

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

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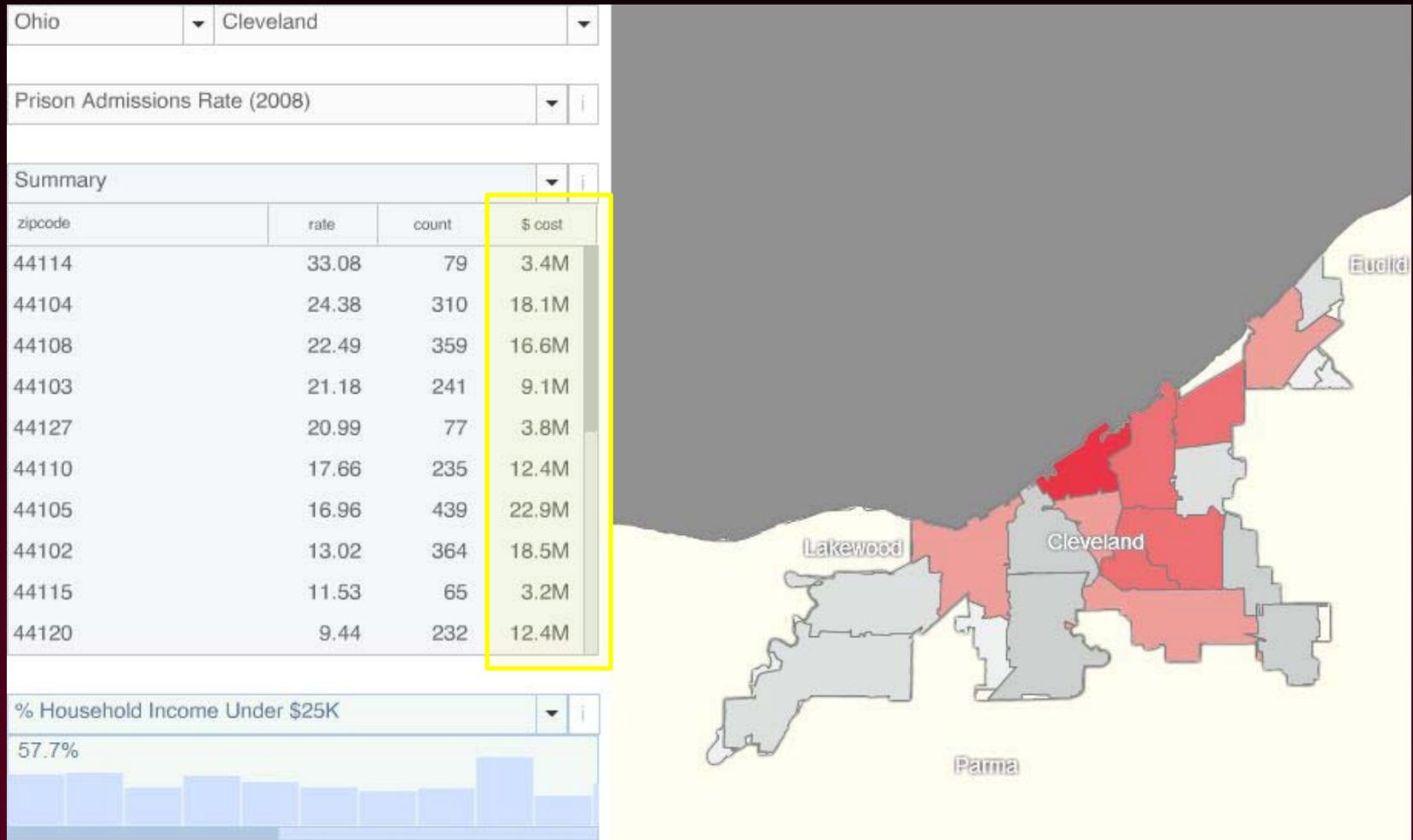
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Why are we here?



From Justice Atlas of Sentencing and Corrections <http://www.justiceatlas.org/>

Re-Entry: The Crisis that has Arrived

- **Most of them come back**
 - Ninety-four percent of all prisoners will return.
- **A lot of them come back**
 - Annual number of prisoners released from prison has increased in recent years.
 - In 2009, 730,000 prisoners returned to the community (West, Sabol, & Greenman, 2010).
- **Most of them don't do well**
 - Four in 10 return to prison within three years (Pew, 2011).
- **Corrections costs are skyrocketing**
 - There is no federal help on the way.

What Matters for Reentry

- **Employment**
 - **Stable housing and quality of interpersonal relationships post-release is highly dependent on the ex-offender's employment status (Lopoo & Western, 2005; Petersilia, 2003; Travis, 2005; Visher & Travis, 2003).**
- **Generally speaking, ex-prisoners have poor work histories and low levels of education (Atkinson & Rostad, 2003; Harlow, 2003).**
- **According to prisoners, finding employment is one of the most concerning aspects of their release (Nelson, Deess, & Allen, 1999).**
- **Most states require employment as a condition of parole (Travis & Stacey, 2010).**
- **Employment is a correlate of lower recidivism rates and desistance among offenders (Sampson & Laub, 2003; Uggen, 2000; Wilson et al., 2000).**

Barriers to Employment

- **Employers are hesitant to hire someone with a criminal record** (Albright & Denq, 1996; Giguere & Dundes, 2002; Holzer et al., 2004; Pager, 2007).
 - Violence in the workplace
 - Insurance liability/bonding
 - “Soft skills”
- **A criminal record is a barrier to getting foot in the door with prospective employers.**
 - Access to criminal records may affect racial differences in hiring decision (Bushway, 2004).
- **Ohio Ex-Offender Reentry Coalition Employment Workgroup** ([link to website](#))
 - “Certificate of employability” won’t change employer resistance to hiring ex-offenders.

Pager (2003) and Pager et al. (2009)

- More than just a criminal record working against some ex-prisoners.
- Audit studies of hiring practices in Milwaukee and New York City.
 - Significant differences in the probability that a Black, White, and Latino male will be called to schedule an interview.
 - Significant differences in the probability that a Black, White, or Latino male with a criminal record will be called to schedule an interview.
 - White males with a criminal record were more likely to get a callback than Latino or Black males without a criminal record.
- Women were not examined.
- Latinos examined within context of Puerto Ricans (Pager et al., 2009).

Galgano (2009)

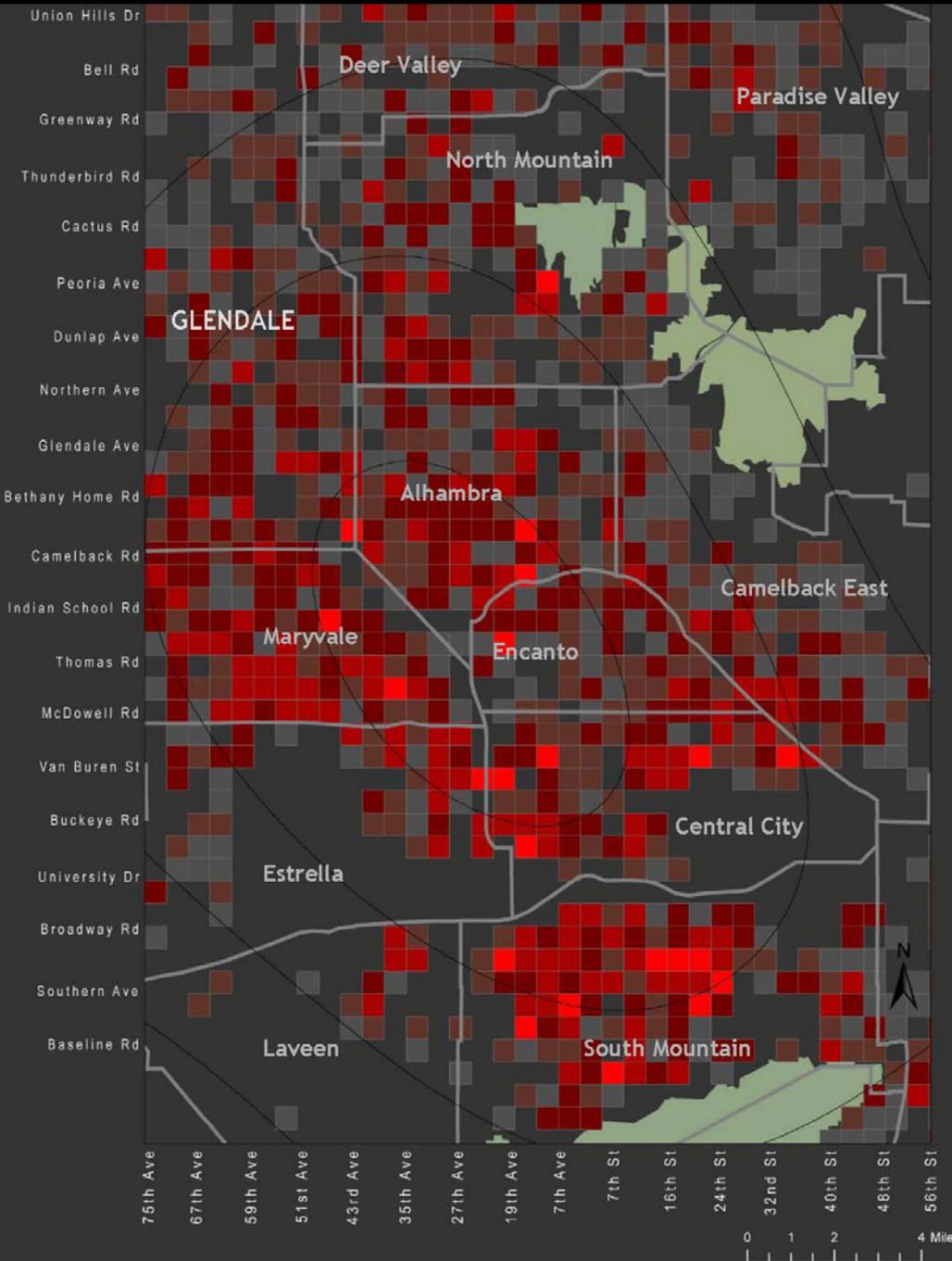
- Examined employment prospects for Black and White women in Chicago, replicating Pager's work in WI and NY.
- No significant differences between Black and White women with and without a criminal record.
 - Lalonde and Cho (2008): Post-prison employment rate of formerly incarcerated women was not adversely impacted by their incarceration.
- Economic conditions might play a role in racial differences.
- Minority women have lower unemployment rates than their male counterparts (BLS, 2010).

Incarceration and Reentry in Arizona

- Prison costs are highly concentrated in some areas of the city. 2% of state population accounts for 90% of state prison population.
- Sixty percent of state's prison population is from the Phoenix/Mesa metropolitan area.
- Thirteen percent of Arizona prison population is from central and south Phoenix.
- Recidivism rate is on par with national average.
- In 2004, almost 30 percent of released prisoners were returned because of new crimes (as opposed to technical violations).

Prison Expenditure ½ Mile Grid

Central & South Phoenix



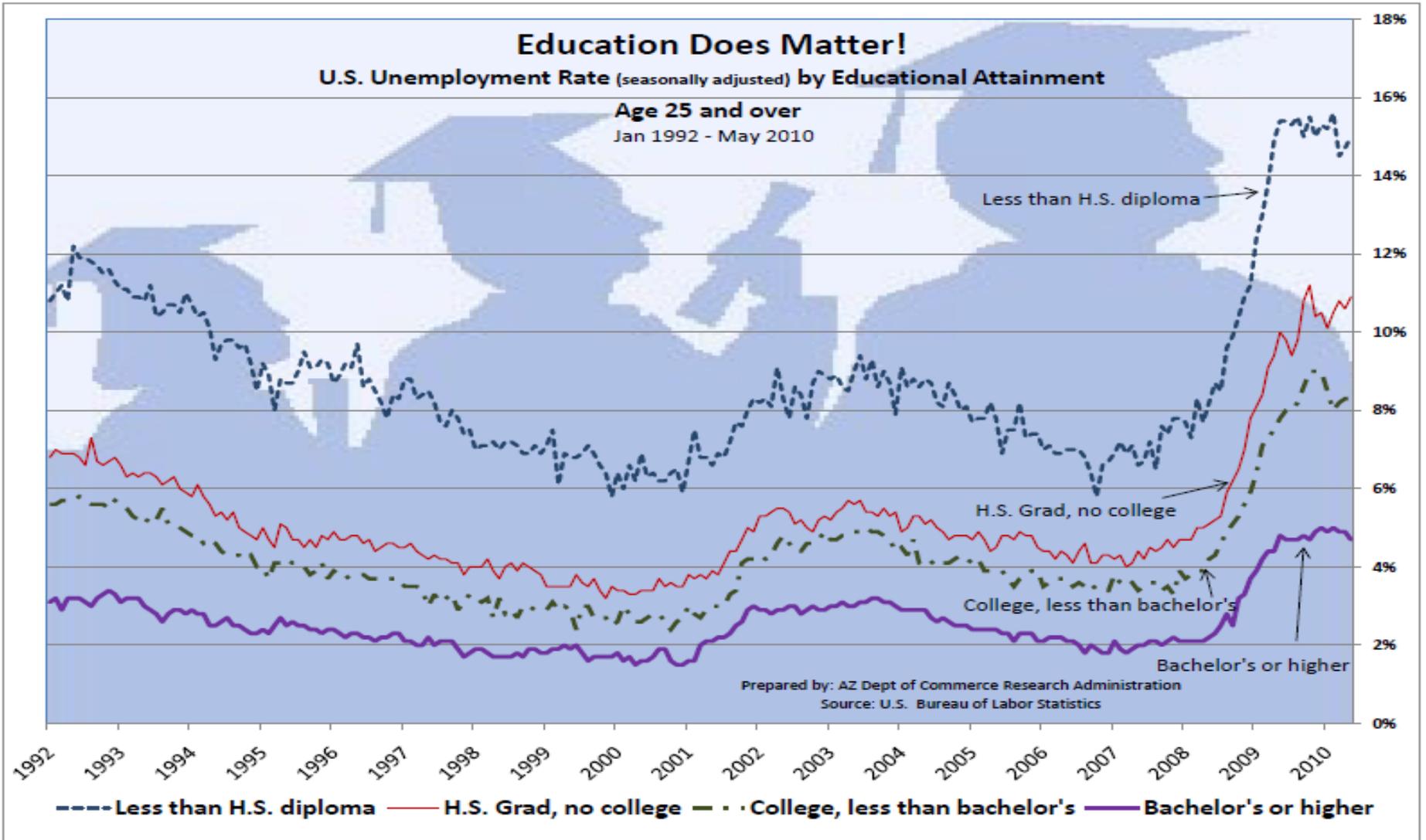
VPA	Bed Years	Expenditure
South Mountain	2,480.6	\$50,876,685
Maryvale	2,473.1	\$50,722,849
Alhambra	1,447.6	\$29,690,878
Central City	1,367.6	\$28,049,465
North Mountain	1,295.0	\$26,561,260
Camelback East	955.5	\$19,598,111
Deer Valley	778.5	\$15,967,438
Estrella	758.8	\$15,562,569
Paradise Valley	645.7	\$13,242,890
Encanto	625.2	\$12,822,021
Laveen	251.0	\$5,147,393
Ahwatukee Foothills	165.7	\$3,399,121
Desert View	24.0	\$492,240
North Gateway	1.0	\$20,510
New Village	0.0	\$0

Some ½ mile by ½ mile areas in Phoenix cost the state between \$1 to \$2 million dollars a year each in prison costs. South Mountain neighborhoods alone account for over \$50 million a year.

ASU Employment Audit Project

- **Goals:**
 - **Assess the impact of incarceration on employment prospects**
 - Blacks, Hispanics, and Whites
 - Males and Females
 - Intersection of race and sex
 - Educational attainment
 - Two-year (community) college degree
 - Southwest region
 - Challenging economic times

Relationship between unemployment and education



Method

- **Audit method**
 - **Applying for jobs online using careerbuilder.com (link found on local newspaper website)**
 - **NIC Offender Employment Specialist Training (Jan. 2011)**
 - **Most frequently used resource by offenders looking for a job in Arizona**
 - **Entry-level jobs in general labor/construction, customer service, and restaurant/hospitality**
 - **No more than 3 years previous experience**
 - **Educational requirement not more than high school degree**
 - **12 fictitious applicants (race*sex*prison[yes/no])**
 - **6 pairs; 1 with a prison record and 1 without**

Design

Test conditions	Black		White		Hispanic	
	No prison record	Prison record	No prison record	Prison record	No prison record	Prison record
Males						
Female						

Resume's

- **Job skills/qualifications, length of time previously employed identical in the resume's used to apply for jobs**
 - High school matched within pair
- **“Cue” race and sex of applicants through name**
 - Empirical support for our sampling frame of first and last names (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004; Lavender, 1988; Word, Coleman, Nunziata, & Kominski, 2010)
 - Randomly selected names for 6 categories
 - Randomly assigned names to resume's
- **Addresses correspond to apartment complexes in central Phoenix**
 - Randomly assigned addresses to resume's

Resume's (cont.)

- **Criminal record**
 - Signaled by work in prison
 - Randomly assigned to a resume' within each race*sex pair the first week of applications and then switches each week thereafter
- **Education (Associate's degree)**
 - Randomly assigned to each applicant's resume' for each job applying for
 - Where applicable, completed before incarceration

Sample Resume'

Ramon Huerta

2601 N. 36th St., Phoenix, AZ 85008

602-397-1701

ramonhuerta11@yahoo.com

OBJECTIVE

To obtain a position that allows me to use and build upon skills that I have obtained through previous work experience.

SKILLS

- **Customer Service**
Takes an interest in learning and meeting customer's needs and concerns by enthusiastically engaging with customer and addressing how their needs can be satisfied with company's products and services.
- **Team Player**
Works with others to meet goals effectively and efficiently.
- **Communicator**
Good at writing and talking (phone and in-person) with others.
- **Computer Knowledgeable**
Knows Microsoft Word and Excel and point-of-sale systems.
- **Organizer**
Knows how to prioritize and multi-task when necessary.

EMPLOYMENT HISTORY

- | | |
|---|-----------------|
| Denny's
<i>Host</i> | 06/2005-06/2006 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Greeted entering customers, maintained seating chart, seated customers, and assisted management with other jobs as requested. | |
| Benchmark Construction
<i>Laborer</i> | 06/2006-04/2007 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Performed various tasks involving physical labor at construction projects, including preparing sites, digging trenches, cleaning up rubble and debris, and installing concrete. | |
| Castles n' Coasters
<i>Team Member</i> | 04/2007-06/2008 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Assisted in various areas of theme park operations, including ticket sales, arcade, and food service, and performing a wide range of customer service-related tasks. | |
| Arizona State Prison Complex, Phoenix
<i>Kitchen Crew</i> | 04/2010-10/2010 |
| <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Performed various tasks related to kitchen operations, including preparing food and meals for large groups and washing dishes. | |

EDUCATION

- | | |
|--|----------|
| Diploma
<i>North High School</i> | May 2005 |
|--|----------|

References Available Upon Request

Method

- **Applying for jobs in three target sectors once a week**
 - All applicants for the same job
 - Staggering when resume' sent in
 - Job openings across Maricopa County
 - Approximately 1,800 applications
 - Power and effect size
 - Restaurant jobs in-person
- **Allowing four weeks to receive callback**
- **Pretesting each job**
 - Initiated first trial this month
- **In-person applications and interviews**
 - 12 real individuals will play the part of our fictitious applicants

Employer Profiles

- **Do hiring decisions reflect employer characteristics?**
 - **Number of jobs available**
 - **Number of employees**
 - **Local-only businesses versus national corporations**
 - **Spatial (mis)match**
 - **Location of residence (central Phoenix) and place of business**

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