Criminal Stigma, Race, Gender, and Employment: An Expanded Assessment of the Consequences of Imprisonment for Employment

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Executive Summary

Employment is a key feature of American life. Not only does it provide the instrumental benefits associated with an income, but it also serves to structure life, create social relations, and provide fulfillment. But work has an additional important benefit—it reduces involvement in crime. This consequence makes it important that individuals leaving prison find work. For a variety of reasons, however, this group finds it difficult to secure employment. The ability to find work is not equally distributed across race and ethnic groups; blacks and Hispanics experience more difficulty in gaining employment than do whites. Further complicating the problem is the fact that these two minority groups comprise the largest and fastest growing segment of the prison population.

A number of studies have examined the impact of a prison sentence on employment. This work consistently finds that individuals with a prison record fare worse on the job market. However, this finding is conditioned by race and ethnicity, with whites bearing far less stigma from a prior prison sentence than blacks or Hispanics (Pager, 2003). The majority of this research has been conducted with men, comparing blacks and whites, and been completed in Midwestern or eastern cities. This leaves a substantial gap in our understanding of the role of race/ethnicity and prison record on employment chances. Women are a measureable and growing segment of the prison population in the US and their employment prospects are important to understand given their role in families. Hispanics are the fastest growing segment of the US prison population and the number of incarcerated Hispanics is growing rapidly. Further, the southwest is the fastest growing region of the country, with different dynamics, including the border with Mexico, as well as an economy not structured around industrial production. In addition to these substantive reasons to expand our understanding of the role of a prison record and race/ethnicity in employment, there are methodological reasons to expand the study of these relationships. The job market itself is dynamic and the majority of entry-level jobs are advertised online and require the submission of online applications, which may include résumés.

To address these concerns, we completed a three-year study of the impact of a prison record on gaining employment. We included two separate experiments and an employer survey in our research. The first involved the submission of more than 6,000 online applications for entry-level jobs. The second experiment sent individuals (auditors) to apply for 60 jobs in-person. This allows us to compare the results of two different methods of job applications. The third research method was a survey conducted among 49 employers, all of whom were included in the second experiment. For each of the first two experiments, we had six different pairs of job applicants, comprised of black men, black women, Hispanic men, Hispanic women, white men and white women. One member of each pair had a prison record included on their résumé. In every other respect, the résumés were identical. Race/ethnicity was cued through the use of first and last names on the résumés sent to employers. In each case, a binary dependent variable was used, whether the individual was offered an opportunity to talk further with the employer in the case of the online applications, in the case of the in-person applications, the outcome measure was whether they were called back to interview or offered a job. Consistent with prior research, we find differences by race/ethnicity, with blacks and Hispanics generally faring more poorly than whites. The differences for the online application process were not as large as for the in-person process, but, nonetheless, we did find that a prison record has a dampening effect on job

prospects, particularly in the low-skill food service sector, where ex-prisoners are likely to seek employment during reentry. The employer survey revealed strong effects for criminal justice involvement, with employers expressing preferences for hiring individuals with no prior criminal justice contact. Employers associated prior prison time with a number of negative work-related characteristics including tardiness and inability to get along with co-workers.

We conclude this report with a number of policy recommendations regarding the job preparation, application, and interview process. In particular, we highlight the importance of preparing individuals in prison for the online world of job applications and résumé creation. This, like other aspects of the reentry process, should be done as early as is feasible, but certainly before release from prison. It is also important that former prisoners expand their network of contacts to increase their awareness of jobs and the process associated with applying for those jobs. We believe it is important for job applicants with a prison record to be prepared for a good deal of failure, as fewer than ten percent of our testers received a callback. Former prisoners are more likely to gain employment if they are judged on the merits of their qualifications, excluding their prior imprisonment. For this reason we believe that efforts to remove "prior arrest or conviction" from initial job applications should be supported.

Statement of the Problem

Prison populations in the US have shown unprecedented growth over the past three decades. There are over 1.5 million persons in prison, and over 800,000 serving terms of parole. The growth and magnitude of these populations have created a number of challenges for the criminal justice system and federal, state and local governments. One of the key challenges is prisoner reentry, as more than 90 percent of all incarcerated individuals return to society. Indeed, over 600,000 prisoners are released each year. A key feature of a successful (crime free) return to society is employment. Parolees are more likely to refrain from crime and observe the conditions of their release if they are employed. But prior research shows that the majority of prisoners – particularly blacks and Hispanics – face significant employment hurdles.

Recent data reveal that more than 600,000 prisoners in the United States are released from correctional facilities each year (Hughes & Wilson, 2003; Petersilia, 2003; Sabol, Couture, Harrison, 2007; Travis & Visher, 2005).[1] The number and rate of individuals released from incarceration facilities and those on various types of community supervision are at their highest in our country's history (Glaze & Bonczar, 2007; Hughes & Wilson, 2003). This scale of reentry into communities gives researchers and policy makers a sense of urgency to develop programs and policies that will facilitate successful transitions from prisons to communities (National Research Council 2008; Petersilia 2003). Indeed, a host of national and local efforts in the United States—such as the U.S. Department of Justice Serious and Violent Offender Reentry

[1] A majority of individuals released from prison are either black or Hispanic (Hughes & Wilson, 2003), but we know little about the role that race and ethnicity play in the prisoner reentry process (see O'Connell, 2006; Swisher & Waller, 2008). Similarly, there is relatively little research examining the gendered aspects of reentry. Studies demonstrate that returning women need gender-specific substance abuse treatment and family reunification assistance (Richie, 2001; Robbin, Martin, & Surratt, 2009; Sultan & Long, 2005), as well assistance with parenting and negotiating family dynamics (Arditti & Few, 2006; Brown & Bloom, 2009; Bui & Morash, 2010; Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001; O'Brien, 2001). A recent study by Huebner, DeJong, and Cobbina (2010) found that women who were addicted to drugs, undereducated, and who had extensive criminal backgrounds had an increased likelihood of recidivating; these relationships varied by race.

Initiative, the U.S. Department of Labor's Prisoner Reentry Initiative, the Council of State Government's (2005) Reentry Policy Council, and passage of the Second Chance Act— are aimed at identifying the needs of prisoners released to the community, implementing model programs, and ultimately enhancing public safety by reducing recidivism. As a result, there has been, and continues to be, significant scholarly interest and programmatic responses and recommendations for assessing, assisting, and monitoring individuals who have been released from correctional facilities (American Correctional Association, 2005; Burke, 2008; Bushway, Stoll, & Weiman, 2007; Council of State Governments, 2005; La Vigne, Davies, Palmer, & Halberstadt, 2008; Thompson, 2008; Travis, 2005; Travis & Visher, 2005). Part of the motivation for reentry efforts is to reduce corrections costs (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2009).

Nearly 800,000 individuals were on parole nationally at the end of 2006 (Glaze & Bonczar, 2007). These individuals must follow numerous formal and informal guidelines. Most who have been released into the community encounter challenges that can contribute to the commission of a crime and return to prison (Petersilia, 2003). In addition, released prisoners are disproportionately affected and harmed by physical and mental illness, substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, and a range of other health-related problems (Hammett, Roberts, & Kennedy, 2001; Lurigio, 2001). In response, there have been programmatic efforts to address addiction, mental illness, housing, and job training and employment (Visher & Travis, 2003), and former prisoners themselves place a high priority on such needs (Visher & Lattimore, 2007).

Prisoner Reentry and Employment

Individuals released from prison encounter a number of obstacles in their search for employment, including the reluctance of potential employers to hire ex-prisoners. Holzer,

Raphael, and Stoll (2002a) found that employers view ex-offenders as the least desirable applicants, in part because of concerns about the legal ramifications if ex-offenders deal inappropriately with the public or mishandle the public's property (Holzer & Stoll, 2001). Further, research suggests that employers who do not conduct background checks are likely to avoid specific groups—namely, undereducated black men—because they stereotype them as ex-offenders without evidence to the contrary (Holzer & Stoll, 2001; Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2002b; Pager, 2003). One study found that relatively few ex-offenders found jobs on their own because they were uneducated about the job search process or encountered employers unwilling to hire them because of their status; as a result, many relied on family and friends to find employment and for financial assistance (Visher, Debus, & Yahner, 2011). Visher and Kachnowski (2007) reported that although ex-offenders knew employment was important for their success and were optimistic about their prospects, their employment rates post-release remained low. Other studies (Petit & Lyons, 2007; Sabol, 2007) showed that offenders' employment is higher immediately after release from prison—a finding attributed to post-release supervision—than it is after 18 months.

Race and the Criminal Justice System

In 1918, the Bureau of the Census published a report on the "Negro Population" (U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, 1918). The authors of the report noted that in 1910 blacks made up only 11 percent of the population but constituted 22 percent of the inmates of prisons, penitentiaries, jails, reform schools, and workhouses. The authors then posed a question that would generate controversy and spark debate throughout the 20th and into the 21st century:

> While these figures . . . will probably be generally accepted as indicating that there is more criminality and lawbreaking among Negroes than among whites and while that

> conclusion is probably justified by the facts . . . it is a question whether the difference . . . may not be to some extent the result of discrimination in the treatment of white and Negro offenders on the part of the community and the courts (p. 438).

The authors of the report speculated that the racial differences in incarceration rates might reflect the fact that crimes committed by blacks, and especially crimes committed by blacks against whites, were more likely than crimes committed by whites to be punished, as well as the fact that blacks might be less able than whites to pay fines in lieu of incarceration. The authors also posited that black defendants might be more likely than white defendants to appear in court without attorneys to defend them. As the authors pointed out, it was important to consider these possibilities ~~–be~~fore accepting the record of prison commitments as an accurate measure of the differences between the two races in respect to criminality" (p. 438).

The key question posed by the Bureau of the Census—whether the disproportionate number of racial minorities incarcerated in state and federal prisons might be ~~–to~~ some extent the result of discrimination"—is a question that is still being asked today. There is clear and convincing evidence that black and Hispanic men face higher odds of incarceration than white men (Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2008, Table 6). In 2007, the incarceration rate for black men (3,138/100,000) was six and a half times greater than the rate for white men (481/100,000); the rate for Hispanic men (1,261) was less than half the rate for black men but two and a half times greater than the rate for white men. Among females, blacks were three times as likely as whites to be incarcerated and the incarceration rate for Hispanics was somewhat higher than the rate for whites.

The question, of course, is whether these racial/ethnic disparities reflect the disproportionate involvement of blacks and Hispanics in serious criminal activity, discrimination against blacks and Hispanics by prosecutors and judges, or some combination of these two

possibilities. Researchers have used a variety of strategies to examine this issue and to untangle the complex relationship between race and likelihood of incarceration. One approach compares the racial disparity in arrest rates for serious crimes with the racial disparity in incarceration rates for these crimes. According to the author of the most frequently cited work using this approach, if there is no discrimination after arrest, then ~~o~~ne would expect to find the racial distribution of prisoners who were sentenced for any particular crime to be the same as the racial distribution of persons arrested for that crime" (Blumstein, 1982, p. 1264).

To determine the overall portion of the racial disproportionality in prison populations that could be attributed to differential involvement in crime, Blumstein calculated the proportion of the prison population that, based on arrest rates, was expected to be black for 12 separate violent, property, and drug offenses. He then compared these expected rates with the actual rates of incarceration for blacks. Using 1991 data, he found that 76 percent of the racial disproportionality in incarceration rates could be attributed to racial differences in arrest rates (Blumstein, 1993, p. 751). However, Blumstein stressed that these results did not mean that racial discrimination did not exist. Rather, his findings implied that ~~t~~he bulk of the racial disproportionality in prison is attributable to differential involvement in arrest, and probably in crime, in those most serious offenses that tend to lead to imprisonment" (Blumstein, 1993, p. 750).

Blumstein's estimate that 76 percent of the racial disproportionality in imprisonment could be explained by racial differences in arrest rates, which did not go unchallenged (Crutchfield, Bridge, & Pitchford, 1994; Hawkins & Hardy, 1989; Keen & Jacobs, 2009; Mauer, 2006; Sabol, 1989), did not apply to each of the crimes he examined. For some crimes (e.g., murder) arrest explained more than 80 percent of the disparity, but for others (e.g., burglary and

drug offenses), arrest accounted for substantially less than 80 percent. Most notably, racial differences in arrest rates for drug offenses explained only half of the racial disproportionality in imprisonment for drug offenses, a finding exacerbated by the fact that racial minorities face higher odds of arrest for drug offenses than do whites (Tonry, 1995). As Blumstein (1993, p. 752) himself pointed out, "arrests for drug offenses are far less likely to be a good proxy for offending patterns than they are for aggravated assault, murder, and robbery" and the black arrest rate for drug offenses grew "dramatically in the late 1980s." In other words, the fact that drug offenders make up an increasing share of the prison population, coupled with the fact that blacks are increasingly likely to be arrested for drug offenses, means that "a declining proportion of the prison population can be explained by higher rates of crime" (Mauer, 2006, p. 128).

A recent study focusing on racial and ethnic disproportionality between arrest and incarceration using data from Pennsylvania highlighted the importance of taking ethnicity, as well as race, into account (Harris, Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Painter-Davis, 2009). Although Harris and his colleagues found that the proportions of blacks, whites, and Hispanics among offenders admitted to state prison corresponded to each group's representation in arrest statistics, there was unexplained disparity for blacks and, especially, Hispanics. Hispanics were overrepresented in state prison admissions and in the prison population in general, for more offenses than were whites or blacks. The authors of the study concluded that "the sources of black and (to a lesser extent) Hispanic disproportionality in imprisonment appear to reside mostly outside the purview of the criminal justice system, and have more to do with societal disadvantages that place minorities peoples, especially African Americans, at much greater risk of being both offenders and victims of violent crime" (p.198).

In summary, research reveals that blacks and Hispanics are incarcerated at disproportionately high rates and that at least some of this disproportionality cannot be explained by higher rates of black and Hispanic crime. As discussed in the section that follows, the higher rates of incarceration for racial minorities may be due in part to stereotypes of blacks and Hispanics—particularly young unemployed black and Hispanic males—as more threatening and dangerous than other offenders.

Stereotyping Racial Minorities and the Unemployed

There is substantial evidence that racial stereotypes affect case outcomes in the criminal justice system and that blacks—especially those who are also young and male—are perceived to be more deviant, more dangerous, and more likely to recidivate (Spohn & Holleran, 2001; Steffensmeier, Ulmer, & Kramer, 1998). If these perceptions rest, either explicitly or implicitly, on ―stereotypes associated with membership in various social categories" (Steffensmeier et al., 1998, p. 768), then other categories of minority offenders also may be stereotyped in this way. Studies have shown that Hispanics, like blacks, are perceived by whites to be poor, lazy, uneducated, unintelligent, and prone to violence (Carnevale & Stone, 1995; Marin, 1984); Hispanics also are stereotyped as members of violent street gangs. As Portillos (1998) notes, ―the assumption frequently is made that if you are a young Latino, and especially a Latino male, you are a gun-wielding, drug-selling gang banger unless proven otherwise" (p.156).

Similarly, a number of scholars contend that the unemployed are perceived as more dangerous and threatening than the employed (Box, 1987; Box & Hale, 1985; Quinney, 1977; Spitzer, 1975). Arguing that ―many people believe that unemployment causes crime," for example, Box and Hale (1985) suggest that judges view the unemployed as a threat, and that this ―belief alone is sufficient to propel them towards stiffening their sentencing practices" (pp. 209-

2010). These findings and assertions suggest that ethnicity and employment status may be linked to perceptions of dangerousness and potential for reform in the same way that race, age, and gender are. More to the point, they suggest the possibility that age, gender, and employment status contextualize the effects of race and ethnicity on criminal justice case outcomes.

Although a number of theoretical perspectives guide research on the relationship between unemployment and sentence severity (Chiricos & DeLone, 1992), most individual-level studies rest on some variant of Rusche and Kirchheimer's (1939) observation that "the poorer the masses become, the harsher the punishment in order to deter them from crime" (p. 18) or Quinney's (1977) contention that the criminal justice system "is the modern means of controlling surplus populations" (p.131). In a later study, Box (1987) asserts that it is the *combination* of judicial anxiety about what Spitzer (1975) refers to as "problem populations" and the belief that unemployment leads to crime, that structures judicial decision making and leads to increased use of imprisonment.

A number of researchers contend that *certain types* of unemployed offenders are seen as more problematic and thus as more in need of formal social control. Spitzer (1975) uses the term "social dynamite" to characterize that segment of the deviant population which is seen as particularly threatening and dangerous; he asserts that social dynamite "tends to be more youthful, alienated and politically volatile" and contends that those who fall into this category are more likely to be formally processed through the criminal justice system (pp. 645-646). Building on this, Box and Hale (1985) argue that unemployed offenders who are also young, male and members of a racial minority will be perceived as particularly threatening to the social order and thus will be singled out for harsher treatment. More specifically, they suggest that individual judges merely have to view young offenders, particularly those who are also black or

Hispanic and unemployed, as likely to commit further serious criminal acts, and that that would justify imposing a sentence of imprisonment (Box & Hale, 1985).

Crime and Employment

There is a substantial body of research that has examined the reciprocal relationships between employment and crime. This research demonstrates that individuals who are unemployed are more likely than those who are employed to engage in criminal behavior and that individuals with a criminal record have poorer employment prospects than those without a record. Freeman's work (1983; 1987; 1992; 1994) suggests that while the relationship between unemployment and crime is not direct, incarceration does damage long-term employment prospects (see also, Burton, Cullen & Travis, 1987; Clear, 2007; Schwartz & Skolnick, 1962). Research demonstrates that criminal convictions are inversely related to labor market success (Waldfogel, 1994) and that ex-prisoners find fewer jobs and lower paying jobs (Western, 2002). Freeman's work also reinforces the general conclusion that there is a positive relationship between joblessness and involvement in crime, a finding supported by others (Bushway, 1998). Given the critical role of employment for participation in American society (Messner & Rosenfeld, 2007), the employment prospects of ex-prisoners, especially of blacks and Hispanics with a prison record, issue bears further examination.

"Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration"

One approach to studying the factors that affect an individual's success in securing employment is the so-called "audit strategy." Researchers have used this approach to determine whether race affects employment success. In this design, the backgrounds and résumés of job applicants from different racial/ethnic groups are carefully constructed to be identical. The matched pairs of applicants—who differ only by race or ethnicity—present themselves to

potential (and real) employers. Differences in application outcomes, such as a callback for an interview, are then assumed to be due to differences in race or ethnicity. This approach enjoys a long tradition in applied economics, where research consistently documents that blacks do worse than matched white job applicants (Bendick, Jackson, & Reinoso, 1994; Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2002b) and Hispanics fare worse than matched white applicants (Bendick, Jackson, Reinoso, & Hodges, 1991).

The audit strategy also has been used to independently assess the impact of a criminal record by matching prospective job applicants on race/ethnicity and varying the presence or absence of a criminal background. In its classic formulation, this design uses matched pairs of black and white males, and presents one member of each pair as having a criminal background, either a conviction or prison sentence. Each member of these pairs applies for the same job and submits a resume that indicates whether they have a criminal conviction or in some cases, an arrest. The outcome variable in such studies is typically a callback from an employer expressing interest in hiring the prospective job candidate.

This methodology has been applied most persuasively by Pager (2003) (see also Pager, Western, & Bonikowski, 2009). In a carefully controlled experiment conducted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Pager had matched pairs of black and white job seekers deliver their résumés to prospective employers. These pairs had identical résumés with regard to age, length of time in the job market, prior type of job, and education. However, one member of each race-matched pair indicated that they had been to prison. This allowed Pager to test for differences within and between race. Using callbacks from employers as the dependent variable, she found significant differences within race for the impact of a prison sentence. Black testers without a criminal record were nearly three times as likely to get a callback as black testers with a criminal record

(14 percent versus five percent). The effects of a criminal record were not quite as stark for whites, as testers without a criminal record were twice as likely to get a callback (34 percent versus seventeen percent). However, the between race results remain the major finding from Pager's research, as white testers **with** a criminal record were more likely to receive job callbacks than were black testers who did not have a criminal record. These findings reinforce the effect of criminal stigma for job seeking, an effect that varies with race, but is often trumped by race.

Women, Criminal Records, and Finding Employment after Prison

In spite of demonstrating the centrality of racial and ethnic discrimination in employment, Pager's (2003; Pager et al., 2009) seminal work did not examine the effect of a criminal record on women's employment, much less how the effect, if any, might differ between white and non-white women. In the same way that employment matters for reducing crime among men, there is a positive effect of economic strain on increasing women's crime (Heimer, 2000) and of employment on reducing the likelihood of women's recidivism (Griffin & Armstrong, 2003; Makarios, Steiner, & Travis, 2010; Uggen & Kruttschnitt, 1998).

While a majority of the empirical work on the impact of incarceration on employment has been centered on men's employment (e.g., Holzer et al., 2006; Visher et al., 2011; Western, 2002), women are a growing proportion of the prison population. Trends in women's imprisonment are identical to men's on all accounts. Although women are a small fraction of the total prison population (7 percent), like the total U.S. rate of incarceration, women's rate of incarceration peaked in 2007, and, in 2011, stood at 65 per 100,000 of the U.S. population (Carson & Sabol, 2012). In 2010, five states had female incarceration rates that were equal to or greater than 100 per 100,000, including Oklahoma, which had the highest rate of women's

imprisonment with 130 women per 100,000 of the U.S. population (Guerino, Harrison, & Sabol, 2011). Moreover, black and Hispanic women are incarcerated at significantly higher rates than white women. Whereas white women's incarceration rate was 47 per 100,000 in 2010, it stood at 133 per 100,000 for black women and 77 per 100,000 for Hispanic females in the same year.

Taking Pager's audit study of differences in employment chances as the point of departure, Galgano (2009) examined differences between black and white women in the effect of a criminal record. Unlike Pager, Galgano used a correspondence design where job applicants' résumés were submitted to employers over the Internet (e.g., through email). Her analysis, however, revealed no significant difference between white women with a criminal record and black women without a criminal record in the likelihood of advancing through the hiring process. Given the timing of Galgano's experiment, historical effects due to the Great Recession could partly explain the absence of significance differences. To be sure, she noted higher callback rates among white women before the midpoint of her study—before the recession peaked—and a discernible drop in the overall callback rate after the midpoint.

Current Focus

The research conducted by Pager and others, while clearly important and influential, has limitations. First, much of the research has been conducted in the Northeast or Midwest, which ignores the patterns and trends in the fastest growing regions of the United States, particularly the Southwest. Second, prior research on the influence of criminal history on reentry in general and on employment prospects in particular has largely ignored the Hispanic population, the fastest growing segment of the prison population (Harrison & Beck, 2006). Moreover, Hispanics' employment prospects are particularly important to assess, given the restrictions that many state and local jurisdictions place on hiring non-citizens. Third, there is much about

women's post-prison employment experiences that remains unknown, including how black and Hispanic women fare in getting a job during reentry. Fourth, the economic downturn that began in 2008 makes the issue of prisoner reentry especially salient. Many states attempted to cut corrections costs by releasing prisoners early and by utilizing other cost-cutting mechanisms that put more ex-prisoners on the streets. Concomitantly, the recession led to an increase in the unemployment rate, which made finding a job, especially for individuals with a criminal record, even more challenging. Finally, in recent years the online job application process has come to dominate how people find jobs, particularly entry-level jobs. It is therefore important to determine whether the findings from research focusing on the in-person job application process are applicable to the online process.

The goal of this study was to develop a broader understanding of the ways in which race and ethnicity interact with a prior criminal record to affect individuals' employment prospects. We accomplish this by replicating and extending Pager's ground-breaking work (Pager, 2003; Pager et al., 2009). Using an experimental design modeled on the work of Pager (2003) and Galgano (2009), we assess whether job applicants matched by race and ethnicity (black, Hispanic, white) and prior criminal record (prior prison term, no prior prison term) receive a callback from a potential employer.[2] Like previous researchers, we examine whether having a criminal record affects hiring decisions, whether the applicant's race or ethnicity influences hiring decisions, and whether the effect of a criminal record varies depending on the applicant's race or ethnicity. We extend this body of research by (1) conducting our study in an ethnically diverse and rapidly changing jurisdiction (Phoenix, Arizona) that has not been studied before; (2) examining the influence of race, ethnicity, and criminal history on men and women's employment prospects during an economic downturn; and (3) focusing on both the in-person and

[2] Job applicants in the audit design are sometimes referred to as auditors or testers.

online application process. In addition, we conducted a follow-up survey with employers that were audited and assessed their perceptions of potential employment difficulties for former prisoners.

Research Methods

The current research was conducted in Phoenix, Arizona, the sixth largest city in the United States, with a population of close to 1.5 million residents. Phoenix is an especially appropriate site for a study of the employment consequences of a prison record because of the incarceration rate for minorities, the large numbers of Hispanic residents within the metropolitan area, and the political tone surrounding immigration policy and enforcement, particularly toward illegal immigrants from Mexico. For example, the state of Arizona requires that all employers, including private businesses, verify the citizenship status of potential employees at the time of the hire, and was one of four states to have such a law in effect. The city of Phoenix itself is 41 percent Hispanic (Hispanics are 29.6 percent of Arizona's total state population) and has the sixth largest number of Hispanics in a Census-designated place (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). Blacks make up six-and-a-half percent of the city's population (and four-and-a-half percent of the state's). According to figures on the corrections population in 2011, Arizona had the sixth highest male incarceration rate in the U.S. (1,084 per 100,000 U.S. residents) (Carson & Sabol, 2012). Estimates for CY 2012 from the Arizona Department of Corrections indicated that Hispanics and blacks were 41 and 13 percent of the prisoner population, respectively. Illegal immigrants accounted for 13 percent of the state's prison population in 2012 (Arizona Department of Corrections, 2012). In 2005, Arizona had the seventh highest rate of incarceration (jail and prison) for blacks and the fifth highest rate for Hispanics among the fifty states (Mauer & King, 2007). Nearly a billion dollars ($964 million) of the state's total budget of $9.28 billion

in FY 2009 was devoted to corrections. There is widespread concern among public policy officials over the rapidly increasing costs of incarceration in the state, and spending is projected to increase 52 percent over the next decade. Because of the rapid growth of the Arizona prison population, the state was selected as one of five Justice Reinvestment Learning sites by the Council of State Governments. Clearly, the state of the corrections system, and the rate at which Arizona incarcerates minorities, adds that much more importance to understanding prisoner reentry in this state.

Research Design

We employed three related methods to assess the impact of criminal stigma on employment prospects. These three methods were used in the context of a single, large field experiment. Thus, this project comprises one of the largest and most comprehensive tests of the role of prior record on obtaining a job. The first method was the correspondence test. It was used to generate online job applications in which the prison test condition was varied randomly across six sets of résumés that were paired by race/ethnicity (white, black, Hispanic) and gender (male, female). As so much of the job application process (entry-level and above) is online (especially at the critical early stages of the employment-seeking process) we wanted to capture what role, if any, prior imprisonment had on employment prospects within the context of the online job search. The second method used to examine employment prospects was the audit method. To assess what role, if any, our key independent variables played in the job application process, we sent six matched pairs of applicants, also referred to as testers or auditors, to apply for jobs in-person. The pairs were matched on race/ethnicity and gender, and to the extent possible, physical appearance and personal demeanor. Prison record was varied statistically across résumés/testers within each pair. The same dependent variable—favorable responses from employers to a

résumé/application—is used in both the first (correspondence) and second (audit) methods. Table 1 provides a basic illustration of the design of the correspondence test and audit. The third method of testing for the impact of a prison record was to conduct surveys of employers who had advertised jobs for which our in-person testers in the audit method had applied. We asked the employers several questions about factors that may have affected their hiring decisions, including imprisonment and other measures of involvement in the criminal justice system, and gave them a résumé of a hypothetical applicant to test statistically for the role of these variables in making hiring decisions. We elaborate on each of these three methods below.

Table 1. Basic Research Design of Correspondence Test and Audit

	Black		White		Hispanic	
Male	Prison	No prison	Prison	No prison	Prison	No prison
Female	Prison	No prison	Prison	No prison	Prison	No prison

Differences between correspondence and audit methodologies

Similar to Pager's (2003; Pager et al., 2009) previous research on the ―mark of a criminal record," we conducted a field-based experiment. Whereas Pager solely used audit procedures to investigate the effect of race/ethnicity and criminal record on employment-related outcomes, we depend on the both correspondence and audit methods. The main difference between audits and correspondence tests is the use of ―live" testers and the means used to apply for jobs (see Neumark, 2012). Research using the audit method sends out real people to apply for jobs, compared to the correspondence method that does not require using testers to pose as job applicants. Correspondence tests send employers résumés (or job applications) by mail or via some other form of communication that does not involve face-to-face interaction between the job applicant and the employer. In our research using the correspondence method, we applied for jobs using the Internet by emailing or electronically submitting a résumé to employers who used

the Internet to advertise real job opportunities. Regardless, each method calls for applying for jobs using résumés with fictional credentials (e.g., job skills, types of previous jobs held) that are matched across pairs of fictional job applicants. We used the same résumés for both the in-person and online experiments, making changes, as described below, when needed.

Résumé design

Following from the three research questions specified above, we created six pairs of résumés to submit to employers:[3] there was a pair for black male applicants, black female applicants, Hispanic male applicants, Hispanic female applicants, white male applicants and white female applicants. All 12 résumés included a similarly worded objective statement, an identical set of skills and qualifications that made the applicant suitable for the position,[4] and previous employment in the same three job sectors—customer service, general/manual labor, and restaurant/food service—that we would target during the experiments. Unlike Pager's audit (2003), where there was a one-year difference between a pair of testers in when they entered the labor force (testers were not necessarily matched on age because there was a one-year difference in the time they graduated from high school, and the first job did not begin until after high school) (pp. 950-951), the résumés we created for both the in-person audit and online correspondence test matched within each pair the month and year employment began. The year high school was completed was matched both between and within pairs.

Detailing the temporal dimensions of employment histories proved to be challenging because of the prison test condition that we introduced to answer one of the research questions.

[3] See Appendix A.

[4] Skills and qualifications were determined by conducting a content analysis of the advertisements for entry-level positions that we would have otherwise applied for during the experiment. We coded the criteria employers were seeking among ideal candidates, which led to the identification of a skill set featuring five dimensions: computer skills, written and verbal communication skills, customer service skills, ability to work with others in a team environment, and organizational abilities.

The average length of stay for minimum security classification offenses in the Arizona Department of Corrections is 3.31 years and drug crimes account for the largest number of conviction offenses. To reflect these realities, and to increase the external validity of this measure, the applicants we created were sentenced to a three-year prison term for possession of cocaine for sale.[5] Arizona sentencing laws require that *all* state prisoners serve 85 percent of their time. While all résumés across all pairs included work experience between three different jobs—one in each job sector we targeted—to test for the effect of criminal stigma on employment chances, an additional job as an inmate worker for six months at a state-run prison was include on the résumé as the last job (i.e., most recent) in that applicant's employment history when they were assigned to the prison test condition. This effectively signaled a criminal record on the résumé (Pager, 2003; Pager et al., 2009). Each of the 12 résumés we created had 42 months (three and one-half years) of work experience. Résumés featuring the prison condition had 36 straight months of uninterrupted employment plus six months of prison work. The résumés without a criminal record included a six-month unemployment spell between the first and second and second and third jobs specified on the résumé. The prison record condition was randomly assigned to a résumé within each pair at the beginning of the online experiment and switched between the two résumés within the pair each week thereafter. Criminal record was randomly assigned to the tester's résumé for each job the tester would apply for during the in-person experiment, thus varying randomly within the pair over the course of the audit. In order to account for the prison sentence required by state law, the employment history detailed on all résumés covered the span of six years. The end date of last job held was matched within pair, so

[5] The length of incarceration was not explicitly detailed on the resume. However, the length of time between the last job and the start of the prison job in addition to the duration of the prison job equates to a prison term of this length of time.

that both were out of the labor force for the same duration at the time the résumé was submitted to the employer.

In addition to the criminal record test condition, we included a two-year community college degree as a test condition in both the in-person audit and online correspondence study.[6] Whether the résumé in the correspondence test or audit included a college degree was determined using random assignment of the condition to the résumé submitted to the employer. In other words, we did not use block randomization when assigning this particular condition. Accordingly, it was possible that the résumé included both the prison and education test conditions. The degree was completed either two or three years after graduation from high school (and, where applicable, before incarceration) with such dates randomly assigned to each résumé within a pair (i.e., not necessarily matched).

While creating fake but realistic credentials was an important part of the process, Bendick et al.'s (1991; 1994); Bertrand and Mullainathan's (2003), and Pager's (2003; Pager et al., 2009), research indicates that race/ethnicity remains a significant determinant of employment chances. Accordingly, it was critical that the résumés used to apply for jobs via the internet reliably indicated, or cued, the applicant's race/ethnicity to the employer. To accomplish this task, we used the research of Bertrand and Mullainathan (2004) and Lavender (1988) to create a sampling frame of first names that are identifiable as black, white, and Hispanic. For last names, we turned to the research of the Census Bureau on the distribution of race/ethnicity within last names from the 2000 Census (Word, Coleman, Nunziata, & Kominski, 2010).[7] We randomly selected two

[6] The community college degree was indicated on the résumé as an associate's degree in general business. This degree is intended for students who do not plan to transfer to a four-year college.

[7] In the case of black last names, we limited the sampling frame from the U.S. Census Bureau's research to last names that were more likely (greater than 50 percent) among the black population in the U.S (e.g., almost 52 percent of all Dorseys in the U.S. in 2000 were black). For whites and Hispanics, all last names in the respective sampling frame were more than 94 percent white or Hispanic (e.g., 98.1 percent of Yoders in the U.S. in 2000 were white and 94.5 percent of Vazquezes were Hispanic).

first and last names that were racially/ethnically-identifiable for each pairing of résumés.[8] In addition to the name of the job applicant, the résumés submitted to employers using the correspondence method included an email address (that we monitored regularly), a cell phone number (with a voicemail that was also checked daily), and a residential address.[9] Addresses, which were not matched, corresponded to an apartment complex in central Phoenix, and were randomly assigned to each résumé within a pair.[10]

Falsifying personal information for the in-person audit was not option. In most cases, an employer requested that a supplemental application be completed (in addition to the tester providing a résumé) that asked for a social security number (SSN). Because of Arizona's law requiring verification of employment eligibility, we risked biasing results if testers, particularly Hispanic testers, did not provide a social security number. At the same time, we could not provide the tester's real SSN matched with a name that while racially/ethnically identifiable did not match official government records because to do so is a crime, and could be interpreted as identity theft. In the end, the testers used their own SSNs. To this point, the tester's in-person contact with the employer represented the only opportunity we had to convey race/ethnicity. Accordingly, testers used their real names and residential addresses on the résumés submitted to employers during the audit. For each tester, we created an email addresses and set up a cell phone number with voicemail that were monitored for responses from employers.

As mentioned previously, we targeted three job sectors—customer service, general/manual labor, and restaurant/food service—during the online and in-person experiments.

[8] Greg Schwartz, Jermaine Booker, and Jose Velazquez are examples of the white, black, and Hispanic names, respectively, that were selected.
[9] We selected three major providers of free email accounts (Gmail, Hotmail, and Yahoo) and randomly assigned a provider to each résumé. Email addresses used the full name of the job applicant or the initial of their first name and their full last name, depending on what was available through the email provider.
[10] The areas of residence were similar to one another demographically and socioeconomically and in terms of crime and incarceration rates.

Across all three sectors, we applied for entry-level positions that did not require education beyond a high school diploma or more than three years of previous work experience. Furthermore, we did not apply for jobs that ex-offenders would likely be excluded from, including jobs working with children and the elderly, or jobs that required passing a criminal background check. To find available jobs that matched our criteria, we searched advertisements posted on Craigslist and CareerBuilder.[11] Local probation and parole officers in Maricopa County, where Phoenix is located, confirmed that web-based job search engines are the primary means used by clients to find employment.

There are many similarities between the job search and application strategies we used for both experiments that we conducted; however, there were some differences. The correspondence study testing for the effect of criminal record on employment chances ran the course of 32 weeks, with the first 16 weeks taking place during the summer of 2011 and the other 16 weeks during the same timeframe in 2012. Our original design of the correspondence test called for submitting 1,800 applications, with our power analysis assuming that the overall response (i.e., callback) rate would be approximately 24 percent, which is consistent with the callback rates reported by other researchers conducting employer audits (Bendick et al., 1994; Galgano, 2009; Pager, 2003; Turner, Fix, & Struyk, 1991). As Galgano (2009), however, noted in her attempt to replicate Pager's findings, the escalation of the economic recession during the course of her experiment lowered the overall response rate, with the number of callbacks falling after September 2008. Indeed, during the summer of 2011, the unemployment rate in the Phoenix metropolitan area hovered around nine percent, which is twice as high as the unemployment rates during the time of Pager's (2003; Pager et al., 2009) experiments, and reflected the poor

[11] The CareerBuilder search engine was accessed via a link to the online version of the Phoenix metropolitan area's newspaper, *The Arizona Republic* (https://www.azcentral.com/jobs/). Craigslist was accessed at http://phoenix.craigslist.org/. We limited our job search to advertisements posted within the previous seven days.

economic conditions of the U.S. labor market in general at this time. In response to these real world economic circumstances and, importantly, to give us sufficient statistical power, we replicated in 2012 the method we used in 2011 to search and apply for jobs.[12] The résumés we submitted to employers in 2012 were identical to the 2011 versions, except we increased all dates by one year. In all, between all 12 pairs of résumés, the correspondence method generated 6,198 applications for entry-level jobs with 518 different employers. In 2011, 1,974 résumés were submitted online. In 2012, 4,224 résumés were submitted to employers using the online job search and application process. This difference, and the greater number of résumés that were submitted in 2012, illustrates the improvement in labor market opportunities during recovery from the Great Recession. The correspondence data we analyze exclude incomplete tests where one or more résumés could not be submitted electronically to an employer.[13]

Although the number of employers who use the internet to advertise jobs is continually increasing (Nakamura, Shaw, Freeman, Nakamura, & Pyman, 2009), not all employers are interested in receiving résumés or computerized applications only via the internet. During our search for jobs, we noticed a clear interest among employers in the food service and restaurant sector for in-person applications. For this reason, combined with the fact that this particular job sector is easier for parolees to access than low-paying jobs in other employment sectors (see Pager, 2007) and that this sector added the second largest number of jobs to the labor market in the two-year period (2009-2011) following the Great Recession (National Employment Law Project, 2012), the in-person audit of employers only targeted employers in the food service and restaurant sector. Applying for jobs in-person ran a shorter course, covering a ten-week period in

[12] The unemployment rate in 2012 during the same summer timeframe was above seven percent.
[13] The most common reason a résumé could not be submitted was because the employer had deactivated the advertisement.

2012 that overlapped with the online applications. We did not apply for jobs in-person that had been applied for using the online method and vice versa.

Methodological variations: In-Person audit

Completing the in-person audit of employers required the additional steps of hiring and training testers to act as job applicants for the purposes of this research. Indeed, the process that was required before we could even begin conducting the audit was complex and time consuming, taking several weeks. We screened hundreds of applicants for the tester positions and conducted dozens of interviews with potential candidates, meeting with applicants as if they were a potential pair when possible. Bringing in two applicants at a time allowed us to see how the applicants compared to each other, not just in terms of appearance (though this was important), but also how their personalities matched up and how they presented themselves, including their mannerisms, ability to make and maintain eye contact, whether they had an accent or speech impediment, and overall language and interpersonal communication skills. All 12 testers were college students or recent college graduates. Aside from matching pairs on race/ethnicity, testers within each pair were matched as closely as possible on physical appearance, including height, build, skin tone, hair and eye color, and demeanor.

Testers completed one week of training, for which we developed a comprehensive training manual[14] with instructions on how to greet the employer, tone of voice to use, and body language to use and avoid. We provided testers with physical appearance and hygiene-related guidelines and standardized what they wore when applying for a position and any subsequent in-person interaction with the employer. Training also included mock interviews with research team members with questions (and appropriate answers) that were likely to be asked by employers during the application process (i.e., initial interaction/on-the-spot interviews) and during the

[14] See Appendix D.

more formal hiring process (e.g., scheduled interviews), including how to respond to questions about their conviction and incarceration. As the last step in the training process, testers also completed three practice applications (audits) with real employers.

We audited 60 employers in the food service and restaurant sector from July 2012 to September 2012. During the course of the audit, we encountered two issues involving the testers that merit discussion. One, we had to reinitiate the hiring and, subsequently, the training processes when testers left the project. The main problem was finding a job applicant who matched the tester we currently had conducting employer audits. Because of the need to continue with the experiment and retain the maximum number of testers, several audits of employers were completed by only one tester within a pair. A second problem that we confronted was the falsification of records by one of the testers of audits. Specifically, we found that one tester submitted narratives with information and details that were not possible (e.g., applying at a brick and mortal restaurant when construction of the restaurant had not been completed and applications had to be submitted to trailer at the construction site). To investigate this issue, we examined the time the tester said that the audit have been completed and looked for overlap in the time reported by other testers to confirm that the testers saw each other at the same employer. We also looked at the time reported between two audits to determine whether it was feasible to go from one employer to another employer in that amount of time given the distance between the two employers. As a result, we excluded applications from the tester where there was a question around the validity and reliability of the application and narrative report of the interaction between the tester and the employer. The 12 male and female testers submitted 518 applications to employers.

Methodological variations: Employer survey

The third method we use to assess the effect of incarceration on getting a job was surveying food service and restaurant employers that we audited in-person. The web-based survey was completed by employers using an internet-connected iPad; it was administered by trained undergraduate and graduate students. Surveys were scheduled by calling each employer and arranging a time for a survey administrator (student) to meet the employer in-person. Employers were told that had they were being contacted to participate in a survey designed to learn more about the types of job opportunities that are available to entry-level workers. We also mentioned to employers that they had been selected to participate in the survey because we came across their job advertisement on craigslist. Employers were offered a ten-dollar Starbucks gift card for participating in the survey.

The survey was adapted from Holzer and Stoll's (2001) survey of employers, which was designed to learn about employer decision-making surrounding the hiring of socially-disadvantaged workers, including racial and ethnic minorities, women, and ex-offenders. The survey designed for this study included 25 questions, 24 of which were closed-ended. Survey questions were designed to collect information on the company's business profile, its current employment opportunities, and hiring preferences. The survey took approximately 15 minutes to complete.

Several survey questions were about the suitability of a hypothetical job applicant for the position that the employer had advertised on craigslist (and that we applied for during the audit). In addition to a copy of the job advertisement employers had posted to craigslist, employers were given a résumé of a hypothetical job applicant, which was the same as one of the résumés used

during the correspondence test and in-person audit.[15] As we did in the correspondence test, the race/ethnicity and gender of the hypothetical applicant was conveyed to employers through first and last names.[16] We randomly assigned race/ethnicity, gender, prison record, and education to each employer so that employers were given a résumé of hypothetical job applicant with those characteristics. Employers were asked to evaluate the hypothetical job applicant as if the position was presently available and the résumé was that of a current applicant. Of the 60 employers we audited, 48 agreed to participate in the survey. A copy of the survey is included in Appendix E.

Results

Analytic technique

This section presents the results of two types of field-based experiments that test for the independent and interaction effects of race/ethnicity and prison record on employment chances. We also consider the effect of a community college degree on the likelihood that an employer will respond favorably to a job applicant. We separate out the results of the experiments by gender, so that males and females are analyzed separately, as well as type of experiment used. Toward this end, for both the male and female samples, the findings are divided into two parts: In the first part, the results of the analysis of the experiment using the correspondence method, where résumés were electronically submitted to employers via the Internet, are reported. In the second part, the results from the audit of employers, where testers submitted their résumés in-person to employers in the food service sector, are provided.

[15] We randomly selected one of the 12 résumés used during the correspondence test to create the work history profile and education credentials of the hypothetical job applicant. We also used the address and phone number on this résumé. We changed the dates on the résumé so that they were more contemporaneous, but reflected the same timeline we used in the résumés during the correspondence test and audit.

[16] One name from each race/ethnicity and gender pair created and used during the correspondence test was randomly selected to convey race/ethnicity and gender to employers during the survey.

For both the online and in-person experiments, the dependent variable is a dichotomous measure that is coded 1 if the applicant received a favorable response and 0 otherwise. In the case of the online correspondence test, callbacks and email responses from employers asking for an interview or for the applicant to return the call or reply to the email were coded as a favorable response. Favorable responses to applications submitted to employers during the course of the in-person audit include callbacks/requests for a second interview or job offers made to testers where the employer conducted an on-the-spot interview.

Across all sets of analyses, we use cross-classified random effects (CCRE) models to estimate more than one source of variation in the outcome (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002). Cross-classified estimation procedures follow the logic of nested, or multi-level, data; they depart from traditional multi-level models, however, in that they allow for parallel sets of clusters (Rabe-Hesketh & Skrondal, 2008). Said differently, the grouping variables do not neatly cluster hierarchically and, as a result, two or more different grouping variables occur at the same level.

For the correspondence test and audit data, race/ethnicity and experimental conditions are modeled as observation-level predictors. There is a difference between the analyses, however, in the grouping variables modeled at the group level. In the case of the online correspondence test, the observations are grouped together in two ways. One group consists of the types of jobs that were applied for, and a second of the résumés that were submitted online to employers. Applicants are nested within both résumés and job types, but résumés are not nested in jobs nor are jobs nested within résumés. Accordingly, the CCRE model we estimate separates the variation in the likelihood of a favorable response from an employer between applicant-level characteristics, job type, and the effect of the résumé itself. Variation in the outcome has three sources, one source at level-1 and two sources at level-2. Within the group of job applicants,

variation exists along the lines of race/ethnicity, prison record, and educational attainment. Within the group of jobs, variation can be attributed to differences between five job types, including office and administrative positions, food service and restaurant positions, general/manual labor jobs, jobs in sales, and customer service positions. Résumés, although designed to relay identical information to employers, could have unobserved effects due to addresses, email providers, high school attended, or other nuanced differences.

Including the résumé at level-2 in a CCRE model is motivated by concerns that unobserved differences in the content between each of the six résumés explains the observed distribution of the outcome across key predictors (see, for example, Heckman & Siegelman, 1993). Such unobserved differences can be compared to tester effects in audit studies (e.g., Ayres & Siegelman, 1995; Pager et al., 2009). For example, employers may look favorably at prior employment with one particular company, which might favor the odds of the applicant with the résumé that includes previous employment with that particular business establishment, regardless of that applicant's race/ethnicity, criminal history, or education level. Job type was specified as a level-2 variable because previous research reports that the employment chances of racial/ethnic minorities and ex-prisoners depends on the type of employment, broadly speaking, for which the tester is applying (Bendick et al., 1991; Bendick et al., 1994; Galgano, 2009; Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2007; Pager, 2007; Pager et al., 2009). At the same time, depending on the type of employment sought (e.g., food service worker), the likelihood of a favorable response from an employer could depend on the résumé received (e.g., the résumé indicates prior experience as a server in a sit-down restaurant versus a team member at a fast food restaurant).

Similar to the grouping variables used in the analysis of the correspondence test data, the audit data include two groups that are modeled at level-2 in addition to the information on job

applicants that is modeled at level-1. As mentioned earlier, tester effects are a source of concern in audits because the testers themselves can (unintentionally) cause variation in the outcomes. For example, despite their training regarding how to be consistent in their interactions with employers, some testers may display different body language when applying for job when they are assigned to the prison test condition. Employers, picking up on the tester's behavior, may be less likely to call the tester back for a second interview. As a result, there is a systematic effect of the tester on his/her probability of a favorable response and, unless this effect is accounted for, the individual-level predictors, including race/ethnicity and prison record, could be biased. Accordingly, between-tester differences are allowed to have a statistically random effect on the outcome in the models we estimate. The implication of this modeling technique is that we can determine the amount of variance, if any, in the likelihood of receiving a favorable response that can be explained by unobserved differences between testers. The second grouping variable that is allowed to vary across observational-level predictors is employers. Although all employers audited are within a single sector, differences between each could explain differences in employment chances.

Because the outcome is binary—whether a favorable response is received or not—we use a CCRE generalized linear model that estimates the random effect parameters for résumé and job type in the analysis of the correspondence data and for tester and employer in the analysis for the audit data, with the random variance component associated with the individual-level (level-1) predictors assumed to be a direct product of the probability of the outcome (Snijders & Bosker, 1999). Across all models, predictors were mean-centered, so that the intercept corresponds to the average applicant's probability of receiving a positive reply from employers.

We also estimate the effectiveness of our predictors in explaining variance using proportional reduction in variance (PRE) estimates, also conceptualized as pseudo-R^2 scores, which are equal to the proportion reduction in the variance components from the unconditional model to the conditional model. With these parameters we can also estimate the variance portioning coefficient (Goldstein, Browne, & Rasbash, 2002) to approximate the proportion of variance that originates from each of the three sources.

Female results

Findings from the correspondence test

The left column of Table 1 provides the basic distribution of the correspondence data. Six résumés that corresponded to three pairs of women were submitted online to 515 unique employers for a total of 3,090 job applications. The application data are balanced with regard to race/ethnicity (e.g., exactly one-third of résumés represent white women and another one-third of résumés are associated with black women) and the incarceration test condition. The community college education test condition was relayed to employers in 50.7 percent of the résumés submitted. There is no correlation between any of the independent variables.

Although an attempt was made to balance the number of jobs applied for within each of the three targeted employment sectors, a larger proportion of the 515 employers were in the customer service sector (37.9 percent). About 34 percent of employers were in the food service and restaurant sector. The remaining 28 percent of employers fall into the general and manual labor sector.

The types of work applied for closely overlaps with employment sector. For example, most of the food service and restaurant jobs fall within the food service and restaurant sector; however, there was an employer in the food service sector that advertised a customer service

position for which we applied. In all, 175 of the positions applied for involved food and restaurant service, 143 required general and manual labor, 47 were office and administrative types of jobs, 71 were sales positions, and 79 were customer service jobs.

Table 2. Descriptives from Two Field-Based Experiments Testing Women's Employment Likelihood

	Method			
	Correspondence (online)		Audit (in-person)	
Number of employers receiving résumés	515		60	
Number of résumés submitted	3,090		252	
Résumés submitted by race/ethnicity				
Black	1,030	(33.3)	55	(21.8)
White	1,030	(33.3)	101	(40.1)
Hispanic	1,030	(33.3)	96	(38.1)
Résumés with prison condition	1,545	(50.0)	125	(49.6)
Résumés with college condition	1,565	(50.7)	145	(49.6)
Employment sector of position applied for				
Customer service	1,170	(37.9)		
General/manual labor	864	(28.0)		
Food service/restaurant	1,056	(34.2)	252	(100)
Number of favorable responses to résumés submitted	245	(7.9)	42	(16.7)
By race/ethnicity				
Black	65	(26.5)	5	(11.9)
White	97	(39.6)	15	(35.7)
Hispanic	83	(33.9)	22	(52.4)

Note: Percentages in parentheses may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

Of the 3,090 résumés that were sent to employers from female testers approximately eight percent received a favorable response from employers. Of the favorable responses received, the most--approximately 40 percent--were to the résumés submitted by white women. Hispanic women received about 34 percent of the favorable responses and black women received fewer

than 27 percent of the favorable responses. There is a significant difference in the distribution of employers' responses between white and black women ($p \leq .01$), but no significant difference emerged between white and Hispanic women or between black and Hispanic women. As expected, women without a prison record were more likely to receive a positive response to their job application than women with a criminal record, but the difference is only marginally significant ($p \leq .10$). A degree from a community college appears to have no advantage over a high school diploma in improving women's employment chances. In fact, although not statistically different, a greater number of favorable responses from employers went to women with only a high school diploma than to women with a community college degree. Table 2 illustrates how the favorable responses were received by race/ethnicity and experimental test conditions.

The results from the analysis of the correspondence test are reported in the left half of Table 3. The first model predicts the average likelihood of receiving a favorable response from employers, unconditional on any individual characteristics of job applicants. The intercept corresponds to a 6.16 percent chance of being contacted by an employer in a favorable or positive way. The unconditional model provides the variance components for the type of job applied for and the résumé submitted. The variance partition coefficient (VPC) for job type is .04 and means that four percent of the variation in the likelihood of a favorable response from an employer is accounted for by differences in the types of jobs for which applicants applied. The résumé VPC is less than .01, suggesting that the specifics of the résumé submitted to employers had no discernible influence on whether a female job applicant received a positive reply from an employer.

Table 3. Favorable Responses to Women's Employment Applications by Race/Ethnicity, Experimental Test Conditions, and Method

Prison record condition	No criminal record		No criminal record		Criminal record		Criminal record		Total	
Education condition	High school diploma		Community college degree		High school diploma		Community college degree			
Method	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person
Race/ethnicity										
Black	18/255 (7.1%)	1/12 (8.3%)	18/260 (6.9%)	3/18 (16.7%)	20/254 (7.9%)	0/8 (0.0%)	9/261 (3.5%)	1/17 (5.9%)	65/1,030 (6.3%)	5/55 (9.1%)
Hispanic	26/259 (10.0%)	9/25 (36.0%)	17/256 (6.6%)	5/21 (23.8%)	15/252 (6.0%)	2/24 (8.3%)	25/263 (9.5%)	6/26 (23.1%)	83/1,030 (8.1%)	22/96 (22.9%)
White	27/252 (10.7%)	4/32 (12.5%)	30/263 (11.4%)	2/19 (10.5%)	21/253 (8.3%)	5/26 (19.2%)	19/262 (7.3%)	4/24 (16.7%)	97/1,030 (9.4%)	15/101 (14.9%)

Note: First row is the number of favorable responses/number of résumés submitted with those conditions. Number in parentheses in the second row is the favorable response rate.

The second model in the left half of Table 3 predicts the likelihood of a positive response from employers, conditional on the characteristics of job applicants, such as race/ethnicity, and adjusts for any variation in the outcome that could be due to differences between the types of jobs applied for and the résumés submitted to employers. Converting the intercept of the full model to a probability, the average female job applicant has about a 6.30 percent chance of receiving a favorable response from an employer. Estimates from the model indicate that black women were significantly less likely than white women to hear from employers in response to the résumé they submitted online for an entry-level job opening. More specifically, black women's chance of receiving a favorable response from employers was 37 percent smaller than white women's chances. Hispanic women also had a lower likelihood of receiving a follow-up call or email from employers after applying for a job online, but the difference in white and Hispanic women's likelihoods is not statistically significant. Although the effect is not significant, a community college degree appears to negatively affect the likelihood of advancing in the hiring process. [17]

Consistent with the hypothesis that women with a prison record will have a lower likelihood than women without a prison record of receiving a favorable response from employers, prison record is marginally significant ($p \leq .10$) in the model. Having served prison time reduces women's odds of making it through the initial stages of the hiring process by a factor of .67. The non-significance of the race/ethnicity*prison record interactions indicates that there is no additional effect of race/ethnicity on the effect of having a prison record. Despite the non-significance of the interaction coefficients, several interpretations are noteworthy, particularly the differences between black and white women. Where white women with a prison

[17] We speculate, based on feedback from the testers during the audit, that many employers felt that applicants with a community college degree were likely to look for other jobs that were more upwardly mobile.

record have odds of receiving a favorable response from hiring managers that are nearly 50 percent smaller than the odds of Hispanic women with a prison record, the odds of white women with a prison record are only five percent smaller than black women's with a prison record. At the same time, white female ex-prisoners have odds that are 11 percent greater than the odds for black women who have not been incarcerated.

The random effect of job type in the full model indicates that it has a near-constant effect on the likelihood of receiving a favorable response from an employer. To be specific, in the unconditional model, type of work explained four percent of the variation in the outcome. The proportional reduction in the VPC of job type in the full model is less than one-quarter of one percent; this means that the type of work applied for is still accounting for about four percent of the variation in employers' hiring-related decisions. On the other hand, any random effect of résumé, even though negligible to begin with in the unconditional model, is completely explained by the social characteristics of female job applicants, including their race/ethnicity.

Findings from the audit

Three pairs of testers applied in-person with 60 employers in the food service and restaurant sector. The basic descriptive statistics of the audit are found in the right side of Table 2. Although three pairs of testers were sent into the field, black women are not as well represented in the data as white and Hispanic women. The job applications of black women comprise 22 percent of the 252 applications that were submitted to employers. The applications of whites and Hispanics are 40 and 38 percent, respectively, of the total number of employment applications that were submitted to employers.

Table 4. CCRE Estimates of Women's Likelihood of Receiving a Favorable Response to Application for Employment

	Online/Internet Applications *N*=3,090				In-person Applications *N*=252			
	Unconditional Model		Full Model		Unconditional Model		Full Model	
	b	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*B*	*SE*
Intercept	-2.72**	0.41	-2.82**	0.41	-2.64**	0.58	-2.18**	0.59
Black			-0.52*	0.23			-0.27	0.97
Hispanic			0.32	0.22			1.64*	0.80
Prison Record			-0.40†	0.22			0.70	0.72
Community College Degree			-0.10	0.14			0.08	0.47
Black*Prison Record			0.17	0.34			-1.70	1.53
Hispanic*Prison Record			0.32	0.32			-1.89†	0.99
Random Effects								
Job type	0.76	0.52	0.76	0.52				
Resume	0.01	0.03	0.0	0.00				
Employer					3.46	1.88	3.80	2.09
Tester					0.44	0.41	0.20	0.27

**$p<.001$ *$p<.05$ †$p<.10$

Note: Standard error of random effects is reported

The main reason for the difference between the pairs of testers in the racial/ethnic distribution of audits completed is because of the problem that was noted at the end of the methods section. In particular, there was an issue with the reliability of the applications that were reported by a tester (i.e., a black female) as being submitted. After a thorough investigation of the issue, questionable applications were excluded from the data that is analyzed. In addition, there were additional testers who had to be hired and trained after the audit began, which also reduced the number of applications that could be submitted during the course of the experiment. Because there are significantly fewer applications that correspond to black women casts doubt on whether there are sufficient observations to detect racial differences in the likelihood of receiving a favorable response from employers. To be sure, the overall rate at which a favorable response was received is 16.7 percent. Of employers' favorable responses, 12 percent of callbacks for interviews and job offers were made to black women. More than half—52 percent—of the positive outcomes observed during the audit benefitted the employment prospects of Hispanic women. White women received 36 percent of favorable responses. A complete breakdown of the distribution of favorable responses is reported in Table 3.

The right half of Table 3 provides the estimates from models predicting women's likelihood of receiving a favorable response from employers to an in-person job application. The intercept of the unconditional model represents a 6.7 percent chance of receiving a positive response from an employer. This first model also establishes that differences between employers account for 17 percent of the variation in the outcome. At the same time, the tester used to conduct the audit explains two percent of the variation in the probability of a second interview or job offer.

The next model estimates the effects of job applicants' individual-level characteristics, as well as the random effects of employers and testers, on employment prospects. To begin with, the average job applicant had a ten percent likelihood of advancing through the hiring process. Although being black lowers the likelihood of receiving a favorable response from employers, the difference between black and white women is not significant. The only individual-level predictors that had a significant effect are related to Hispanic women. With respect to differences between Hispanic and white women, the significantly greater hiring chances of Hispanic women is contrary to theoretical expectations, as ethnic minorities are assumed to be at a disadvantage in the labor market, based on the findings of prior research. At the same time, Hispanic women with a prison record were less likely to be contacted by employers for an interview or offered a job than white women with a prison record. Specifically, the chances of Hispanic ex-prisoners are 61 percent smaller than white ex-prisoners. Given the favorable response to Hispanic women, the odds of white women with a prison record receiving a favorable response from employers is 1.5 times smaller than the odds of Hispanic job applicants with no history of incarceration. Among women with a prison record, the odds of a favorable response are 93 percent greater for white women than for black women. Moreover, employers appear to give hiring preference to white women with a prison record over black women without a prison record; the employment chances of white ex-prisoners are 62 percent higher than those of black women without a criminal record.

Although the purpose of this research was to examine the effects of a specific set of individual characteristics on employment, the design of the study means that there are other possible reasons for variation in hiring chances. In particular, the model indicates that 25 percent of the variation in women's hiring chances is located between employers. In fact, when

individual-level characteristics were added to the model, the proportion of the variance explained by employer differences increased almost ten percent from the baseline model. The implication is that employers, even within a single sector with a large proportion of entry-level job opportunities that require minimum skills and previous experience, vary greatly in their hiring preferences and these differences are, arguably, more pronounced depending on the job applicant.

Ideally, testers would have no discernible effect on variation in the outcome in an audit. There is some evidence of a tester effect, but the impact on variation in employer hiring-related behavior is quite small. In the baseline model, a random effect of testers explained two percent of the outcome's variance. Once individual-level predictors were included in the model, differences between testers accounted for 1.3 percent of the variation in the outcome. There is no evidence, however, that this effect is statistically different from zero.

Male results

Finding from the correspondence test

The left column of Table 4 provides the basic distribution of the correspondence data. Six résumés that corresponded to three pairs of men were submitted online to 518 unique employers for a total of 3,108 job applications. The data are balanced with regard to the prison condition (i.e., exactly one-half of all résumés submitted indicated the applicant had a criminal record) and race/ethnicity (e.g., because job applicants were from one of three race/ethnicity groups, one-third of résumés cued white as the applicant's race). The randomization procedures used to assign a community college degree to the résumé resulted in an even distribution of the education test condition—50.1 percent of résumés submitted to employers specified the applicant

had a community college degree. There is no correlation between any of these three independent variables.

Table 5. Descriptives from Two Field-Based Experiments Testing Men's Employment Likelihood

	Method	
	Correspondence (online)	Audit (in-person)
Number of employers receiving résumés	518	57
Number of résumés submitted	3,108	266
Résumés submitted by race/ethnicity		
Black	1,036 (33.3)	96 (36.1)
White	1,036 (33.3)	102 (38.4)
Hispanic	1,036 (33.3)	68 (25.6)
Résumés with prison condition	1,554 (50.0)	135 (50.8)
Résumés with college condition	1,558 (50.1)	145 (54.5)
Employment sector of position		
Customer service	1,194 (38.4)	
General/manual labor	858 (27.6)	
Food service/restaurant	1,056 (34.0)	266 (100)
Number of favorable responses to résumés submitted	231 (7.4)	38 (14.3)
By race/ethnicity		
Black	62 (26.8)	11 (28.9)
White	81 (35.1)	22 (57.9)
Hispanic	88 (38.1)	5 (13.2)

Note: Percentages in parentheses may not add up to 100 because of rounding.

We applied for a variety of positions in the three targeted employment sectors, including clerical work in office settings and sales positions in the customer service sector, landscaping and painting jobs in the general labor sector, and wait service and dishwashing positions in the food service sector. The distribution of jobs we applied for within each of the three sectors is not quite even, as opportunities in the customer service sector accounted for a larger share—38.4

percent—of the jobs that we found and applied for online. Job type overlapped with sector closely. Of the 518 jobs for which we applied, 52 were office/administrative type jobs, 172 were positions in restaurants and food service, 139 were manual labor jobs, 74 were jobs in sales, and 81 were categorized as customer service positions.

Of the 3,108 résumés that were submitted online, 231 (7.4 percent) received a favorable response from the employer. When examining the distribution of favorable responses by race/ethnicity, Hispanics were more likely to receive a favorable response to their résumés than were blacks ($p<.05$) and whites, though the Hispanic-white difference is not significant. Whites were more likely than blacks to hear back from employers ($p\leq.10$). A chi-square test of the distribution of responses between ex-prisoners and job applicants without a prison record indicates a non-significant difference in the likelihood of being contacted by employers. Likewise, no difference was found in the favorable response rates between high school graduates and community college degree holders.

The first cross-classified model we present (see the first column of Table 6) includes only the variance components of job type and résumé and no individual level predictors. The predicted probability that male job applicants would receive a favorable response from an employer is 6.4 percent. The unconditional model also establishes that there is variation in the outcome that depends on the type of job applied for and unobserved differences between the résumés used to apply. The baseline VPC for job type is 0.03, which can be taken to mean that three percent of the variation in the likelihood of a positive response from employers is due to differences in the type of job for which the male tester applied. Less than one percent of the difference in the outcome is accounted for by the résumé submitted to the employer.

The second column of Table 6 provides the estimated effect of the level-1 predictors in addition to the random effects of job type and résumé. Adding the individual-level variables increased the probability of a favorable response slightly, to 0.07 for the average male job applicant. Despite our predictions about the negative effects that race/ethnicity and criminal record would have on men's employment chances, being black or Hispanic or having a prison record did not significantly affect whether employers contacted a job applicant whose résumé cued those characteristics. Although not statistically significant, the effect of having a criminal record and the effect of being black (compared to an applicant who was white) were in the expected negative direction. Having a two-year college degree did not increase the probability of receiving a favorable response from employers, and the direction of the effect estimated (a negative effect) is opposite from expectations. In addition, the variables measuring the interaction between race/ethnicity and criminal record did not affect the probability of receiving a favorable response.

Once the level-1 predictors are added to the model, none of the variation in whether employers contacted a job applicant is located between résumés. Additionally, given the proportional reduction in the variance explained, it appears also that individual characteristics conveyed through the résumés explain all, albeit a trivial amount, of variation in the outcome that was accounted for by résumés in the unconditional model. As the null model indicated, very little of the variation in the dependent variable is explained by the type of job for which was applied. The VPC for job type is three percent in the full model, changing little from the VPC calculated using the unconditional model estimates. In fact, adding individual-level predictors increased the proportion of the variation explained by job type, suggesting that the probability of

advancing through the hiring process depends partly on not only the personal characteristics of male job applicants, but on the type of job for which they are applying.

At the theoretical level, a case can certainly be made that the online job application process is distinct from the process of applying for jobs in-person; we return to this in the discussion section of the paper. At the empirical level, the question remains if or how outcomes from the online process differ from the in-person results. To this point, the results of the correspondence test perhaps make all the more important the in-person job application process, particularly for job seekers submitting résumés or applications to employers who prefer that advertised jobs are applied for in-person. We now turn to the results for males of the in-person audit of employers.

Findings from the audit

As introduced in the methods section, audit procedures were used in addition to the correspondence test to investigate differences in employers' hiring-related behavior toward black, white, and Hispanic male testers posing as job applicants. Three pairs of male testers applied for jobs with 57 employers in the food service sector over the course of eight weeks. Between the six male testers, 266 résumés were submitted in-person to jobs that were advertised online. Most positions (92 percent) applied for involved direct interaction with customers, including server and wait staff, cashiers and other counter positions, and restaurant hosts. The remaining positions were in the kitchen.

Table 6. CCRE Estimates of Men's Likelihood of Receiving a Favorable Response to Employment Application

	Online/Internet Applications *N*=3,108				In-person Applications *N*=288			
	Unconditional Model		Full Model		Unconditional Model		Full Model	
	B	*SE*	*B*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*	*b*	*SE*
Intercept	-2.68**	0.33	-2.62**	0.34	-2.44**	0.43	-2.82**	0.50
Black			-0.17	0.24			-1.32*	0.63
Hispanic			0.18	0.23			-1.74*	0.76
Prison Record			-0.02	0.23			-1.26*	0.60
Community College Degree			-0.07	0.14			0.22	0.44
Black*Prison Record			-0.26	0.36			0.87	0.94
Hispanic*Prison Record			-0.18	0.33			0.65	1.20
Random Effects								
Job type	0.49	0.35	0.49	0.35				
Resume	0.01	0.03	0.0	0.00				
Employer					1.62	0.92	1.99	1.10
Tester					0.19	0.26	0.0	0.00

**$p<.001$ *$p<.05$

Note: Standard error of random effects is reported.

Because of the randomization procedures used to assign the criminal record and education test conditions, the data are not balanced. Fifty-one percent of the job applications were completed by testers randomly assigned a prison record. Fifty-five percent of résumés submitted indicated to the employer that the tester had a community college degree. In 28.2 percent of job applications, testers submitted résumés that included both the criminal record and education test conditions.

As illustrated in column 2 of Table 6, the 14.3 percent favorable response rate for males who applied for jobs in-person is double that of the correspondence test. Still, the response rate from employers to in-person applications is significantly smaller than rates reported in prior audits. Whites were more likely than blacks and Hispanics to receive a favorable response, and the differences between whites and blacks and between whites and Hispanics are significant. By contrast, the likelihood that the applicant would receive a callback for a second interview or a job offer did not differ significantly for black and Hispanic applicants. (Table 7 provides a more detailed breakdown of the responses received by testers according to their race/ethnicity and test conditions.)

The right side panel of Table 6 provides the CCRE estimates of the employer audit. The first model we estimate is an unconditional model that predicts the chance of a favorable response for the average job applicant and allows the employer and the tester to have random effects. A favorable response from employers can be expected by the average male applicant in 8 percent of the job applications submitted. Without considering the characteristics of job applicants, 10.5 percent of the variation in the probability of an interview or job offer is accounted for by differences between employers. The baseline model also indicates that

unobserved differences between testers explain 1.2 percent of the total variation in the likelihood of a favorable response from employers.

Once the individual applicant variables are added to the model, the evidence of a tester effect from the unconditional model disappears, indicating that differences between individual testers in the outcomes of the hiring process are accounted for by their race/ethnicity and the test conditions to which they were randomly assigned. Blacks and Hispanics are significantly less likely than whites to receive a favorable response from employers in the food service industry. More specifically, black men's chances of being contacted for an interview or offered a job are 21 percent smaller than white men's chances, and Hispanic men are almost 15 percent less likely to advance through the hiring process than are whites. As expected, employers also are less willing to interview or hire male job applicants with a criminal record. On average, male ex-prisoners seeking employment are 22 percent less likely to receive a favorable response from employers than male job applicants without a prison record. Having a degree from a two-year community college did not significantly increase the likelihood of an applicant landing an interview or a job.

In contrast to the findings from Pager's (2003; Pager et al., 2009) work, white male ex-prisoners are not at an advantage over black or Hispanic male job applicants without a prison record. In fact, Hispanic men without a record have a 40 percent better chance at being contacted by employers than white men with a prison record. Black men, however, have only a slight advantage at advancing through the hiring process; they have about a six percent better chance than white men with a criminal record. Consistent with the main effects of race/ethnicity and prison record, when ex-prisoners are compared along the lines of race/ethnicity, white men with a felony criminal record have better employment chances than male minority job applicants with

Table 7. Favorable Responses for Male Job Applicants by Race/Ethnicity, Experimental Test Conditions, and Method

Prison record condition	No criminal record		No criminal record		Criminal record		Criminal record		Total	
Education condition	High school diploma		Community college degree		High school diploma		Community college degree			
Method	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person	Online	In-Person
Race/ethnicity										
Black	17/262 (6.5%)	4/19 (21.1%)	18/256 (7.0%)	2/26 (7.7%)	16/260 (6.2%)	3/25 (12.0%)	11/258 (4.3%)	2/26 (7.7%)	62/1,036 (6.0%)	11/96 (11.5%)
Hispanic	21/249 (8.4%)	0/16 (0.0%)	27/269 (10.0%)	3/19 (15.8%)	22/268 (8.2%)	0/14 (0.0%)	18/250 (7.2%)	2/19 (10.5%)	88/1,036 (8.5%)	5/68 (7.4%)
White	22/263 (8.4%)	8/26 (30.8%)	19/255 (7.5%)	7/25 (28.0%)	21/248 (8.5%)	3/21 (14.3%)	19/270 (7.0%)	4/30 (13.3%)	81/1,036 (7.8%)	22/102 (21.6%)

Note: First row is the number of favorable responses/number of résumés submitted with those conditions. Number in parentheses in the second row is the favorable response rate.

the same criminal background. Black men with a prison record have the most difficulty moving through the hiring process—their odds of a getting a callback for an interview or offered a job are 125 percent smaller than white male ex-prisoners. The likelihood that Hispanic men with a record will get another interview or will be offered a job is 18 percent smaller than the likelihood for white men.

Despite the significance of race/ethnicity and a prison record on male job applicants' employment chances, the random effects portion of the full model indicates that employers who are in the process of hiring new employees continue to be an important source of variation in those chances. More specifically, employers account for 9.5 percent of the variation in whether applicants receive a callback for a second interview or an offer of employment. While the VPC for employers decreases when individual-level predictors are added to the model, this is partly a function of the increase in the variation between employers and a decrease in the variation that was previously explained by between-tester differences. Indeed, the variance of the employer effect actually increases when individual-level predictors are added to the model. This suggests that the individual characteristics of applicants explain the differences between employers in their hiring preferences. More substantially, the few individual-level characteristics that we measure account for 23.2 percent of the *increase* in between-employer differences in the likelihood of whether a job applicant will be interviewed or offered a job. Given our finding that whites are the preferred job applicant in the food service sector, combined with Pager's (2007) conclusion that the food service and restaurant industry was more receptive to whites than blacks, this underscores the importance of organizational characteristics, even within a single low-wage employment sector, for understanding discrimination in hiring and its role in the persistence of racial inequality (Baron & Bielby, 1980; Tilly, 1998).

Employer survey

The impact of a criminal record on employment chances can best be judged in comparison to other factors that may be thought of as inhibiting the chances of being hired. In Table 7 below, we compare the responses of the employers we surveyed across a number of stigmatizing characteristics. We include five different characteristics of involvement with the criminal justice system: 1) ever arrested, 2) ever in jail, 3) ever in prison, 4) currently under supervision, including probation, and 5) on parole following release from prison. Although these are not scaled as to how employers consider the seriousness of such contact on job applicants' employment chances, they do represent increasing involvement in the criminal justice system. We compare these criminal justice outcomes with a number of background characteristics that previous research shows to be related to the chances of getting a job. Again, although these do not form a scale, they do represent incremental increases in the "stigma" or employment deficit involved (see Holzer, Raphael, & Stoll, 2006). These include: 1) a GED rather than a high school diploma, 2) a person who has been on welfare, 3) a person who has been in a government sponsored employment program, 4) a person who has been unemployed for the past six months or longer, and 5) a person with only short-term or part-time work experience.

Employers were given four response categories from "definitely would hire" to "probably would," "probably would not," and "definitely would not." We report the frequency of employers who responded as well as a mean. The values range from 1 (definitely would hire) to 4 (definitely would not hire) so that a higher value indicates a lower chance of being hired. A number of results are evident from examining employers' responses. Non-criminal justice employment deficits are much less important to employers than are criminal justice deficits. Although we do not examine the interaction between any two categories (e.g., having a GED and

being arrested), it is clear that having contact with the criminal justice system has a negative impact on employment chances. The lowest probabilities of getting the advertised job were found for individuals currently on parole (mean=2.8), on some other form of criminal justice supervision (mean=2.74), or who had ever served time in prison (mean=2.72). Recall that the résumés employers were asked to evaluate were matched on other characteristics and that employers were asked the importance of the specific characteristics identified in Table 8. Having any lifetime arrest dims the employment prospects more than any other employment-related characteristic. Given the large number of individuals arrested in the U.S. annually and the high lifetime prevalence of arrest (Brame, Turner, Paternoster, & Bushway, 2012), this is discouraging for those who become involved in the criminal justice system. The finding that even an arrest (whether it results in a conviction, jail or prison time) narrows employment prospects heightens the importance of diversion programs and reducing official reliance on the criminal justice system. Among the criminal justice indicators, being under criminal justice system supervision, including being on parole, elicited the greatest negative reactions from potential employers. This is particularly noteworthy because these employers were advertising for entry-level food service jobs, which are exactly the sort such individuals are steered toward. The modal category for individuals under criminal justice supervision or on parole from prison was ―Probably would not hire.‖ Job applicants who are on probation, currently on parole, or had ever been in prison were the most likely to be categorized by employers as ―Definitely Would Not‖ hire.

Table 8. Likelihood that Employer Would Hire Applicants with Various Background Characteristics[a]

	Definitely Would	Probably Would	Probably Would Not	Definitely Would Not	Mean[b]
Person who has a GED rather than a high school diploma	32	15	0	0	1.32
Person who is or has been on welfare	24	18	3	1	1.59
Person who has been in a government-sponsored employment assistance program	19	24	4	0	1.68
Person who has been unemployed for past six months or longer	14	24	9	0	1.89
Person with only short-term or part-time work experience	9	15	23	0	2.30
Person who has been arrested	4	25	14	4	2.38
Person who was ever in jail	4	22	16	4	2.43
Person who was ever in prison	3	17	16	10	2.72
Person currently under supervision of criminal justice system	3	14	21	8	2.74
Person currently on parole from prison	2	15	19	10	2.80

[a]Respondents were asked, "How likely would you accept [this particular type of applicant] for the position you advertised?"
[b]Definitely would =1; probably would = 2; probably would not =3; definitely would not = 4.

We next turn our attention to Table 9. This table displays the results of responses to the question of "redemption" that Blumstein and Nakamura (2009) have asked about how long it would take a former inmate to be out of prison before an employer would consider hiring them (see also Bushway, Nieuwbeerta, & Blokland, 2011; Kurlychek, Brame, & Bushway, 2006; 2007). More than one-third of employers reported that they would **never** hire an individual who had been released from prison for a violent crime (N=32) or property crime (N=17). Just over a quarter of all employers (N=13) reported that they would **never** hire an individual who had been released from prison for a drug crime. These results are particularly discouraging for a number of reasons. First, the single largest category of individuals released from prison is property and drug offenders. In the State of Arizona, they comprise 57% of parolees (Glaze & Bonczar, 2011) and,

nationally, account for 52% of all offenders under parole supervision (Maruschak & Parks, 2012). The fact that roughly one-third of employers indicate that they would never hire such individuals bodes poorly for the reentry of drug and property offenders into society. Second, the employers surveyed are within the food service industry--one of the job sectors targeted most heavily by returning offenders who are limited by their low skill sets and education (Visher, LaVigne, & Travis, 2004). Many jobs in the food service industry are located in the ―back of the house," such as dishwashers, cooks, food prep workers, and the like that are not visible to the customers in the restaurant. As such, these jobs are more likely to be places where employers may take a risk on a job applicant. Third, a large number of prisons offer employment and training in ―culinary arts," jobs that should transition to food service industry employment on the outside.

Table 9. Number of Years between Release from Prison and Hiring an Ex-Offender [a]

Type of Crime	Number of respondents who would never hire a job applicant who had been in prison for this crime		Mean number of years between release from prison and hiring		
	N	%	Mean	SD	Range
Violent crime	32	66.7	2.78	2.27	0-5
Drug crime	13	27.1	2.39	1.89	0-7
Property crime	17	35.4	2.92	3.10	0-15

[a]Respondents were asked, ―How long after release from prison would have to pass before you would hire someone who had been in prison" (for a violent crime, a drug crime, a property crime).

It is important to recall that the majority of employers indicated an unwillingness to hire applicants who had served time in prison. There were only minor differences between crime types in how long an employer would wait after an individual was released from prison before hiring him or her. Surprisingly, individual convicted of a property crime had the longest average period to wait (2.92 years) before employers would consider hiring them. These types of

offenders were followed closely by individuals convicted of violent crime (2.78 years) and drug crime (2.39 years). We suspect that concerns over shoplifting and employee theft produced the longer period of time for property offenders, particularly for the one respondent who said it would take fifteen years before he/she would consider hiring an inmate who had served time for a property offense.

Moving to Table 10, which displays the percentages of employers who indicated that, all things being equal, they would contact an applicant for an interview, highlights the deleterious effect of imprisonment on employment chances.[18] Here we have combined the "definitely" and "probably" categories for ease of displaying and interpreting the results. Although 87 percent of employers found that the résumé they were presented corresponded to a job applicant they would likely (i.e., definitely or probably) contact for an interview when there was no indication the job applicant had a criminal record, this figure dropped almost by half to 45.8% for those job applicants who had prison records. This confirms the strong impact that imprisonment has on employment chances, particularly at the critical first stage of being contacted for an interview. It goes without saying that, without the chance to interview or the opportunity to show the kind of work of which they are capable, ex-prisoners will not be offered a job.

The second panel in Table 10 shows the interaction of race/ethnicity and criminal record. For each racial/ethnic group, having a prison record negatively affects the chances of being called for a job interview. For whites, for example, 28.6% of employers said that they would call an individual who had served prison time for an interview. Contrary to expectations, among those who had serve time in person, both Hispanics (66.7%) and blacks (37.5%) were more likely to be called for an interview than whites. Since the résumés were identical, these

[18]The résumés presented to employers were identical. Prison record was randomly assigned to the resume given to employers.

unexpected findings may represent employers' attempt to provide socially desirable responses and display a lack of bias. An alternative explanation would be that blacks and Hispanics were perceived by employers as —better suited" for work in the food service industry, including a better likelihood of staying in the job because of their parole requirements and because their mobility within the job market would be limited because of their prison record. Nevertheless, the key finding from this data is that in every comparison, it does not matter whether you are white, black or Hispanic, even with an identical work and educational record, if you have been to prison your chances of being called for a job interview **compared to someone with an otherwise identical work and educational record** are lower.

Table 10. Respondent Would Contact Applicant for an Interview [a]

	Definitely/Probably Would		Definitely/Probably Would Not	
	N	%	N	%
Prior Prison*[b]				
Yes	11	45.8	13	54.2
No	20	87.0	3	13.0
Race/Ethnicity x Prior Prison*				
White, prison	2	28.6	5	71.4
White, no prison	6	75.0	2	25.0
Black, prison	3	37.5	5	62.5
Black, no prison	11	91.7	1	8.3
Hispanic, prison	6	66.7	3	33.3
Hispanic, no prison	3	100.0	0	0.0
Sex x Prior Prison*				
Male, prison	8	57.1	6	42.9
Male, no prison	13	86.7	2	15.3
Female, prison	3	30.0	7	70.0
Female, no prison	7	87.5	1	12.5

[a]The race, sex, and prior prison sentence were varied on the resumes that respondents evaluated. Respondents were asked to indicate how likely it was that they would contact the applicant for an interview, with responses of definitely would, probably would, probably would not, and definitely would not.

[b]Pearson chi-square; $p \leq .05$.

The lower third of Table 10 shows the interaction of sex with prior prison sentence. Here again, for both males and females, having a prison record deleteriously affects the chances of receiving a call for a job interview. The interesting result is the stronger effect of incarceration for women than for men. Whereas 57.1% of male job applicants with a prison record would have been called for a job interview, only 30% of women with the same prison record would have been called for an interview. This difference could reflect an additional "punishment" for women in that they violated employers' gendered role expectations. Put differently, women with a prison record are seen as having committed two offenses, one against the law and one against social expectations of how women are supposed to behave.

The literature that examines employment discrimination has found that race/ethnicity, sex, and serving prison time are associated with other attributes by employers that could affect ex-prisoners' chances of being hired. In Table 11 we examine several characteristics that could negatively influence perceptions of employability. In six of the 11 comparisons, job applicants who had served prison time were expected to be more likely to have problems than applicants without a prison record. The differences in all but four categories are negligible. Among employers who anticipated problems with absenteeism/tardiness, drug and alcohol issues, job-related skills, and relationships with other employees, ex-prisoners were at least 10 percent more likely to present these problems to employers than non-ex-prisoners. The imputation of these concerns to job applicants who disclose their prison history on their résumés suggests that ex-prisoners should be sure to address these four issues in their résumés or paper applications specifically or, alternatively, be prepared to address in some way these issues during the job interview. Indeed, these are likely concerns that employers have of ex-prisoners in general, not just of job applicants who indicate their prior incarceration on their application materials. Ex-

prisoners could go so far as to note their attendance records, job training, and ability to get along with other individuals and co-workers. Aside from ex-prisoners commenting on their drug and alcohol testing as a condition of supervision, it may be particularly important for individuals with a drug conviction to tell employers they received treatment services.

Table 11. Respondent Anticipates Problems with Applicant [a]

	Prior Prison		No Prior Prison	
	N	%	N	%
Absenteeism or tardiness	5	21.7	2	9.1
Transportation	3	13.0	4	18.2
Work ethic	5	21.7	5	22.7
Childcare	0	0.0	2	9.1
Drug/alcohol issues	6	26.1	2	9.1
Physical health	0	0.0	2	9.1
Mental health	3	13.0	1	4.5
Basic verbal, math or reading skills	1	4.3	2	9.1
Job-related skills	9	39.1	6	27.3
Relationships with customers	4	17.4	3	13.6
Relationships with other employees	3	13.0	1	4.8

[a]Percent of respondents who said that they did anticipate problems with the applicant whose resume they reviewed. The applicant's prior prison experience was varied on the resumes.

The final set of employer survey analyses examines the desirable characteristics that employers look for when 1) deciding to interview a job applicant and 2) make a hiring decision. The top panel of Table 12 examines the characteristics that would make an interview more likely and the bottom panel, the factors that increase the likelihood of being hired. In general, there are few differences between job applicants with a prison record and applicants without a prison record; however, there are some findings that stand out. The key characteristic enhancing the chance to interview with the employer was more experience in a similar position. This makes sense—employers want concrete evidence that the individual they are going to hire is capable of doing the job and nothing is stronger evidence than having performed that job before. That being the case, ex-prisoners may be in a difficult position to satisfy employers' expectations given their

overall difficulty in being hired. Ex-prisoners, then, should take great care in drafting résumés and application materials that draw a parallel between prior experiences and the current position they are applying for, explaining how their job history is similar to or related to the duties of the current job.

Table 12. Respondent Would Be More Likely to Interview/Hire Applicant with Other Characteristics

	Prior Prison		No Prior Prison	
Would be more likely to interview applicant with[a]	N	%	N	%
More recent work experience	11	52.4	12	54.5
More experience in a similar position	23	95.8	19	90.5
More training	12	54.5	11	52.4
More education	2	9.1	5	22.7
Would be more likely to hire applicant with[b]				
A good work ethic	20	87.0	23	100.0
Good overall dress and appearance	17	73.9	21	95.5
Good social skills	22	95.7	22	95.7
Good moral character	20	87.0	23	100.0

[a]Respondents who said they would be more likely to interview the applicant whose résumé they were reviewing if the applicant had these characteristics.
[b]Respondents who said they would be more likely to hire the applicant whose résumé they were reviewing if they were certain that the applicant had these characteristics.

The second panel of this table examines characteristics that employers value in the individuals they hire. All four of the characteristics received strong endorsement from employers. Although it may appear that in each case the characteristic was more highly endorsed for those without prior prison sentences, it is arguable that even if ex-prisoners had these characteristics, their employment prospects may not be salvageable. At the same time, employers place a value on non-job related attributes that, from an employers' perspective, are near impossible to discern from a résumé or paper job application. Having good social skills was rated as having the greatest impact on employers' willingness to hire ex-prisoners. This finding, again,

suggests that interpersonal skills should be highlighted on a résumé or job application materials, including a cover letter. Ex-prisoners should be coached on how to interview that includes not only mock interviews, but also prepares them for not only being able to discuss their job skills and history, but for the type of behaviors and body language that employers are looking for and can relate to.

Summary of Findings

We examined the effect of race/ethnicity and prison record on the employment chances of men and women. The analyses revealed important gender differences in entry-level job opportunities that are applied for using the online and in-person application processes. Beginning with the results of the correspondence test, where résumés were submitted to employers using internet job sites and email, there was no effect of race/ethnicity, prison record, or community college on men's success in advancing through the hiring process. In comparison, women's chances of receiving a favorable response to their résumés from employers were negatively impacted by race and prison record. Black women and women with a prison record were less likely to receive a positive reply from a hiring manager than white women or women without a history of incarceration.

Turning to the results from the audit, where matched testers were sent to apply for jobs in the food service industry, a major difference to emerge was related to the employment prospects of Hispanics. Specifically, Hispanic men were significantly less likely to receive a callback than matched white males. The opposite, however, was true for Hispanic women—Hispanic women's employment chances were significantly greater than matched white women's. While no significant difference between black and white women was detected during the course of the audit, a significant difference was found for black and white men. As expected from the existing

research, black men were significantly less likely to receive a callback from employers than white men. In addition, imprisonment was consequential for men's employment chances, as men who had a prison record were significantly less likely to be contacted by employers than men without a record. The same does not hold true for women, as we found no direct effect of incarceration on women's employment chances. There was, however, a marginally significant effect of a prison record on Hispanic women's job prospects.

Our analysis allowed us to also identify organizational and occupational mechanisms that explain differences in employment chances. Although these components of the "job world" were not our main focus, they were factors that had to be accounted for in order to estimate the effects of race/ethnicity, prison record, and education level on the job search process. Specifically, we found that the types of jobs applied for using online job sites matter. Not all entry-level jobs are "created equal" and job applicants with limited skill sets and little employment history do not have the same chance of success with every type of job. This goes for women as much as it does for men. Furthermore, even when looking at jobs within a single job sector, we found that differences between employers in the food service and restaurant industry explain a non-trivial proportion of the variation surrounding employment chances. In fact, the percent of the variation in women's employment chances explained by differences between employers was greater than the variation in men's employment that was explained by the same.

To better understand ex-prisoners' employment opportunities--and barriers—we surveyed hiring managers in the food service establishments that were audited by testers. Compared to different types of stigmatized job applicants, including welfare recipients, the short-term unemployed, and those with only short-term and part-time work histories, applicants with criminal justice system involvement were seen as the least likely to be hired by employers.

Respondents reported that applicants who have ever been in prison or are currently on parole or probation would be the least likely to be hired. When employers were asked about whether they would hire ex-prisoners who had different types of crimes on their records, the prospects were lowest for applicants with a violent crime, followed by applicants who had served time in prison for a property offense, and last by applicants with a drug crime. Among the employers who said that they would hire ex-prisoners, they indicated that applicants with a property crime have nearly three years out before they could be considered for employment, which was the longest amount of time between release and hiring among the three crime types.

Employers were also asked about the employability of a hypothetical job applicant. Hypothetical job applicants were presented to employers through fictitious résumés that were identical to the résumés used in the correspondence test and audit. The résumés were the same in terms of the job applicants' skills and work history except that the race/ethnicity, sex, and prison record were randomly assigned to the résumés shown to employers. Employers expressed a clear avoidance of interviewing applicants with a prison record. When asked about the problems they anticipated from applicants with a criminal record, employers identified absenteeism/tardiness, drug/alcohol issues, and relationship with other employers. In addition, among ex-prisoners reentering the job market, employers place a greater emphasis on prior experience as increasing interview chances. Meeting this expectation from employers might be difficult for ex-prisoners given that incarceration erodes their already limited human capital. Our findings provide strong evidence of the negative effect of incarceration on employment chances.

Policy Considerations

Prior research has found substantial effects of race/ethnicity and imprisonment on the prospects for employment. Building on this research, we conducted three tests examining the

impact of race/ethnicity, sex, and incarceration on the likelihood of advancing through the hiring process. First, we submitted 6,198 applications for 521 different jobs over the internet using the online job application process. In this process, we used identical résumés that varied only by race/ethnicity and sex, resulting in six pairs of applicants matched on gender and race/ethnicity. The second part of our experiment sent six matched pairs of job applicants (testers) to apply for jobs in person. Our interest in employing the two methods was to determine whether method of application produced different effects for race/ethnicity, prior imprisonment, or the combination of race/ethnicity and prior imprisonment. The third component of our study involved surveying the 48 employers where our in person testers had applied. In addition to general questions about factors that would affect the chances of gaining an interview and being hired, we presented each employer with a fictitious résumé for a hypothetical job applicant to elicit the employer's opinion of the suitability of the applicant for employment.

Based on the results of these three experiments, we developed a series of policy considerations that focus directly on the employment search and hiring of individuals who have been to prison. We divide our policy recommendations into three categories: 1) the role of the internet in applying for a job, 2) issues regarding the job interview, job training and preparation for work, and 3) expanding social capital for former inmates.

The Role of the Internet in Applying for a Job

There can be no doubt that Americans spend a large proportion of their lives in online environments. This is even true of the search for entry-level jobs, where much of the employment opportunities can be found. Indeed, websites such as *Craigslist* or CareerBuilder serve as a sort of electronic ―classified ad pages" In many cases, especially for entry-level positions, online listings are the only place that job announcements can be found. Thus, the

traditional means of looking at help wanted ads in the newspaper or other print mechanisms have largely been replaced by getting on the internet and searching online.

Due to this shift in how jobs are advertised, it is imperative that individuals returning to society from prison have access to computers and skills in using the internet. If they lack such skills, they will not learn about available jobs that match their experience and qualifications and they will not be able to apply for these jobs. However, facility in using the internet is not the only computer-related skill that former prison inmates must master. They must have email accounts and be familiar with the process of using search engines, logging into secure accounts, attaching documents, filling out electronic forms, and downloading (or uploading) relevant information. No matter how well qualified they may be, and no matter how strong their letters of reference are, if ex-prisoners cannot do these things they cannot gain employment. The online platform for job applications also means that potential job applicants must have some ability in using word processing software, so that they can format a résumé and create a cover letter.

It is our recommendation that this process begin before release, so that former inmates are ready to begin applying as soon as possible after release rather than waiting for computer training courses that may have long waiting lists or be unavailable in their areas. We also recommend that every inmate should leave prison with copies of a generic cover letter and résumé that details their work experience, qualifications and skills, and a contact address. Starting this process before release, and, therefore, making it an integral part of the re-entry process, reinforces the importance of employment, including the job search and application processes. One consequence of the virtual world of job applications is that it is as easy to apply for one job as it is to apply for dozens of jobs. Customizing cover letters and résumés is important in this context. This also means that former inmates will face more competition (in

terms of the number of applicants pursuing the same opportunities) than in the past and should be prepared to submit a large number of job applications.

The Job Interview, Job Training, and Preparation for Work

We combine issues related to the job application process and preparation for work in large part because we believe that integrating them makes sense both for the applicant and those who do the training. Much of the advice we offer here is consistent with best practices in applying and training for jobs and preparing for work for all job applicants. These insights are particularly relevant for former prison inmates given the challenges they face in finding employment, a conclusion reached by our work.

Training for a job interview is critical, particularly for former inmates. The ―typical" forms of preparation are important. These include practicing interviewing, carefully preparing and proofreading a cover letter and résumé, as well as paying careful attention to the appropriate dress, tone of responses, demeanor, and body language. Former inmates have an additional challenge in preparing for an interview: They must be prepared to explain and account for their time in prison and employment gap(s). Before our testers applied for jobs, they were given considerable training on the appropriate way to account for their prison time (see Appendix X of this report for the testers' training manual).

We have several recommendations for those who prepare former inmates for the job application process. First, we believe that it is important to honestly account for the time in prison on the résumé. Employers eventually will learn that an applicant has served time in prison; this is particularly true in states where a background check is required for employment or in states where inmate information is available on the department of corrections website. In addition to acknowledging prison time, it is important that former inmates have a ―narrative" to

describe what they are doing to change their lives post-incarceration. Maruna (2001) emphasizes the importance of ―redemption scripts," in which former prisoners acknowledge the factors that led to their criminality and articulate how the prison experience has made them stronger and better able to contribute to society. We believe that ―re-entry" scripts are equally important. In our minds, a ―re-entry script" acknowledges responsibility for the past and demonstrates a commitment to change. This script also includes a series of statements about the break with one's past and the concrete actions taken to move beyond the relationships, behaviors, and contexts that caused an individual to violate the law. Many of the employers in the second (in-person experiment) and third (employer survey) components of our project acknowledged that individuals can make mistakes and deserve a second chance. Indeed, a number of employers told job applicants with prison records that a relative or friend—and in some cases an employee—had a prison record. Providing the right amount of detail, but not too much, seems important in this context. Many employers expressed concern that former inmates will be more likely than those who have not been incarcerated to be involved in employee theft, late for work, and unreliable. Being prepared to counter these concerns with a clearly articulated ―re-entry script" is important.

A reality of the job application process—particularly for competitive entry-level positions—is that most interviews do not result in a job offer. This, coupled with the fact that the odds of being hired are lower for former inmates than for members of the general population, means that former inmates must understand and be prepared to deal with the fact that rejection and disappointment are common features of the job application process. During the process of applying for jobs, the majority of our testers reported that they were angry or disappointed with how they were treated once employers found out that they had been in prison. The level of disappointment with the interview process was greatest among our African-American and

Hispanic testers, who found that whether they were in the prison condition or not, they were unlikely to be offered an interview or a job.

It is important that former inmates, whose employment chances are lower simply by virtue of their incarceration, are able to move on from that disappointment and prepare for the next interview or submit the next application. Many of our testers in the prison condition reported that when a prospective employer reached the part of the résumé that indicated that the applicant had been in prison, the employer stopped reading and either indicated that the position had been filled or that they would ~~"b~~e in touch" when the reality was that the tester would not be receiving callback. In the end, appearing in-person to apply for job and potentially interviewing on the spot is either the first step in employment (particularly in the food service industry) or the culmination of a selection process that began with an online application. Practicing the skills that will enhance their chances of employment and being able to move beyond the inevitable rejection and disappointment that they will experience in the process of applying for jobs is a key for success.

In the area of specific job training, we believe that most of this should take place before release. The accumulation of certificates, diplomas, and other documents demonstrating completion of training, workshops, or seminars is important. Employers often told us that they were looking for evidence of training or experience specific to the employment opportunity that was advertised. Successful prior work experience is critical and should be enumerated clearly on a résumé. It also is important to demonstrate, through the cover letter, the link between prior work experience, certificates, and training and the job being applied for. Employers almost always asked our testers about their previous experience and what they could bring to the position they were applying to. During the survey, employers made clear that ex-prisoners' chances of interview was better if they prior experience in a similar position Rather than

assuming a job applicant will be able to discuss this link during a conversation, employers need to see this evidence and the link between prior jobs held and the current position on a résumé and/or in a cover letter.

Most inmates have been out of the labor force for several years. This means that as the workplace environment has changed, often in ways involving technology, they have been left behind. As a consequence, preparing former inmates for the ―new" workplace, including the place of computers, is critical. But job training has one more essential task; it must create the ―habits of work." In their ethnographic work with burglars, Wright and Decker (1994) report that many offenders indicated that they would not mind working, but that they were not willing to take orders, show up on time, stay at work past a certain hour, and wait two weeks to be paid. These are all part of what work entails. At the same time, many former inmates did not have stellar work habits before incarceration and prison is a place where there often is not much room for improvement in these habits of work.

It is equally important that former inmates be prepared to start working. As is the case with our recommendation about job training, we believe the process of preparing for work should begin before release from prison. This stage of the process includes such things as: acquiring a driver's license or state identification card, getting a valid Social Security Number and card, setting up an email address, securing an address for mail upon release, compiling the information needed for and creating a résumé, setting up a bank account, and being prepared for going through the Internal Revenue Service's employment verification process. Waiting to deal with these processes until release only delays an already time-consuming process. In many states, these are already part of the re-entry process.

Expanding Social Capital for Former Inmates

The importance of establishing and maintaining non-criminal contacts cannot be over-stressed. –Who you know" is often more important than –what you know" and many former inmates have a limited set of relationships with non-criminal contacts. Such contacts can include family members, but are best expanded beyond the network of family to former employers, former co-workers, parole officers and social service providers, and acquaintances who do not have criminal records. Such individuals may, of course, serve as references on job applications in either professional or personal capacities. But, perhaps more importantly, they can serve as a network for potential job openings. Expanding this network is important, especially in the days immediately after release from prison. There are electronic means for doing so; *LinkedIn* is one example, as is *Facebook*, but these are yet another reminder of the importance of being internet savvy. Re-connecting with the non-criminal past is important against this background. Still, virtual relationships are often not a perfect substitute for in-person relationships. To the extent that the internet provides a way to reconnect with their non-criminal contacts allows former prisoners not only the chance to informally learn of employment opportunities, but may also be useful testing grounds for re-establishing the process and practice of inter-personal relationships. The key point here is for ex-offenders to explore as many possibilities for enhancing their current contacts and expanding their networks. Such relationships–social capital–can help inform them of job opportunities, provide them with references, and assist in other aspects of the process of finding jobs, interviewing and securing employment. This can be done in both online and in-person environments. Given the challenges faced by former prisoners, they should explore all options.

We conclude with three additional comments. There are many "Ban the Box" movements at both the state and local levels that are working to eliminate the checkbox on job applications where applicants are asked to indicate prior felony convictions. Clearly, such efforts tone down ex-prisoners' anxiety surrounding the application process and increases the number of employment possibilities that former inmates can pursue. We support such steps, particularly when the work is not related to the type of crime(s) found on an individual's conviction record. While these legal movements are a step in the right direction, waiting for "ban the box" proposals to go through the legislation process is of no help to the tens of thousands of former inmates who are currently looking for work.

We conclude by reinforcing that it is important that former inmates have realistic expectations about the kinds of jobs for which they are qualified and for which they can honestly compete against other applicants who are applying without a history of imprisonment. Our results indicate that employers' expectations are different for job applicants with a criminal record than for those who do not have a record. If an applicant has a prison record, employers are looking for experience that is directly related to the position for which they are applying. This suggests that there is an additional hurdle that former inmates may face compared to those without a prison sentence. Although asking for more job experience from a formerly incarcerated applicant may be appropriate for employers who want to ensure that the individuals they hire are capable and dependable, doing so clearly disadvantages former inmates. This suggests that there is an inherent "Catch-22" in the job application process—employers expect former inmates to have more substantial work histories and more work that is more directly related to the job being advertised, but those who have been incarcerated for any length of time will not have had the opportunity to accumulate these experiences. We believe that the existence of this "higher bar"

has implications for advising ex-prisoners about the jobs they should apply for given their skills and qualifications. Job counselors will have to work with former inmates to present their previous work-related experiences in such a way that convinces employers that they actually have what it takes to do the job.

Limitations

There are several limitations to our study. The first is the sample sizes for the correspondence and audit studies. The addition of women and Hispanics to the study design increased the number of ~~c~~ells" from four (Pager's original design) to twelve, necessitating an increase in sample size. The costs (fiscal, personnel and management) prohibited us from increasing our sample sizes beyond what they currently are. A second limitation is the state of the economy in Arizona at the time of our study. The state experienced record unemployment during the first correspondence study (Summer 2011) and led us to conduct correspondence studies in 2012. Our call back rates were low, making it difficult to detect statistical differences. The nature of the job market in metropolitan Phoenix must also be noted. The Phoenix economy is heavily dependent on seasonal work that serves tourism. This is a different job market than Milwaukee or New York, the site of Pager's work. Perhaps the differences found that favor Hispanics women reflect the heavy involvement of this group in that seasonal labor market. Another limitation is that we did not vary type of criminal record and limited our testers to a drug conviction. While this would have necessitated increasing the sample size (doubling for every offense added) it would have been an interesting approach, one we recommend for the next large scale employment audit. It may also be the case that the negative effects of a record decay over time, another aspect of the influence of a criminal record that should be tested in the future.

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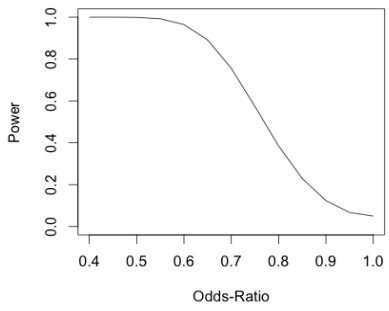
Appendix A. Power Analysis

The power analysis for this study was based on two key pieces of information from previous employer audits. First, the literature suggested that the baseline rate of a favorable outcome was about 24 percent (Pager, 2003). Second, we reduced the 60 percent reduction in a favorable outcome observed for black males compared to white males (34 vs. 17 percent, or an odds ratio of about 0.4) to a smaller effect of a 35 percent reduction (or an odds ratio of 0.65).

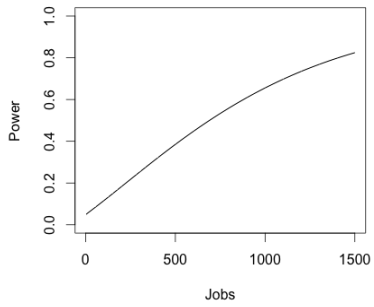
Since the correspondence and audit data are nested, we needed to conduct a power analysis for person (i.e., job applicant) outcomes that are grouped by dimensions of the job seeking process (e.g., job type or employer) and by dimensions of the research methods used to conduct this study (i.e., résumés and testers). Based on the work of Spyrbook and Raudenbush (2006), we used an R program to compute the power given alpha, the odds ratio, the number of jobs (J), the number of cases per job (n), the variance of the effect across jobs (nu2), and the baseline rate (pr).

An important issue is that power not only depends on the size of the effect, but it also depends on the base response rate. As that rate moves towards 0 or 1, the variance inflates dramatically and reduces power to detect any effect. Given what we thought, we planned to send six résumés to 100 jobs. With an expected effect of 0.65 and a base rate of 24 percent, this design had adequate power.



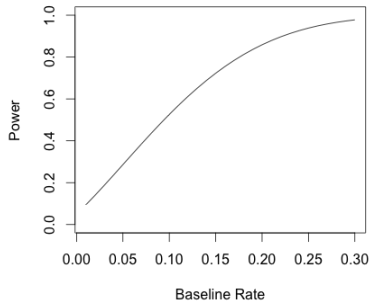
But, as we observed after completing the first correspondence test in summer 2011, our base rate was actually seven percent, so our power was actually 0.29.

As a result to this reanalysis of our power, we increased the sample size to 500 jobs, assuming that would improve our ability to detect differences.



At the same time, the effect was smaller than we thought it would be and the odds ratio was closer to 0.80 and the power was insufficient given these observed parameters.

In sum, an observed odds ratio would need to be at least 0.68 (a 32 percent reduction in the odds of a favorable outcome) to get 0.8 power. The alternatives are a) we would have needed to apply to 1,400 jobs to detect an odds ratio of 0.80 (a 20 percent reduction in the odds of a favorable outcome) or b) the baseline rate of favorable responses would have needed to be 18 percent.



Appendix B. Analytic Strategy

For both the online correspondence test and the in-person audit, *the set of i* $\in\{1, 2, 3...N\}$ observations are grouped together in two ways. One group consists of the $j \in\{1, 2, 3...J\}$ types of jobs, in the case of the correspondence test, or employers, in the case of the audit. The second group $k \in\{1, 2, 3...K\}$ consists of the résumés that were submitted online to employers or of the testers that were sent to apply with employers. Using the correspondence test as an example, applicants are nested within both résumés and job types, but résumés are not nested in jobs nor are jobs nested within résumés. The unconditional model for the likelihood of a favorable outcome is a generalized cross-classified random effects (CCRE) model where the log-odds of a positive outcome for observation *i* with job type *j* and resume *k* is:

$$\ln\left(\frac{\Pr\left(y_{ijk}=1\right)}{\Pr\left(y_{ijk}=0\right)}\right)=\gamma+f_j+k_k$$

where γ is the average of each cell's average log odds of a call back, f_j is the random effect of job type and k_k is the random effect of the resume. The model produces estimates of the two variance components, job type and resume effects: $\sigma^2_{JOB}=\mathrm{var}\left(f_j\right)$ and $\sigma^2_{RESUME}=\mathrm{var}\left(k_k\right)$. The typical "level-1" variance is approximated with a linearization method where the intercept, γ, is transformed into a probability, p, and the variance is estimated with the reciprocal of p*(1-p) (Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002):

$$\sigma^2_c\approx\left(\frac{e^{\gamma}}{1+e^{\gamma}}\times\left(1-\frac{e^{\gamma}}{1+e^{\gamma}}\right)\right)^{-1}$$

Accordingly, the CCRE models we estimate using the correspondence test and audit data separates the variation in the likelihood of a favorable response from an employer between

applicant-level characteristics, job type or employer, and the effect of the résumé and tester themselves. Variation in the outcome has three sources, one source at level-1 and two sources at level-2.

Because the outcome is binary—whether a favorable response is received or not—we use a CCRE generalized linear model that estimates the random effect parameters for the level-2 variables (e.g., job types and résumé), with the random variance component associated with the individual-level (level-1) predictors assumed to be a direct product of the probability of the outcome (Snijders & Bosker, 1999).

We also estimate the effectiveness of our predictors in explaining variance using proportional reduction in variance (PRE) estimates, also conceptualized as R^2 scores which are equal to the proportion reduction in the variance components from the unconditional model to the conditional model:

$$PRE(s^2) = \frac{s^2 - s_*^2}{s^2}$$

where s^2 is the variance component from the unconditional model and s_*^2 is the variance component from the model with predictors. With these parameters we can also estimate the variance portioning coefficient (Goldstein, Browne, & Rasbash, 2002) to approximate the proportion of variance that originates for the three sources. For example, the formula for the amount of variance associated with job type is:

$$VPC_{JOB} = \frac{s_{JOB}^2}{s_{JOB}^2 + s_{RESUME}^2 + s_C^2}$$

Appendix C. Sample Résumés

Jermaine Booker
901 E. Van Buren
Phoenix, AZ 85006
(602) 469-0348
Jermaine.Booker7@yahoo.com

Objective	
To bring to your organization a valuable skill set that I obtained through previous work experience and that will meet your current employment needs.	
Skills	
Communication Has in-person, telephone, and written communication skills *Computer* Has experience using computers and cash registers *Customer Service* Has interest in helping customers and meets customer's needs by learning about their needs and fitting services and products to their needs *Organization* Has multitasking and prioritizing skills *Team Player* Can adapt to changes in management needs and works with co-workers to meet daily goals	
Employment History	
Phoenix Painter, Inc. *Labor Assistant*	6/2006 to 4/2007
Assisted in interior and exterior paint jobs for commercial and residential customers, including preparing job site and surfaces, applying primer and paint, touching-up surfaces, returning job to normal operations for customer, and performing related work.	
Olive Garden *Server*	4/2007 to 4/2008
Served customers, including taking their food and drink orders, ensured the diners' satisfaction with their experience, accurately handled cash and processed transactions, and provided related assistance when necessary.	
Smart and Final *Sales Associate*	4/2008 to 6/2009
Provided frontend service, including cashier duties, stocking sales floor, and maintaining a clean and welcoming environment for customers.	
Arizona State Prison Complex, Tucson *Laundry Crew*	6/2011 to 12/2011
Was responsible for washing, drying, folding, and sorting clothing and linens for a large number of people.	
Education	
Diploma Central High School	 5/2006

References Available Upon Request

2920 E. Osborn Rd., Phoenix, AZ 85016•(602) 469-0675•meredith.schroeder@yahoo.com

Meredith Schroeder

Objective

To be given the opportunity to use the employment skills I have gained through prior work experience while also developing new work-related skills.

Skills

Team Oriented Skills
Works with managers and other workplace associates to achieve daily operational goals.

Computer Skills
Familiar and comfortable with Word and Excel computer programs.
Knows how to use cash registers and can quickly learn new sales systems.
Organizational and Time Management Skills
Effectively multitasks.
Appropriately prioritizes.

Customer Service Skills
Assesses and exceeds customer needs.
Communicate effectively with customers face-to-face, over the phone, and through writing.

Employment History

06/2007 to 09/2008 **Hampton Inn**
Guest Service Representative
Responsible for welcoming and serving guests upon arrival, as well as fulfilling and taking reservations both in-person and over the phone.

03/2009 to 02/2010 **Subway**
Sandwich Artist
Assisted with preparing fresh ingredients, sandwich orders, as well as maintaining the overall presentation of the store.

08/2010 to 12/2011 **Papago Painting Enterprises, LLC**
Painter
Assisted with the overall preparation, mixing, and application of paint, as well as with cleaning up painting sites.

Education

May 2006	Central High School High School Diploma
May 2009	Phoenix College AAS in General Business

References Available Upon Request

Appendix D. Training Manual for Testers

TESTER TRAINING MANUAL

Criminal Stigma, Race and Employment:
An Expanded Assessment of the Consequences of Imprisonment for Employment

Funded by the National Institute of Justice

School of Criminology and Criminal Justice

Arizona State University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. PROJECT ABSTRACT

Prison populations in the US have shown unprecedented growth over the past three decades. There are over 1.5 million persons in prison, and over 800,000 serving terms of parole. The growth and magnitude of these populations has created a number of challenges for the criminal justice system and federal, state and local governments. One of the key challenges is prisoner re-entry, as more than 90% of all incarcerated individuals return to society. Indeed, over 600,000 prisoners are released each year. A key feature of successful (crime free) return to society is employment. Parolees are more likely to refrain from crime and observe the conditions of their release more successfully if they are employed. But prior research shows that the majority of prisoners – particularly Blacks and Hispanics – face significant employment hurdles.

We propose to conduct research on the barriers faced by returning prisoners in gaining employment. Our research builds on earlier work by Pager (2003; 2009) that used a randomized employment audit procedure. Pager's work showed that both black and white males with prison records were less likely to receive job callbacks than their counterparts matched by race who did not have a record. Her results indicate that a criminal record carries considerable stigma, but that race matters more in finding employment.

II. PURPOSE AND GOALS

The purpose of this study is to develop a broader understanding of the ways that race/ethnicity and sex interact with a prior criminal record to affect individuals' employment prospects. We propose to do this by conducting a replication and extension of Pager's prior work on "The Mark of a Criminal Record" (Pager, 2003; 2009). Pager found that serving a prison sentence had a negative effect on finding a job. She also found, however, that the effect of race trumped prison experience, as whites who had served time in prison fared better than matched Blacks with no prison term.

The goal of this study is to identify the effect of a prior prison sentence on employment prospects and to determine whether the effect of a prior prison sentence varies by race/ethnicity and sex. Using an experimental design modeled on Pager's (2003; 2009) innovative work, we assess whether job applicants[1] matched by race/ethnicity (Black, Hispanic, White), sex (female, male), and prior record (prior prison term, no prior prison term) receive a call back from a potential employer.

III. THE PROPOSED STUDY

This study replicates and extends Pager's (2003, 2009) work examining the effect of a criminal record on the employment outcomes of Black and white male ex-offenders. Using an experimental design similar to that used in earlier audit studies, we explore the direct and indirect effects of race/ethnicity, sex, and criminal history on employment outcomes.

III.1. Design

[1] Sometimes referred to as testers or auditors.

There will be six pairs of job seekers, matched on race/ethnicity and gender (i.e., white male/black male; white male/Hispanic male; black male/Hispanic male; white female/black female; white female/Hispanic female; black female/Hispanic female). We then will randomly vary prior criminal record between members of each pair across job applications. These pairs will also be matched on physical appearance, including physical stature, complexion, hairstyle, style of dress, age, accent and presentation of self. They will each have résumés that are as nearly identical as possible, including area of residence, length of time in Phoenix, education and employment experience. The only difference will be for those who have served prison time and those who have not. The average length of stay for minimum security classification offenses in the Arizona Department of Corrections is 3.31 years, and we will have our subjects with prior prison experience indicate that they were sentenced to prison for three years. Arizona law requires that offenders serve 85 percent of their sentence before they are released on community supervision.

Building on Pager's work, and that of other employment audit studies, we will assign the testers in our experiment to apply to for as many as 100 jobs in person. If following the first 100 applications by the black and Hispanic testers there appears to be insufficient power or effect size, we will increase the number of applications accordingly. Scripts will be developed for each tester that will include an explicit statement that "I have not been to prison" or "I was recently released from prison." as appropriate. Each tester will use their own name, home address, and Social Security Number (if needed by the employer during the application process). We will provide a contact phone number and email address that has been set up specifically for this project.

Consistent with Pager's strategy (2003), each auditor will complete a narrative when they return from the application process that notes comments made about criminal record, race or gender. As Pager notes (2003, 959) several black testers were asked about criminal history before submitting their résumés, a practice that none of the white applicants experienced. This practice underscores the difficulty faced by black job applicants (and in some of the audit methodology research for Hispanic testers as well) for whom prior criminal record is assumed.

IV. JOB APPLICANT GUIDELINES

The basic design of this experimental employment audit involves sending matched pairs of individuals (called testers) to apply for real job openings to see whether employers respond differently to applicants on the basis of selected characteristics. The following job applicant guidelines are designed to prepare you for an in-person interview with your prospective employer. Because we require consistency across all applicants, we have identified a few domains—behavioral, verbal, and situational—with specific guidelines and standard responses so that each applicant has a similar response and demeanor.

IV.1. Demeanor

Your demeanor during your interview should convey confidence and competence, and that you are interested in the position. Be on time or slightly early and do not bring anyone with you to the interview. The following are suggestions on what your behavior should resemble:

IV.1.a. Greeting

- Upon meeting your employer, extend your hand first prior to introducing yourself.
- Maintain a firm grasp for a few seconds.
- Smile when shaking employer's hand.

IV.1.b Seat Position

- Have good posture with back straight.
- Both men and women should cross their legs while seated.
- If seated in a chair with arm rests, rest your arms on the arms rests and fold your hands.
- If no arm rests, fold your hands and keep them in your lap.
- If standing, keep both feet on the ground and fold your hands.
- Do not cross your arms.

IV.1.c. Eye Contact

- Maintain good, frequent eye contact.
- Do not gaze at other objects.
- Do not blink excessively.
- Keep your head positioned upright.

IV.1.d. Tone and Speech

- Speak with a convincing, confident tone.
- Do not raise your voice.
- No sarcasm or joking.
- Do not use slang.
- Do not talk on or glance at your cell phone or text, or read text messages.
- Turn cell phone off.

IV.1.e. Gestures

- Nod your head when in agreement.
- Do not interview with hands.
- No fidgeting or restless movements such as constantly moving in chair or frequent laughter.

IV.2. Physical Appearance and Dress

Your physical appearance should be appropriate, clean, and limited to only that which is necessary. Business attire should be worn and any items not listed here require approval.

IV.2.a. Hair and Face

- Both men and women's hair should not block their faces.
- Hairstyle and hair color is open so long as it is typical and appropriate for an interview—no Mohawks or blue hair dye, for example.
- No non-prescription eyeglasses or sunglasses, or non-natural-colored eye contacts.
- Moustaches, goatees, and sideburns are acceptable, but not excessively long beards.
- Hoop, dangle, other distracting earring styles, and other piercings (e.g., nose rings; eyebrow rings) are not acceptable.
- Makeup should be limited and not include bright colors.

IV.2.b. Dress Attire

- Both men and women should wear a long sleeve, buttoned, collared shirt with the top button unbuttoned and the collar folded, not extending above neck.
- Sleeves should not be rolled up.
- Shirt color should be white, black, or blue.
- No designs on shirt.
- No hats
- A watch is an acceptable accessory, but no other jewelry.
- Shirts need to be tucked into pants.
- A plain, neutral-colored belt should be worn without any designs, large buckle, or added material.
- Khaki pants or dark colored slacks should be worn.
- No open toe shoes.
- Black or brown shoes are required.
- If wearing high heels, heel cannot be higher than 3 inches.
- Clothes should be the right size and not excessively tight or loose.

IV.2.c. Hygiene-Related Issues

- Brush teeth prior to interview.
- Men: Fingernails must be cut short.
- Women: If have long fingernails, no bright colors or excessive length or designs.
- Body sprays and fragrances should not be used.
- Do not chew gum, candy, or have any other food or item in your mouth.
- Do not smell like smoke or drink alcohol prior to interview.

IV.3. Communication During Application/Interview

Upon meeting your prospective employer, you should greet and introduce yourself, and engage in brief dialogue. There are two areas that are relevant to communicating with your employer: initial interaction and potential interview questions (i.e., frequently asked questions).

IV.3.a. Initial Interaction

Upon entering the office/facility, ask for the hiring manager or if she/he is unavailable or not present, ask for the individual in charge of hiring and state that you have an interview with that person. When you meet the hiring manager, greet him/her as Mr./Mrs., if name is available. Then, greet the employer and introduce yourself by your first and last name.

During the interview, wait for the employer to speak and then answer the question; do not interrupt. Answer the interview question that was asked and keep your responses brief. If you do not have an immediate answer, pause, take a deep breath, think about question, and then respond.

Do not use vulgar or inappropriate language and do not initiate a laugh or laughing scenario. When the interview session ends, thank the employer and shake his/her hand. If appropriate, ask: When can I expect to hear back from you?

IV.3.b. Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ)

The following is list of questions that potentially could be asked during the course of your interview/interaction with the prospective employer. We have organized these questions into two areas: crime-specific and general employment questions. It is important that you use the standard responses provided here when asked a question, as responses need to be consistent across testers/interviewees. We realize that we cannot anticipate every question that you might be asked and in the event that you are asked a question not listed here, you should use the responses as a guide. If this occurs, you should note the question(s) and your response(s) in your post-application/interview narrative (to be explained in the next section). Also, you should have background information on your prospective employer and the job for which you are applying so, if needed, you can tailor your responses to that specific employer.

IV.3.b.1. Crime-Specific

- Tell me about your crime/conviction.

  I served time for a drug conviction. I made a big mistake in my life and I'm looking to move on.

- Why did you commit your crime?

  At the time it was easy money and I thought I didn't have good opportunities.

- Were you on drugs?

  No, I was never one to use.

- Have you learned from it?

  Yes, I now realize that selling drugs isn't the way to go and I've harmed a lot of people. I take responsibility for what I did and I don't blame anyone else. I want to change and I've learned that getting a real job is the right next step.

- What do you think about your victim?

  I know selling drugs has harmed a lot of people and I regret doing it.

- What kind of felony?

  It was a class 2 felony, possession of drugs for sale.

- Do I have to do anything to report your progress or talk with anyone?

  No, but my parole officer might contact you to see how I'm doing.

- What kind of work did you do in prison?

  I worked all kind of different jobs, but my last job in prison was _____ (indicated on résumé).

- What are your probation/parole requirements?

  I just need to keep on the straight and narrow, and stay employed.

- Were your offenses related to your job?

  No, I've never had any problems with any of my jobs.

- Anything you cannot legally do?

  No, I'm not prevented from doing any type of work.

- Can you be around kids, women?

  Yes, my crime was drugs, it had nothing to do with crimes against women or children.

- Did your crime relate to money?

  No, I didn't steal or rob anyone.

- Is this your first felony?

  Yes, I'm a first-time offender.

- Are you in a gang?

  No, I'm not involved in any of that.

- Do you have classes or reporting that would interfere with the job?

  No, I just occasionally need to report to my parole officer.

- How long were you incarcerated?

  (X) months

- What did they give you upon release?

  They gave me back my belongings, some gate money, and a bus ticket.

- What happened in prison? What was in like in prison?

  There are a lot of rules and you your entire day is structured. As long as you don't bother anybody, you're pretty much okay.

- What programs did you participate in?

  I participated in drug treatment programs and took some classes.

- Do you have any references? Can I call your references?

  Yes, you can contact my parole officer.

IV.3.b.2. General Employment Suitability

- Why should I hire you? Tell me about your skills/talents/strengths. What do you bring to this company that others do not? What are 3 positive things others would say about you?

  I'm dependable, pay attention to detail, trustworthy, and a fast learner.

- What are your weaknesses?

  I ask a lot of questions to make sure I'm doing the job right.

- Why did you apply here? What interests you about the job? Why do you think you are suitable for this position?

  (This response will depend on the employer and the job. The important thing to highlight will be that you have the skills to do the job well).

- Tell me about your work history/experience.

  (This answer will depend on the work history/experience detailed on the résumé).

- Why is there a gap in your employment history?

  My hours were cut-back to the point where I was hardly working, so I left so that I could find another job.
  There was a change in management and they hired a new staff.

- What is a challenging situation that you have encountered and how did you deal with it?

  One example was when I was working and a customer was upset with the service and started yelling at me. I asked him to calm down so I could help him, but he kept yelling. I told him I could help him if he calmed down and I got the manager. I didn't take it personally.

- Where do you see yourself in 3 years? What are your goals?

  I'd like to see myself here in 3 years, advancing in this position.

- Do you work better in a group or by yourself? Why?

  I feel comfortable working independently or with others. It depends on the task.

- Do you have any issues with completing tasks that are not in your job description? If you had to complete a job task that required staying late, what would you do?

  I'm willing to do whatever takes to help the company.

- If you had a problem with your co-workers or supervisors, how would you resolve it? What would you do you if someone was not ―pulling their weight" on a job?

  I'd first tell them what the problem was and then see if we could figure out the best way to solve it so we'd both at least get along.

- What would you do if you disagreed with a something I told you to do?

  I would just ask you to explain and tell you my concerns.

- Do you have a problem with business attire or our dress code?

  No, I don't have a problem with it and have the appropriate clothes.

- Is there anything you will be unable to do, physically or because of kids?

  No, I don't have kids and can do manual labor.

- Do you have license and/or transportation?

  Yes, I have license and will have no problem getting to and from work.

- What do you expect from your supervisor?

  I expect honesty and fairness.

- What did you like the most/least about your last job?

  I liked working independently, but would've liked a little more guidance.

- If you did not understand a task, what would you do?

  I would ask my co-workers and if I still didn't understand, I'd ask my boss.

- If you found out that someone was committing a crime against the company, what would you do?

  I'd immediately tell my supervisor because I've been in prison and now know the difference between right and wrong.

- What if you come into contact with an irate customer/client?

  I'd ask them to tell me their concern and try to solve it. If I wasn't able to help them, I'd get my supervisor. No reason to argue with them.

IV.4. POST-APPLICATION/POST-INTERVIEW

Immediately following the completion of each job application and/or interview, you will be required to fill out a form that asks several questions about your experience. In addition, you will write a lengthy open-ended narrative that is to describe your contact with the employer and the content of interactions you had during the test. We especially want you to record any comments made by employers (or statements on application forms) specifically related to race, ethnicity, gender or criminal records.

We realize that unexpected events may arise that might interfere with the interviews (e.g., problems with transportation, unanticipated familiarity with company/hiring manager, unanticipated questions, etc.). In cases where the protocol appears not to have been fully (or effectively) implemented, you should note the circumstances that arose. In some cases it may be necessary to terminate the attempt to apply for the job/interview.

Post-Application/Post-Interview Questionnaire

This form is to be completed after each job application and/or interview. Please take time to thoroughly describe your contact with the employer, the content of interactions you had when applying for the job, and record any comments made by employers specifically related to race, ethnicity, gender, and/or criminal record. If you had to fill out an application in addition to giving them a copy of your resume, please tell us if the application included any questions about criminal background. We want to know everything that happened from the time you got there to the time you left.

Your first name.

Name of the employer/business.

Date of application/interview.

Time you entered the establishment.

Time you left the establishment.

Did you have a prison record when applying for this job?
Yes
No

Did you have a 2-year college degree when applying for this job?
Yes
No

Were you taken seriously as an applicant?

Yes
No

Do you expect a callback based on your interaction?
Yes
No

Did you get steered to a different job?
Yes
No

Did anyone comment about your prison time (if applicable)?
Yes
No
Not applicable

*Do you think having a 2-year college degree changed the way the employer talked to you (for example, their tone)? Please describe the content of the conversation with the employer regarding your 2-year college education. **Answer this question only if you had a 2-year college degree when applying for this job.**

Describe in your own words how the interaction with the employer and/or their staff went. * It is probably best to type this out in a Word document first and, then, copy and paste it into the box below. You never know when the Internet is going to malfunction. Save the Word file. This makes sure that there is a backup in case we need it.

Appendix E. Employer Survey

EMPLOYER SURVEY

SECTION 0. INFORMED CONSENT

You were given a paper copy of the Survey Information Sheet that explains the purpose of this survey and how it will work. Please indicate that you have read this information and that you agree to participate in this survey.
YES
NO

SECTION 1. COMPANY PROFILE

1. What is your gender?
FEMALE
MALE

2. What is the name of the business or company that you work at?
_____

3. What type of business establishment is this?
LOCALLY-OWNED, SMALL BUSINESS WITH ONLY ONE SITE
NATIONAL FRANCHISE
LOCAL BUSINESS WITH MULTIPLE SITES
DO NOT KNOW

4. Is this a minority-owned company?
YES
NO

5. About how many employees work at this business location?
__#__

6. About what percentage of your current employees are in jobs that do not require education beyond a high school diploma? (Enter a number between 0 and 100).
__#__ %

7. About what percentage of your current employees are in jobs that do not require particular skills/training or previous experience? (Enter a number between 0 and 100).
__#__ %

8. About what percentage of your customers or clientele are racial or ethnic minorities? (Enter a number between 0 and 100).
__#__ %

9. During the past year, have you posted a job on the Internet when trying to fill job vacancies?
YES
NO

SECTION 2. CURRENT JOB OPENING

10. The next two questions are related to the job advertisement posted on craigslist last summer.

	Easy	Somewhat difficult	Very difficult
10a. Following the posting of the job opening online, how easy or difficult was it to find qualified applicants for this position?			
10b. If you were trying to fill this position in the summer of 2011, how easy of difficult would it have been to find qualified applicants?			

11. For the position advertised, how necessary is:

	Absolutely necessary	Strongly preferred	Mildly preferred	Not at all
11a. High school diploma				
11b. Previous experience in a similar position				
11c. Some college (but not a college degree)				

12. The following asks about the tasks the holder of this position performs ***on a daily basis***. Does this position involve:

	Yes	No
12a. Speaking directly with customers in-person or over the phone?		
12b. Reading or writing reports, memos, or lengthy instructions?		
12c. Doing arithmetic, including making change?		
12d. Using a computer?		

SECTION 3: HIRING PREFERENCES

13. How likely would you accept each type of applicant for the position you are advertising?

	Definitely would	Probably would	Probably not	Definitely not
13a. A person who is or has been on welfare?				
13b. A person who has a GED instead of a high school diploma?				
13c. A person who only lists short-term or part-time jobs for work experience?				
13d. A person who has been in a government-sponsored employment assistance program?				
13e. A person who has been unemployed for the past six or more months?				
13f. A person who has been arrested?				
13g. A person who was ever in jail?				
13h. A person who is currently under the supervision of the criminal justice system (for example, on probation)?				
13i. A person who was ever in prison?				
13j. A person who is currently on parole from prison?				

14. How long after release from prison would you hire someone who had been in prison for a:

	Number of years (Enter here the number of years after release from prison that would have to pass before you would hire an ex-prisoner).	Never (Check here if you would never hire a job applicant who had been in prison).
Violent crime		
Drug crime		
Property crime		

SECTION 4. SUITABILITY OF HYPOTHETICAL APPLICANT FOR THE CURRENT JOB OPENING

15. Looking at the résumé in front of you, how likely would you contact this applicant for an interview?
DEFINITELY WOULD
PROBABLY WOULD
PROBABLY NOT
DEFINITELY NOT

16. Looking at the résumé in front of you, does this applicant have:

	Yes	No
16a. The type of previous experience needed for this particular position?		
16b. The skills required for this particular position?		

17. Would you ask for and check the references of this applicant?
YES
NO

18. Do you anticipate problems with this applicant in any of the following areas?

	Yes	No
18a. Absenteeism or tardiness		
18b. Transportation		
18c. Work ethic		
18d. Childcare		
18e. Drug/alcohol issues		
18f. Physical health		
18g. Mental health		
18h. Basic verbal, math, or reading skills		
18i. Job-related skills		
18j. Relationships with customers		
18k. Relationship with other employees		

19. Overall, how would you rate the applicant relative to the typical one that you hire into this position?
MUCH BETTER
A LITTLE BETTER
ABOUT THE SAME
A LITTLE WORSE
MUCH WORSE

20. If this person performs well, what are the chances that they could be promoted?
EXCELLENT
GOOD
FAIR
POOR

21a. Is there some specific job into which you would most likely hire this particular applicant?
YES
NO

21b. What is the specific position you would most likely hire this applicant into?
_____

21c. What is the starting wage or salary for this position that you would hire them for?
_____DOLLAR AMOUNT

21d. Is this starting amount hourly, weekly, monthly, or yearly?
HOURLY
WEEKLY
MONTHLY
YEARLY

22. Would you be more likely to interview this applicant whose résumé is in front of you if they had:

	Yes	No
22a. More recent work experience?		
22b. More experience in a similar position?		
22c. More training?		
22d. More education?		

23. Would you be more likely to hire this applicant if you were more certain that they had:

	Yes	No
23a. A good work ethic?		
23b. Good overall dress and appearance?		
23c. Good social skills?		
23d. Good moral character?		

SECTION 5. HIRING EX-PRISONERS

24a. Is there some specific job into which you would most likely hire an applicant who was on parole from prison and had little work experience?
YES
NO

24b. What is the specific position you would most likely hire this type of applicant into?
_____

24c. What is the starting wage or salary for this position that you would hire them for?
_____DOLLAR AMOUNT

24d. Is this starting amount hourly, weekly, monthly, or yearly?
HOURLY
WEEKLY
MONTHLY
YEARLY

25. How many ex-offenders have you hired in the past year?
__#__

26. How many ex-offenders have you hired in the past two years?
__#__

SECTION 6: OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONS

27. What are the three biggest concerns you have with hiring someone who has served time in prison?
OF MOST CONCERN:_____
OF SECOND MOST CONCERN:_____
OF THIRD MOST CONCERN:_____

THANK YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION.

Appendix F. Training Manual for Survey Administrators

EMPLOYER SURVEY TRAINING MANUAL

Criminal Stigma, Race and Employment:
An Expanded Assessment of the Consequences of Imprisonment for Employment

Funded by the National Institute of Justice

School of Criminology and Criminal Justice
Arizona State University

Spring 2013

Table of Contents

Scheduling a time to administer the survey

General protocols

1. Call during non-peak times (e.g., avoid calling right before lunch or dinner).
2. Ask to speak with a manager who has hiring authority. There will always be some sort of supervisor on duty, but not every supervisor can make hiring decisions. That being said, the point is to arrange to survey someone who makes hiring decisions. At the same time, we want to stay away from kitchen managers because their hiring criteria could be significantly different than the criteria of front-of-house managers (e.g., culinary training, appearance matters less).

If an employer has time in their schedule to meet at time x, but you, the caller, is not available at time x, then schedule the survey with an interviewer who is available at that time.

Scheduling script

A host or hostess is likely going to answer the phone. Ask to speak to a manager that makes hiring and employment-related decisions. If the advertisement that we found includes the name of the person applicants should have asked for at the time of the application, then ask to speak to that specific person. If not available, ask the best time to callback to speak with a manager. Ask for the name of that person. If they ask if you're calling about an application you submitted, tell them no, you're conducting a survey of local businesses. If they ask why you are calling, the reason is, you are working on a research project at ASU.

When a manager gets on the phone, introduce yourself by your first name and tell them that you are at a student at Arizona State and currently working on research project that examines job opportunities in the Phoenix area. Follow this script as closely as possible:

"Hi (the manger's name). My name is (your name) and I'm a student at Arizona State. I'm currently working on a research project that looks at job opportunities in the Phoenix area. Last summer, we came across an ad on craigslist for a job with your restaurant. I'm calling you today because we're interested in having you complete a survey that asks questions about the position you advertised and the type of applicant you would most likely hire into that position. The survey would be completed in-person, using an iPad, takes about 10 to 15 minutes to complete, and we would give you a $10 gift card to Starbucks for participating. All of your responses would be confidential. All we need to do today is schedule a time for one of the project team members to meet you."

Schedule reminders

Do not schedule a time with the employer to complete the survey more than seven days after the phone call.

After you schedule a day and time, ask for an email or cell phone number where you can contact them to remind them of the survey. This will also give them a way to contact you if they need to cancel. Verify that they can receive text messages.

- If they give you an ***email address***, immediately send an email with the information about the date and time of the survey. The email should have the subject line, ASU Employer Survey, and read:

  Dear (their name),
  We just spoke on the phone and scheduled a time for you to complete a survey being conducted by Arizona State University on employment opportunities in the Phoenix area. A research project staff member will meet you on (day—e.g., Monday), (date—e.g., January 21, 2013) at (time—e.g., 3:00 pm).
  In the event that you cannot make this day and time work, please let us know and we will happily reschedule a time for you to complete the survey. We will send you a reminder email one day before the scheduled meeting.
  Thank you again for you time today.
  (Your name)
- If they give you a ***cell phone number***, immediately send a text message (use my cell phone if you don't want to incur any charges) that says:

  Hi (their name). We just scheduled your survey for (day—e.g., Monday), (date—e.g., January 21, 2013) at (time—e.g., 3:00 pm). Please let us know if something comes up and we'll happily reschedule. We'll send you a reminder one day before. Thanks! (Your name)

<u>Getting the runaround and rejection-like scenarios</u>
If the hiring person you speak with says that they need to talk to their general manager or a manager above them, ask for that person's name and that you'll contact them directly to complete the survey. Follow the same script when calling that person, but mention that you spoke with so-and-so and that they seemed to indicate that the new manager has more decision-making authority.
If they refuse or not interested, ask if there is another manager with hiring authority or an owner that you might be able to speak with.
If you speak with the "head" person and they decline to participate, ask what might make them inclined to participate.

- If time is an issue, reassure them that you will work scheduling the interview around their availability.
- If they do not feel comfortable representing the company, explain that they survey does not collect personal information and that they will in no way be identified as the survey taker. Explain also that participation is confidential and the company will in no way be identified. If it "sounds like" they would do it, but something is causing the unwillingness, suggest meeting at a coffee shop or some other public place for them to complete the survey.
- If they do not want to participate at all, regardless of the lengths we'd be willing to accommodate and address their hang-ups, thank them for their time and ask them if you can leave our contact information with them in the event they change their mind

(give them my contact information: 602-496-2336). If they say no, thank them again for their time and end the call.

Administering the survey in-person

General protocols

Arrive five to ten minutes before the scheduled interview to give yourself time to park, get inside, and get the survey materials organized.

Dress and act professionally. Be courteous at all times. If they are running behind, be patient (but don't wait around all-day). Waiting up to thirty minutes is fine, but if you have other surveys scheduled, be very conscious of the time.

You will need the following materials before you leave to administer a survey to an employer:

- ✓ iPad
- ✓ Survey information sheet with Scott's business card attached
- ✓ Résumé
- ✓ Employer's craigslist ad
- ✓ Starbucks gift card

The process

Introduce yourself. Shake their hand. Look them in the eye. Do not chew gum. Begin by thanking them for their time and then get into explaining how the survey process works. Here is a script of how this interaction should sound. It is important for you to practice this script and follow it:

"Before I ask you to complete the survey, which is on this iPad, I'm going to give you a copy of the survey information sheet. This sheet details how the survey will work—I'll explain some of it to you in a second—and gives you more information about your participation. I need you to read this information sheet. The first question the survey asks is whether you read it and agree to participate.

"To tell you a little bit about the survey we are conducting, it is designed to learn more about the types of job opportunities that are available to entry-level workers. We came across your advertisement for a (position—e.g., server) on craigslist last summer. Some of the questions on the survey are about the specific position you advertised on craigslist. Here's a copy of that advertisement for you to reference when answering those questions.

"Part of the survey also asks questions about a hypothetical job applicant for that specific position you advertised on craigslist. Here is the résumé of that hypothetical person. Please reference this résumé when answering those questions. Think of this hypothetical applicant and the position as if you were looking to hire someone for that job right now.

"Finally, here's the $10 Starbucks gift card that we said you would receive for your participation.

"You're now ready to begin the survey. Please first read the survey information sheet. That is yours to keep and do with it as you will. I'm happy to answer any questions you have before, during, and after the survey."

If, after you are done going over the process script, the employer says that they do not want to complete the survey, ask them if they would read over the survey information sheet before deciding for sure that they do not want to participate.

If they do not want participate, simply say okay and thank them for their time. They keep the Starbucks gift card, regardless.
When the employer tells you that they are finished with the survey, collect the iPad, résumé, and ad from them. Thank them for their time and shake their hand.

FAQs and what-if scenarios

Q: What if an employer tells you that the résumé they had looks familiar.
A: "Oh, I'm sure you get lots of résumés and some of them must look alike, especially with all of the ASU students that look for jobs."
Q: What if an employer tells you that you look familiar.
A: "I've been here before to eat." (If this is at the end of the survey, thank them again for their participation in the survey at this point and offer a handshake. Begin making your way out. If this is at the beginning of the survey, stick to the protocol and get on with the process.)
Q: What are you going to do with the survey responses?
A: All of the responses go into a database and are being collected as part of research project on employment opportunities in the Phoenix. My job is to administer the survey. Scott Decker, whose contact information you have on the survey information sheet, will analyze all of employer survey responses. You can contact him with questions about the analysis and results.