjectives used in the job ads showed that participants 350 believed that younger people find older workers more conscientious (M = 3.80, SD = 0.59) than agreeable (M = 2.92, SD = 0.62), F(1, 53) = 91.94, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .63$. Finally, since word 351

	Study 1		Study 2									
	М	SD	М	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
 Job Attraction^a negative MS^b 	3.00	0.61	2.88	0.48	(.96)/(.88)	.41**	23	16	.02	19	.04	12
 Job Attraction not negative MS^b 	3.36	0.64	3.22	0.51	.68**	(.94)/(.91)	.20	.15	.23	.20	.35*	14
 Early attention^c negative MS^b 	1316.06	1268.72	1190.59	919.35	09	.10	()	.54**	.27	.07	00	.10
 Early attention^c not negative MS^b 	935.36	1082.28	671.88	540.56	09	.09	.70**	()	.28	.13	.04	.06
 Recall^d negative MS^b 	2.15	0.94	1.55	1.00	16	03	.01	.04	()	.28	.15	.07
 Recall^d not negative MS^b 	1.59	1.08	1.81	1.05	23	26	09	10	.13	()	.18	09
7. Gender ^{e, f}	0.67	0.47	0.67	0.47	.33*	.17	.08	.25	.26	.09	()	41**
8. Age ^g	54.74	3.43	23.67	2.49	09	.00	00	.02	00	25	13	()

352 Table 2. Descriptives, Internal Consistency and Correlations of Study Variables

Note. Results for Study 1 are displayed under the diagonal (N = 54); Results for Study 2 are displayed above the diagonal (N = 49). Results on the diagonal represent Cronbach's alfa for older and younger job seekers, respectively ($\alpha_{old}/\alpha_{young}$). ^a Job Attraction = measured on 5-point Likert scale with 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*. ^b MS = Metastereotype. ^c Attention = the sum of the duration (in milliseconds) of all fixations within the interest area of the profile during participants' first pass through the job ad, compared to sum of the duration (in milliseconds) of all fixations within the other interest areas. ^d Recall: amount of remembered traits in two-minute window. ^e Spearman correlation. ^f Gender: 0 = male; 1 = female. ^g Age: all job seekers were aged 50-65 years in Study 1 and all job seekers were aged 18-30 years for Study 2. *p < .05; **p < .01

frequency might affect how words are processed, i.e., frequency effect; Cop et al. (67), and fixation times, we first investigated word frequency of our stimuli based on Keuleers et al. (68)'s database. No significant difference in word frequency was observed between the condition of negative metastereotypes (M = 3.42, SD = 0.59) and not negative metastereotypes (M = 3.00, SD = 0.59), t(8) = 1.08, p = .31, Cohen's d = .62. This ensures that viewing time differences reflect attention, and not word-level frequency effects.

365 Hypothesis Testing

A within-participant mediation analysis through path analysis (69) using the MEMORE macro (V2.1; 70) was performed to test Hypotheses 1 to 4. This allowed us to test the serial mediation model with attention and recall as mediators and report difference scores between the condition with and without negative metastereotype. Results are displayed in Fig 3.

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371 Fig 3. Serial Mediation Models for Older Job Seekers (Study 1) and Younger Job Seekers

372 (Study 2). *Note.* $N_{\text{Study 1}} = 54$; $N_{\text{Study 2}} = 49$; Unstandardized coefficients are reported. The coefficients 373 in parentheses represent the total effect of trait on job attraction, i.e., the direct and indirect effects. ^aTrait 374 0 = not negatively metastereotyped trait, 1 = negatively metastereotyped trait. ^bAttention the sum of the 375 duration (in milliseconds) of all fixations within the interest area of the profile during participants' first 376 pass through the job ad, compared to sum of the duration (in milliseconds) of all fixations within the 377 other interest areas. cRecall: amount of remembered traits in two-minute window. ^d Job Attraction = 378 measured on 5-point Likert scale with 1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree. *p < .05. **p < .01.

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First, results showed that older job seekers were significantly less attracted to jobs when the job ad included negatively metastereotyped traits compared to when they included not negatively metastereotyped traits, b = -0.36, SE = 0.07, t(53) = -5.30, p < .001, supporting Hypothesis 1.

384

385 Next, Hypothesis 2 expected that early attention mediates the relationship between type 386 of trait and job attraction for older job seekers. Although older job seekers indeed allocated 387 40.7% more early attention to negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads compared to not 388 negatively metastereotyped traits, b = 380.70, SE = 129.47, t(53) = 2.94, p < .001, early attention 389 towards negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads did not significantly relate to lower job 390 attraction, b = 0.00, SE = 0.00, t(49) = -0.20, p = .84. Moreover, the indirect effect of type of 391 trait on job attraction through early attention was not significant, b = -0.01, bootstrapped SE = 392 0.03, bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.06, 0.06]. Hence, Hypothesis 2 could not be supported for 393 older job seekers.

394 Further, Hypothesis 3 predicted that recall would mediate the relationship between type 395 of trait and job attraction. Results showed that, in line with expectations, older job seekers 396 indeed better recalled negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads compared to not negatively 397 metastereotyped traits, b = 0.58, SE = 0.20, t(51) = 2.85, p = .01. However, better recall of 398 negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads was not significantly related with lower job 399 attraction, b = -0.06, SE = 0.05, t(49) = -1.11, p = .27 and the indirect effect of type of trait on 400 job attraction through recall was also not significant, b = -0.03, bootstrapped SE = 0.03, 401 bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.11, 0.01]. Hypothesis 3 could therefore not be supported for older 402 job seekers

Finally, the serial mediation as predicted by Hypothesis 4 could not be supported for older job seekers. That is, more early attention to negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads was not significantly related with better recall, b = 0.00, SE = 0.00, t(51) = -0.27, p = .79 and the indirect effect of type of trait on job attraction through attention *and* recall was also not significant, b = 0.00, bootstrapped SE = 0.00, bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.01, 0.01].

408 **Discussion of Study 1**

409 In line with predictions from social identity theory (10), older job seekers were less attracted to jobs when job ads contained negatively metastereotyped traits, signaling that the 410 411 job does not fit with their own age-identity. Older job seekers indeed allocated more early visual 412 attention towards negative metastereotypes in job ads (30) and better recalled the negative 413 metastereotypes compared to the not negative metastereotypes (13). Attention to and recall of 414 negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads were, however, not related to older job seekers' job 415 attraction. We measured job seekers' early attention to investigate a vigilance for negative 416 metastereotypes in job ads, yet future research might test whether an early attention bias 417 towards negative metastereotypes in job ads is followed by a different attentional pattern in 418 later stages (e.g., avoidance) and is hence not positively related to working memory and job 419 attraction. Contrary to previous expectations rooted in Baddeley and Hitch (52)'s working 420 memory model (e.g., 53–55), more attention to the negative metastereotypes did not increase 421 recall of negative metastereotypes and no mediating effects of either attention or recall were 422 found. Additional, emotional-motivational processes (see general discussion) might explain 423 why no effects were found (e.g., 71) and need to be considered in future research. We proceeded 424 testing Hypotheses 1 until 4 for younger job seekers, using (not) negatively metastereotyped 425 traits for younger people.

426

Study 2

Study 2 investigated the same hypotheses as Study 1 and tested whether *younger* job seekers are less attracted to, allocate more early attention to and can better recall negatively metastereotyped traits in job, compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits, as well as the mediating mechanisms of attention and recall. Participants were all aged 18-30 years, based on Arnett (72)'s life stage transition to young adulthood that is situated around the age of 30y and Finkelstein et al. (17) who found specific metastereotypes for people younger than 30 years. The method that was used in Study 2 was identical to the method employed in Study 1, unlessexplicitly stated otherwise.

435 Method of Study 2

436 Participants

A total of 49 younger job seekers (ranging from 18 until 30 years old, $M_{age} = 23.67$ years, $SD_{age} = 2.50$; 67.3% women, 100% White/Caucasian ethnicity) were recruited (between September 1st 2020 and August 31st 2021) through the professional network of the researchers (e.g., social media accounts of the research consortium) and snowballing method. Participants received financial compensation (\in 10) for their participation in the study.

442 **Design and Measures**

We conducted an eye-tracking experiment among younger job seekers that, identically 443 444 to Study 1, featured a two-condition within-participants design, in which traits in job ads (*trait*: 445 negative metastereotypes vs. not negative metastereotypes) were manipulated and job 446 attraction, attention and recall were outcome variables. Identical measures were used for job 447 attraction [i.e., three items based on Van Hooft et al. (61), Cronbach's alpha for the items ranged 448 from .84 to .91 in the condition with negative metastereotype ($M_{\text{cronbach's alpha}} = .88$) and .89 until .95 in the condition without negative metastereotype $(M_{cronbach's alpha} = .91)$], visual attention 449 450 (i.e., difference in *first run dwell time* to the interest area and to the other interest areas; 22), 451 recall (i.e., recalled requirements in two-minute window; 13), and demographical questions. 452 Manipulation checks to test the *content* of the traits and their *metastereotyped connotation* were 453 completed. Example items are "Does the person profile show that they were looking for a 454 conscientious or open person? [choose one option]", and "To what extent do you believe that older workers think that younger workers are [punctual / perfectionistic / orderly / disciplined / 455 456 dutiful]?", with 1 = *strongly disagree* to 5 = *strongly agree*.

457 Stimuli

458 Similar to Study 1, materials were fictional job advertisements but the manipulation of 459 traits in the profile section was now tailored to younger job seekers: profiles contained traits 460 that younger job seekers held either negative or no negative metastereotypes about. As in Study 1, we developed and pilot tested the traits in a previous study (20). A more detailed description 461 462 of the procedure and results of this pilot study can be retrieved from the first author. Results 463 showed that younger people held a negative metastereotype about the HEXACO-trait 464 Conscientiousness and no negative metastereotype about the HEXACO-trait Openness to Experience. Based on the pilot study, we selected "punctual", "disciplined", "deliberative", 465 466 "consistent", and "diligent", for the condition with negative metastereotype and "inventive", "creative", "open-minded", "sharp-witted" and 467 (Conscientiousness) 468 "versatile" for the condition without negative metastereotype (Openness to Experience). Other 469 requirements were held constant across job ads, just as a short company description, the offer 470 and contact information. No organization name, type of organization/industry or job 471 characteristics were mentioned, and as for the logo, we used was an "A" for company A, etc. 472 (see Fig 2).

473 Procedure and Experimental Apparatus

474 Study 2 was approved (through written consent) by the Ethical Commission of Ghent
475 University in accordance with the Helsinki declaration [Special Ethical Protocol no 2020/77].
476 At the start of the experiment, participants signed an informed consent (i.e., written consent).
477 Both the procedure and the experimental apparatus of Study 2 were identical to that of Study 1
478 (see above).

479 **Results of Study 2**

480 Preliminary Analyses

481 Table 2 shows descriptives, reliabilities, and correlations among study variables.

482 Our manipulations were successful: Generalized Estimating Equation analysis showed that 483 younger participants perceived those traits referring to Openness significantly more as 484 Openness (83.1%) than Conscientiousness (16.9%), compared to the traits referring to 485 Conscientiousness, which were perceived significantly more as Conscientiousness (94.5%) than Openness (5.5%), b = 4.44, SE = 0.33, Wald $\chi^2(1) = 183.76$, p < .001. Further, repeated 486 487 measures anova results showed that participants believed that older people find younger 488 workers more open (M = 3.98, SD = 0.58) than conscientious (M = 2.53, SD = 0.67), F(1, 53)= 91.94, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .85$. Again, no significant difference was observed in word frequency 489 490 between the condition of negative metastereotypes (M = 2.98, SD = 0.40) and not negative 491 metastereotypes (M = 2.71, SD = 0.89), t(8) = .61, p = .56, Cohen's d = .69, which excludes 492 low word-level differences between crucial conditions.

493 Hypothesis Testing

Similar to Study 1, we performed a within-participant serial mediation analysis through path analysis (69) with the MEMORE macro (V2.1; 70) to investigate Hypotheses 1 to 4. Results are displayed in Fig 3. First, younger job seekers were significantly less attracted to jobs when the job ad included negatively metastereotyped traits compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits, b = -0.34, SE = 0.08, t(48) = -4.37, p < .001, supporting Hypothesis 1.

Further, Hypothesis 2 tested the mediating effect of attention between type of trait and job attraction. While younger job seekers indeed allocated 77.2% more early attention to negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits, b = 518.71, SE = 122.82, t(48) = 4.22, p < .001, early attention towards negatively metastereotyped traits in job as did not significantly relate to job attraction, b = -0.00, SE =0.00, t(44) = -1.50, p = .14. Moreover, given that the indirect effect of type of trait on job attraction through early attention was not significant, b = -0.09, bootstrapped SE = 0.07, 506 bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.23, 0.03], Hypothesis 2 could not be supported for younger job 507 seekers.

508 Further, Hypothesis 3 investigated the mediating effect of recall between type of trait 509 and job attraction. Contrary to our expectations, younger job seekers better recalled the not 510 negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads compared to negatively metastereotyped traits, b =511 -0.58, SE = 0.21, t(46) = -2.78, p = .01. Furthermore, better recall of negatively metastereotyped 512 traits in job ads was not significantly related with job attraction, b = 0.10, SE = 0.06, t(44) =513 1.48, p = .15. Next, as the indirect effect of type of trait on job attraction through recall was not 514 significant, b = -0.06, bootstrapped SE = 0.05, bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.16, 0.03], Hypothesis 515 3 could not be supported for younger job seekers.

Finally, Hypothesis 4 expected a serial mediation model with attention and recall as serial mediators between type of trait and job attraction. First, more early attention to negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads was indeed related with better recall, b = 0.01, SE = 0.00, t(46)= 2.58, p = .01. However, the indirect effect of type of trait on job attraction through attention and recall was not significant for younger job seekers, b = 0.03, bootstrapped SE = 0.02, bootstrapped 95% CI = [-0.01, 0.08], providing no support for Hypothesis 4.

522 Discussion of Study 2

523 Similar to Study 1, Study 2 results showed that younger job seekers' job attraction was 524 lower for job ads with negatively metastereotyped traits, compared to job ads with not 525 negatively metastereotyped personality requirements. Younger job seekers also allocated more 526 early attention to negatively metastereotyped personality requirements in job ads. These 527 findings are in line with social identity theory (10) and an attention bias towards negative/threatening information (30). That is, results indicate that negative metastereotypes in 528 529 job ads might signal to younger job seekers that their social age identity is threatened and hence 530 a lack of fit with the job. However, unlike Study 1 and findings of Kanar et al. (13), no support

531 was found for a better recall of negative metastereotypes in job ads in Study 2. That is, while 532 we expected that negatively metastereotyped traits would be better recalled, the opposite 533 relationship was found and not negatively metastereotyped traits were better recalled (i.e., as 534 marked by the negative regression coefficient in Fig 3). This indicates that the effect of negative 535 metastereotypes on recall might depend on age. As in Study 1, no effects of early attention and 536 recall on job attraction were found and future research initiatives should investigate later or 537 overall attention patterns to negative metastereotypes to provide more insight. Contrary to 538 Study 1, we did find a small positive relationship between attention towards negative 539 metastereotypes in job ads and recall for younger job seekers, in line with predictions from 540 Baddeley and Hitch (52)'s working memory theory and earlier findings. This might be 541 understood in light of the differential working memory performance that has been observed between older and younger people (73). Finally, no mediating effects of attention and recall on 542 543 job attraction were found, which might be explained by job seekers' emotions and motivation, 544 as further discussed below.

545

General Discussion

546 Compared to prime-aged people, particularly older (50-65y) and younger (18-30y) people experience specific obstacles when trying to enter the workforce (74,75). Despite 547 548 legislation that prohibits discrimination against people based on their age (76), studies have 549 shown that older and younger job seekers both experience hiring discrimination (4). 550 Remarkably, studies have overlooked more subtle forms of negative age cues and how they 551 might lead to self-select out in the early stages of the job seeking process. Therefore, the present 552 study investigated whether and how negatively metastereotyped personality requirements in job ads affect older and younger job seekers' attraction during recruitment procedures. 553

554 Key Findings

Previous studies showed that female and ethnic minority job seekers' job attraction was lower for job ads with negative metastereotypes (6,7). The present study built on these results and, as a first goal, investigated these effects among older and younger job seekers. First, results of Study 1 and Study 2 confirmed that job attraction was lower for job ads with negatively metastereotyped traits for both older and younger job seekers. That is, job seekers' social age identity might also be threatened by negative metastereotypes in job ads and might hence influence job attraction (10,19).

Further, in terms of our second goal regarding the processes underlying the effect of 562 563 negative metastereotypes in job ads on job attraction, results of two experimental eye-tracking 564 studies showed that both older and younger job seekers allocated more early visual attention to 565 negative metastereotypes in job ads and provide support for the attention bias towards 566 negative/threatening cues that has been shown in previous studies (21,24,29). Interestingly, the 567 present study showed that this attention bias does not only exist for more imminent threats, but 568 also for information that is ego-threatening, or a threat to one's social identity (30). However, 569 attention did not mediate the relationship between type of trait and job attraction, which is not 570 in line with expectations based on previous findings (37,38), but might be understood in light 571 of the vigilance-avoidance hypothesis. That is, studies have shown that a vigilance or attention 572 bias towards negative information might be followed by an avoidance of that negative 573 information (77,78). Hence, an early attention-bias towards negative information might not 574 necessarily always result in a more elaborate procession of that information.

575 Third, we expected that recall would be a mediator between type of trait and job 576 attraction. Remarkably, the expectation that negatively metastereotyped traits in job ad would 577 be better recalled than not negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads was only supported for 578 older job seekers and not for younger job seekers (where we found a significant but negative

relationship between type of trait and recall, see Fig 3), despite successful manipulation checks 579 580 in both age groups. While not in line with our expectations based on social identity theory and 581 previous findings (40,41), a study by Hehman and Bugental (79) showed that age stereotypes 582 might also threaten younger people to a lesser extent than older people and hence affect their 583 cognitive performance in a different way, because older and younger people might have 584 different, 'life-stage specific' experiences. That is, younger people continuously grow older and 585 thus become closer to the group of the 'prime-aged' people. Their status in terms of age-586 stereotypes will therefore improve, which might alter how they process negative age-587 stereotypes compared to older people whose age-based status will not improve. Indeed, studies 588 found that younger – and not older – people might experience negative (meta)stereotypes more 589 as a challenge (31,80). Relatedly, effects of negative age stereotypes might also play out 590 differently for older-aged versus younger-aged people when considering the general ageism 591 and societal bias aimed more at older-aged people compared to younger-aged people (5,81). 592 Moreover, both in Study 1 and Study 2, recall of negative metastereotypes was not related to 593 job attraction, providing no support for a general link between information recall and attitudes 594 based on that information (memory-for-factsmodel; (45). Indeed, studies showed that the link 595 between information recall and attitudes depends on certain conditions, such as the exact 596 processing task (46–50). The present results indicate that a better recall of negatively 597 metastereotyped information in job ads might not lead to lower job attraction of older and 598 younger job seekers and hence uncovered one boundary condition of the relationship between 599 recall and attitudes (50).

Finally, contrary to Baddeley and Hitch (52), as well as previous findings (53–55), no serial mediating effect of attention and recall was found for older/younger job seekers. Job seekers' higher early attention levels to and lower job attraction for negative metastereotypes in job ads indicate that older and younger job seekers' social identity might be threatened by 604 negative metastereotypes in job ads (31). However, we did not measure alternative appraisal 605 mechanisms such as challenge/boost, nor did we measure job seekers' emotional experiences 606 (e.g., which emotions job seekers experience when reading negative metastereotypes). This suggests that, although a tight link between fixations and visual attention is presumed (57,58), 607 608 the relationship between eye-movements and memory is less straightforward and might depend 609 on one's age. For instance, given that working memory generally declines with age (see 610 further), the lack of relationship between visual attention and memory among older job seekers 611 might be explained by floor effects of the memory task that specifically challenged older job 612 seekers. Interestingly, we know of two other studies that also found no support for the expected 613 positive relationship between visual attention to textual information and recall (82,83). Similar 614 to the relationship between attention and job attraction, the relationship between attention and 615 recall might be different when later attentional stages are considered, hence a vigilance-616 avoidance pattern might explain our current findings. Moreover, the findings that differed 617 between older and younger job seekers were both related to recall/memory. Indeed, research 618 has vastly shown that individual's working memory generally declines with age and that older 619 participants might perform differently than younger participants on a memory task (73). 620 However, while this is true for general working memory capacity, the effects of negative 621 metastereotypes on older and younger job seekers' working memory were not considered 622 before. While research has touched on the idea that negative versus positive cues might affect 623 memory of older and younger people differently (84,85), results were contradictory and 624 scholars also did not consider cues that are threatening for one's social identity. We thus 625 contribute to the literature by showing that working memory processing of social identitythreatening information might differ between older and younger job seekers. 626

627 Contributions, Limitations, and Directions for Future Research

628 While age-related stereotypes might influence recruiters' hiring decisions later in the 629 selection process, age stereotypes might also impair older and younger job seekers' chances 630 earlier, during recruitment procedures. As a first contribution to the literature, the current study 631 thus considered experiences of job seekers during the early stage of the job search process, i.e., 632 while reading job ads and thereby focused on demographic groups that tend to be overlooked 633 (i.e., older and younger job seekers). Study results show that job advertisements used as tools 634 to attract job seekers might also contain signals that can actually capture job seekers' attention in a *negative* way and lower their attraction to the advertised job. 635

636 Second, previous studies on the effects of negative metastereotypes in job ads have not considered the underlying mechanisms that are at play (6,7). The present study adds to the 637 existing literature by studying job attraction, as well as the potential mediating effects of early 638 639 visual attention and recall, hence aiming to uncover the processing of negatively 640 metastereotyped information compared to other information in job ads among older and 641 younger job seekers. In doing, the present study also adds to the literature on cognitive 642 information processing by testing attentional and recall mechanisms in an applied setting, namely the recruitment context. For instance, studies on the attention bias towards negative 643 644 information focused on negative information that poses a general/imminent threat. Results of 645 Study 1 and Study 2 add to the limited research that supports the attention bias for more subtle 646 cues that pose a threat to one's social identity (i.e., ego-threat; 12). Finally, in both studies, we 647 used job advertisements that were complete and realistic, yet manipulated with thoroughly 648 developed and pilot tested stimuli, adding to both the internal and ecological validity of the 649 present study.

As in any study, limitations and directions for future research should be acknowledged..
First, in terms of the cognitive processing of job ads, negatively metastereotyped traits were

652 less attractive for older/younger job seekers and captured their attention. Yet, the exact 653 mechanism in which attention affects job attraction might depend on additional factors that 654 were not studied in the present study. For instance, job seekers' emotional-motivational 655 mechanisms were not considered. Finkelstein et al. (86) suggested that negative 656 metastereotypes might elicit both positive emotions (e.g., pride) and negative emotions (e.g., 657 anger, sadness) within older/younger job seekers. Since emotions can affect people's attention (87), memory (88,89) and attitudes (90–92), future research could therefore consider not only 658 659 the appraisal of negative metastereotypes in job ads terms of threat, but also in terms of 660 emotional valence (i.e., whether negative metastereotypes elicit positive or negative emotions). 661 Moreover, the emotional valence of information might also affect older and younger job seekers differently. For instance, working memory performance was mitigated by negative emotions 662 663 for older, but not for younger people (85,93). However, study findings remain contradictory, 664 since different studies report no age difference in working memory reaction towards negative 665 emotions between older and younger people (84). In conclusion, future research might further 666 compare effects of positive versus negative emotions such as anger, sadness and pride on 667 attention, memory and attitudes between older and younger job seekers. Hence, interactional effects between age and emotions can be investigated. Further, not only job seekers' emotions, 668 669 also their motivation might influence the processing of and attraction to job ads (8,51) and 670 should be considered in the future. That is, while we used complete and realistic job ads, no 671 real jobs were at stake and results of our study might be different/stronger when job seekers 672 were presented with an actual job tailored to their interests, since this might increase their 673 motivation (71).

674 Second, the present study investigated negative metastereotypes related to trait 675 requirements in job ads. However, metastereotypes may not be restricted to trait requirements 676 but may also exist about skills/competences. Future research, therefore, could investigate

677 skills/competences that one holds (no) negative metastereotype about. Moreover, since age-678 metastereotypes might also be *positive* in nature (17), potentially boosting effects of positive 679 metastereotypes in job ads might also be studied in the future. Third, future research might 680 include measures on the degree to which one identifies with their age group and the degree to 681 which one is concerned about being evaluated by the out-group, since both of these aspects 682 might affect metastereotype activation within job seekers (6,94). Further, the link between 683 attention and recall of information and attitudes based on this information might be influenced 684 by personal factors such as one's self-perceptions (95). Indeed, Finkelstein et al. (86) showed that individuals' core self-evaluations (i.e., CSE; the general belief in oneself) might affect how 685 686 older people react towards negative metastereotypes. Additional research is needed to investigate the role of CSE or one's self-perceptions on older and younger job seekers' 687 688 processing of negative metastereotypes in job ads. Finally, future research might investigate the 689 more behavioral intentions to apply for the job (20) and might also include metastereotypes 690 regarding middle-aged workers (17).

691 **Practical Implications**

692 Organizations rarely evaluate how job advertisements are perceived by job seekers, although job ads are used to inform and attract job seekers. Results of Study 1 and Study 2 693 694 showed that job advertisements with negatively metastereotyped information might capture 695 older/younger job seekers' attention and decreases their job attraction. Considering the 696 importance of job attraction for application intentions and behavior (96–98), these seemingly 697 subtle cues in job ads might affect the composition of the applicant pool and hence the success 698 of recruitment (6,7). In order to obtain an age-diverse applicant pool, organizations are advised 699 to avoid using traits in job ads that activate negative metastereotypes within older and younger 700 job seekers. This might be particularly useful for those organizations that aim to target older 701 and younger job seekers in their recruitment strategy. Targeted recruitment (99), for instance,

is a recruitment strategy that organizations can use to target those specific job seekers that are currently underrepresented in the labor market or in their own organization, e.g., older and younger job seekers. Research on targeted recruitment has overlooked how job seekers from those underrepresented groups perceive required qualifications in job ads (6). Study findings indicate that when job seekers have negative metastereotypes about those qualifications, targeted recruitment strategies can backfire, and job seekers from underrepresented groups can be discouraged by job advertisements instead.

Organizations can use different sources of information to determine negative agerelated metastereotypes for older/younger age groups. First, organizations might do 'sensitivity check'. That is, older and younger employees (if needed with different ethnic backgrounds) can be consulted and share their experiences on possible metastereotypes, for instance, by means of methodologies such as verbal protocol analysis (37) or a cognitive interview (100).

715 Second, the present study and previous studies on age metastereotypes (17,86) report 716 traits that older and younger job seekers might have negative metastereotypes about and can be 717 used as a starting point for organizations. Based on these negative metastereotypes, 718 organizations might thoroughly evaluate job advertisements on potentially metastereotyped 719 information. Additionally, machine learning techniques can be used to facilitate this process 720 (101). Moreover, a distinction could be made between requirements that are crucial (e.g., 'must 721 haves') and those that are less crucial ('nice to haves'). Indeed, negative metastereotypes related 722 to less crucial person requirements could be eliminated and those related to crucial requirements 723 might benefit from a more positive or behavioral wording (31).

Further, apart from eliminating negative information in job ads that grabs job seekers' attention, organization might also add information in job ads that signals identity safety instead of threat. Davies et al. (102) for instance, suggest using explicit statements during test-taking

that stress that "research shows that the underrepresented group does not perform significantly worse on tests" and could also be used in the recruitment context. Adapting the positioning and lay-out of those statements such that they capture readers' attention more than the negative information might also be an additional suggestion.

Finally, while most people know of the existence of age stereotypes, age *metas*tereotypes are a less known topic. For organizations and recruiters, the existence, content and effects of age metastereotypes can be included in diversity trainings (103). For job seekers, metastereotype awareness can be provided during career counseling by job coaches.

735

Conclusion

Two experimental eye-tracking studies showed that negatively metastereotyped traits captured older/job seekers attention and decreased job attractivity compared to not negatively metastereotyped traits in job ads. Older but not younger job seekers also better recalled these negative metastereotypes compared to not negative metastereotypes. These findings provides unique insight into older/younger job seekers' processing of negative recruitment information and showed that subtle, but negative cues in job advertisements might have an attentiongrabbing effect and lower job attraction of certain groups of job seekers.

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