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Hiring Juvenile Delinquents: Employer Callbacks from a Correspondence Study

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Employers are less likely to call back job applicants with criminal records; however, few studies have examined the impact of a delinquency history on employment outcomes in adulthood. Historically, juveniles have been protected from stigmas associated with delinquent records, as state policies allowed for the sealing or expungement of records. However, juveniles could now face similar stigmas as adults, as states are increasingly limiting the expungement protections for juvenile delinquents; juveniles are frequently posting personal information online; juveniles could feel pressured by potential employers to disclose a delinquency history; and juveniles transferred into criminal court do not receive record protections. A correspondence study was conducted using two fictitious resumes sent to employers in Northern Nevada, one with a delinquency history and one without a delinquency history. Unexpectedly, employers showed no bias toward delinquent applicants in the current study. Explanations for this finding, policy implications, and directions for future research are discussed. Keywords: employment, delinquency, reentry, expungement, sealing, records

HIRING JUVENILE DELINQUENTS: EMPLOYER CALLBACKS FROM A CORRESPONDENCE STUDY

Securing employment is recognized as a crucial element in crime desistance (Laub & Sampson, 2001). Despite the importance of employment for returning offenders, job applicants who indicate a prior criminal history on employment applications are less likely to receive callbacks from employers in comparison to applicants with no criminal history (Pager, 2003). It is well known that being labeled as a criminal has deleterious impacts that persist well beyond hiring. Those with a criminal record face societal disenfranchisement in several areas, including income, familial formation, voting, housing, and future incarceration (Grogger, 1995; Huebner, 2005; Strayhorn, Johnson, & Barrett, 2013). While prior research suggests a direct link between an adult criminal record and worsened employment and other long-term outcomes, research has largely overlooked the impact of a delinquent history on adulthood. For decades, juvenile delinquents were protected from the stigma of a delinquent record, as delinquent histories were sealed or expunged (Shah, Fine, & Gullen, 2014). However, in recent years states have pulled back on sealing and

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expungement policies, ultimately allowing employers and the public access to delinquents' records.

As juveniles are increasingly losing record protections, it is critical that researchers begin to explore the impact of delinquent records on employment. The current study begins to fill this gap by examining how employers perceive a delinquent record during the hiring phase. Using a correspondence test, 234 jobs were applied for in 2016 and 2017. Each job was applied for twice, once with an application indicating a non-delinquent history and once with an application indicating a delinquent history. Callbacks by employers were recorded. Conclusions are made about the pattern of callbacks, followed by policy implications and directions for future research. A fuller understanding of employers' perceptions of those with delinquent records is important, as employers and human resource officers may now serve as an unexpected barrier to obtaining employment, suggesting that juvenile parole and probation officers may need to better assist their clients in navigating the hiring process.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Barriers to Employment

Historically, delinquent records were sealed or expunged in order to reduce negative societal perceptions and foster rehabilitation (National Criminal Justice Association, 1997). Several states nationwide are now removing many of these protections, while juveniles transferred into criminal courts are ineligible for expungements, potentially allowing criminal records to be accessible by employers. Additionally, employers could also learn about a delinquent record through other sources. For example, applicants with delinquent histories can voluntarily disclose their records to potential employers. Employers can also conduct general name searches online or learn of records posted on websites as part of the "mugshot publishing industry" (Rostron, 2013). The following section will briefly examine employer access to delinquent records through each of these methods.

Increased access to criminal records by employers. As states grew increasingly punitive towards juveniles in the 1980s and 1990s, many experienced policy changes that allowed for greater access to delinquents' records (Henning, 2004). One of the most comprehensive reports to date on juvenile record confidentiality found 33 states allow for some public access, 7 states allow for complete public access, and 35 states allow for school access (Shah et al., 2014). While most states do allow for sealing or expungement, the reality is that this rarely happens. For example, in Washington, fewer than 10% of eligible juveniles had their records sealed (Calero, 2013), while in Illinois, only 3% of juvenile arrests were expunged (Illinois Juvenile Justice Commission, 2016). In many cases this was due to the fines associated with record expungements. One study found the majority of delinquent juveniles could not afford to pay expungement fines, which made it difficult to "move forward in their education, employment, and housing" (Feierman, Goldstein, Haney-Caron, & Columbo, 2016, p. 20). Furthermore, while some states provide for automatic expungements or sealings, other states require that juveniles must initiate the process

(Litwok, 2014). For example, in California, juveniles who meet certain criteria (e.g., complete probation) have records automatically sealed, while others must petition their probation department to have their records sealed (Judicial Branch of California, 2020).

Transferred juveniles' records unprotected. While juveniles in most states are granted the opportunity for sealing and expungement of records, juveniles who are waived into criminal courts are no longer eligible for this opportunity (Augustyn & Loughran, 2017). Waived juveniles are then subject to the same record scrutiny as adult offenders, and “even if a transferred youth can complete education or job training programs, the yield on human capital investments might be muted by blocked opportunities that are often the result of the punishment and stigmatization associated with a criminal record” (p. 411). Augustyn and Loughran suggest that transferred juveniles recognize the harm of a criminal record in seeking employment, leading them to self-select into part-time or low-wage positions.

Applicant could disclose delinquent record. Job applications are oftentimes unclear about what types of criminal information should be disclosed. For example, one study of 416 job applications found that over half of applications required applicants to disclose non-felony offenses, but only three applications specified that these offenses should have occurred in adulthood (Vuolo, Lageson, & Uggen, 2017). These findings indicate that juvenile applicants could feel they are required to disclose delinquent histories, even in cases where their records have been sealed or expunged. This point is further illustrated in a national survey of employers, as the majority of employers recommended that applicants disclose delinquent records on either job applications or during job interviews (Pham, Unruh, & Waintrup, 2015), suggesting that employers have narrow awareness of and regard for juvenile confidentiality laws.

Online search by employer. Juveniles are increasingly posting personal information publicly online that is easily searchable by employers (Whitaker & Bushman, 2009). Limited research indicates that in some cases juvenile delinquents will post about their criminal histories. For example, one study noted that the “underlying pressures for these youths to demonstrate gang loyalty and raise their status within the group, technological affordances of [social networking sites] such as posting status updates, comments and photographs, tagging, and viewable friendship networks are appropriated for posturing, power aggrandizement, and reputation management” (Lim, Vadreuvu, Chan, & Basnyat, 2012, p. 358). Additionally, juveniles' mugshots and arrest records are publicly posted online in some states, which can be easily searchable by employers. For example, after a 9-year old who threatened his sister and grandmother with a kitchen knife was arrested, his mugshot and offense details were posted online by the local sheriff's office and eventually distributed to websites nationwide (Busch, 2015). When mugshots are posted on state and county websites, third-party websites will re-post booking information in what is referred to as the “mugshot publishing industry” (Rostron, 2013). Those seeking to remove a criminal digital fingerprint must pay hundreds of dollars to these third-party websites to have a record erased.

These methods of gaining access to delinquents' records, coupled with the increase in employer background checks (Weissert, 2016), suggest that employers are now increasingly making employment decisions with the knowledge of applicants' delinquent records. As employers may now be able to access this information, it is critical to determine how this information impacts their hiring decisions. It is well known that an adult criminal record serves as a substantial barrier to obtaining employment (Pager, 2003), but it remains unclear how employers perceive delinquent histories.

Employer Callbacks for Criminal and Delinquent Applicants

A criminal record has a significant deleterious impact on obtaining an employer callback. In one of the first studies to experimentally test the impact of criminal records on employers' callback rates, researchers sent fictitious job applications to one-hundred employers who were unaware they were partaking in a research study (Schwartz & Skolnick, 1962). Applicants' backgrounds varied, as some employers were presented with applications that made no mention of a criminal background, while others had varying criminal histories (e.g., convicted of a crime, acquitted of a crime). Employers expressed more favorable responses to applicants who had no criminal record in comparison to those who had criminal records, even those who were reportedly acquitted of their crimes.

More recent research has similarly used experimental methodologies to determine how employers perceive applicants with criminal records. Pager (2003) used an audit methodology where "testers" hired for the research study completed job interviews and recorded the rate of callbacks. Testers varied by race (i.e., Caucasian and African American) and were randomly assigned a resume that indicated a criminal background or non-criminal background. Identifying a parole officer as a reference and six months of employment in a correctional institution were used to indicate a criminal background. Overall, applicants who indicated no criminal record were significantly more likely to receive an employment callback. However, Caucasians with a criminal record had similar callback rates as African Americans with no criminal record, suggesting that a criminal history and race interact to influence employers.

Employers are less likely to hire applicants with criminal records, but it is unclear if stigmas placed upon adults also extend to juvenile delinquents. One of the only studies examining this issue to date used a field experiment where two similar applications were sent to employers across Belgium (Baert & Verhofstadt, 2015). The applications were nearly identical with the exception of one application for a juvenile delinquent that included the statement "In view of a trustful collaboration I wish to report that during my secondary education career I spent one year at an open detention center because of juvenile delinquency" (p. 1064). Applications indicating a delinquent history were 22% less likely to receive a callback in comparison to non-delinquents. A similar study in the United States using mock employers similarly found that applicants with a delinquent background were less likely to be called back for a job (Taylor & Spang, 2017).

In sum, the reality that employers can learn about a juvenile record in a variety of ways is evidence that researchers need to move past the relationship between a criminal conviction and employment and examine employers' perceptions of former delinquents. The need for such research is especially warranted when considering the direct harm that failure to obtain employment can have on former delinquents' later life outcomes. The current study takes a first step at examining how employers respond when former delinquents apply for employment by conducting a correspondence test of employers in Northern Nevada.

METHOD

Employers are increasingly gaining access to and becoming aware of juveniles' delinquency histories. However, it remains unclear if juveniles will face similar stigmas as applicants with criminal records or if employers will respond to applicants with delinquent histories differently. A correspondence method was used for the current study, which is when two similar resumes that vary only on one specific characteristic are sent to employers (Pager, 2007). For example, resumes include similar educational and employment backgrounds, but vary on indicators of a criminal history. This method was ideal, as it allowed for employers to respond in a natural way to employment applications that they believed were from legitimate job applicants. Employers were completely unaware that they were partaking in a research study, so it was expected that they would respond in a similar manner as if they were presented with actual job applicants. It was hypothesized that employers would be less likely to grant a job interview to applicants indicating a delinquency history.

Description of Resumes

Two resumes were created with fictitious contact information and backgrounds (Figure 1). The resumes reflected applicants who would be applying to entry-level jobs, as they had limited work experience and were currently attending community college. Resumes were structured to look similar, but not identical to one another. Applicants had similar types of employment history and reported skills, but they varied by employment location and dates. Then, fictitious names, home addresses, email addresses, Google Voice phone numbers, and voice mails were created.

Prior research of employment callbacks for returning offenders typically indicated a criminal history with employment inside an adult correctional facility (Pager, 2003). This strategy was not used in the current study, as this seemed like a less realistic possibility in a juvenile institution than it would for an adult in prison. The only prior correspondence test study for juvenile delinquents included a cover letter explicitly declaring the juvenile's delinquency history (Baert & Verhofstadt, 2015). We were concerned that overtly stating a delinquency history would be an unrealistic tactic used by job applicants. It was determined that the best strategy to indicate a delinquency history would be to include it under employment history. To indicate a delinquent background, applicants reported completing community service with the Friends of Washoe County Library through the

Washoe County Department of Juvenile Services, where the applicant “completed mandatory community service to fulfill probation requirements.” Non- delinquent applicants reported volunteering with the Boys & Girls Club.

Figure 1. Sample Resume of Delinquent Juvenile

Tanner Johnson
2795 Edgewood Drive, Reno, NV 89503
t.lee.johnson2013@gmail.com
(775) 391-8064

Objective:

Seeking a customer service job in which I can apply skills I have learned from previous job positions.

Work Experience:

Office Depot, Retail Sales Consultant 12/2014-Present

Duties included: Providing exceptional customer service to aid customers in purchasing merchandise, assisting customers with product questions, knowledge of a variety of products

McDonalds, Crew Member 10/2013-12/2014

Duties included: Preparing quality food to meet customers’ standards, upholding standards of an unsoiled workspace, providing customer service

Washoe County Department of Juvenile Services, Community Service with the Friends of Washoe County Library 1/2013-3/2013

Completed mandatory community service to fulfill probation requirements

Education:

Truckee Meadows Community College 2013-Present

Reno High School 2009-2013

Skills

- Experience with registers and cash handing procedures
- Knowledge in using Word, Excel, and PowerPoint
- Works well in a team environment
- Experience working in a fast paced environment in which accuracy is necessary
- Consistently on time and ready to work

Reference available upon request.

Sample and Application Process

Entry-level, low-skilled jobs were applied to, as these were believed to be jobs that young adults with limited education and experience would likely be applying for. We chose not to apply to jobs via the most popular employment websites (e.g., Monster, Career Builder), as they did not allow for searches of entry-level jobs and were typically oriented towards applicants with advanced education or skills. Instead, the employment website SnagAJob.com was selected, as the site is oriented toward applicants who are seeking entry-level and hourly jobs. From February 25, 2016 to August 24, 2016 all jobs posted within five miles of the 89557 zip code were included in the current study. Jobs that were not applied to included those that required ability to speak a second language, specific licensure/certificates, a college degree, and non-traditional jobs (e.g., surrogate parent, survey taker).

Applications were submitted to jobs on the first and second day after postings were made. One application was randomly selected, i.e., delinquent or non-delinquent, to be sent on the first day. To avoid any suspicion on the part of the employer that the applications looked similar to one another, we waited one day to submit the second application. In total, 117 jobs were applied for. Fifty-three of the jobs applied for were food and restaurant positions, while 26 were retail, 17 were sales, and 21 were classified as “other” types of jobs. One application indicating a delinquent applicant and one application indicating a non-delinquent applicant were sent to each employer, for a total of 234 job applications.

Variables

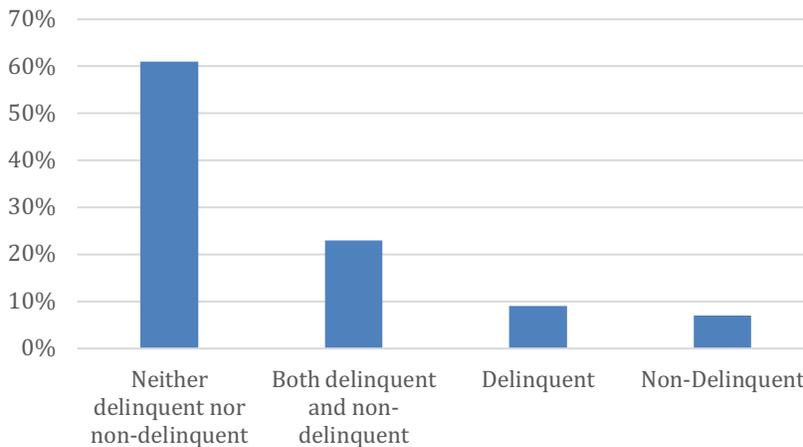
The dependent variable was the employers’ response (0=no callback, 1=callback). A callback was defined as any employer contact (i.e., voicemail, email, text message) either requesting more information or contacting the participant for an interview. The first independent variable was the resume indicating the type of applicant that was viewed by the employer (0=non-delinquent applicant, 1=delinquent applicant). The second independent variable was the type of job that was applied for (0=Food/Restaurant, 1=Retail, 2=Sales, 3=Other), as it was possible that employers for some types of jobs may be more likely to hire someone with a delinquent record than employers for other types of jobs. Retail jobs were considered to be those where customers have limited interactions with employees (e.g., bookstore cashier), as opposed to sales where employees are actively soliciting customers to purchase goods (e.g., car salesperson). Jobs classified as “other” included delivery drivers, hair stylists, and receptionists.

RESULTS

Two-hundred and thirty-four jobs were applied to with half of the applications indicating a delinquent applicant and half of the applications indicating a non-delinquent applicant. Overall, 31% of job applicants received a callback. Of the non-delinquent applicants, 29.9% received a callback, while 32.5% of delinquent applicants received a callback. When examining the total percentage of callbacks by applicant type, in 60.7% of cases, neither the

delinquent nor non-delinquent applicant received a callback; in 23.08% of cases, both types of applicants received a callback; in 9.4% of cases, only the delinquent applicant received a callback; and in 6.8% of cases, only the non-delinquent received a call-back (Figure 2). A chi-square test indicated that there was no significant difference in the frequency of callbacks based upon application type.

Figure 2. Percentage of Callbacks by Applicant Type



Further analyses suggested that there was variance in the likelihood of callback based upon the type of job applied for. Of the applications for food service jobs, 17.9% received a callback in contrast to 34.6% of applications for retail jobs, 32.4% of sales jobs, and 59.5% of “other” jobs (e.g., driver, receptionist). A chi-square indicated that callbacks based upon job type significantly differed from one another ($p < .05$). To test if there was an interaction between the type of jobs applied for and the applicant type on the likelihood of callbacks, a factorial logistic regression was conducted. The overall model was statistically significant ($p < .05$) and, in comparison to food service jobs, applicants for retail ($p < .10$), sales ($p < .05$), and “other” ($p < .001$) types of employment were significantly more likely to be called back for a job ($X^2(7) = 27.48, p < .001$). However, none of the interactions between applicant type and job type were significant. These findings indicate that a delinquent history does not impact employers’ decision-making practices, while the type of job does impact whether or not a job applicant receives a callback.

DISCUSSION

Overall, it does not appear that employers made decisions based upon applicants’ juvenile delinquency histories, as employers were equally likely to call back applicants indicating a delinquent and non-delinquent history. There are several potential explanations as to why employers responded similarly to delinquent and non-delinquent applicants. First, employers could perceive that juvenile delinquents have limited opportunities and will be long-term employees versus those with no delinquent record and a high level of skills who may be more likely to transfer to other jobs. This point was highlighted on one human

resources website, which described offenders returning from prison as “hungry to work” and stated “once these residents find employment, they tend to be very loyal and very devoted workers...these are not your average citizens that might tend to take employment for granted, and they’re far from being hesitant about working from the bottom of the organizational chain up” (Payscale, 2010, para. 7). Employers who hold similar sentiments about adult offenders could also foresee that juveniles would have similar qualities and, as a result, be more likely to hire them.

Second, employers could recognize that juvenile delinquents were immature in the past, but were able to reform as they aged. Prior research indicates that employers strongly weigh the maturity of adolescent job applicants when making hiring decisions (Hollenbeck, 1984), as well as other indicators of maturity (e.g., communication, confidence, ambition) (Kelley & Gaedeke, 1990). A growing body of social science research indicates that juvenile justice practitioners are increasingly recognizing that adolescents do not have fully formed brains and are more impulsive (Steinberg, 2005), resulting in changing juvenile justice responses to delinquents. However, it is common knowledge that younger persons typically are immature, so employers could similarly recognize the fleeting nature of delinquent behaviors. One employment study found that some mock employers were willing to overlook a delinquent history, as they recognized that most juvenile delinquents change their behaviors (Taylor & Spang, 2017).

Employers in the current study were also significantly less likely to grant a callback for jobs in the food service industry. Decker and colleagues (2014) similarly found that employers in the culinary industry were less likely to grant callbacks. They suggested that this is problematic, as many prisons and jails offer training programs in the “culinary arts.” This training should result in increased employment in food service jobs after incarceration, but it appears that employers in these types of positions are less willing to grant interviews. Many juvenile reform schools similarly offer culinary programs to prepare delinquents for future employment (Thomas & Irwin, 2011), but these may not be beneficial if applicants are unable to receive callbacks.

Limitations and Future Research

One limitation of the current study is that it was assumed employers were aware of the delinquency history. Community service with Washoe County Juvenile Services was used to signal to employers that the applicant had a delinquent background, but it is possible that employers assumed the applicant engaged in a more traditional form of community service. However, we believe this is unlikely based upon a prior pilot study using a student sample of mock employers to make hiring decisions of applicants with delinquency histories (Taylor & Spang, 2017). With the exception of the applicants’ names, we had a student sample review identical resumes to those in the current study, including identical indicators of delinquent and non-delinquent backgrounds. In our pilot, we found that 77% of mock employers were able to correctly identify a delinquency history. In the current study, where actual employers have a clear investment in reviewing resumes of potential applicants, it is likely that they would be more critical of applications in contrast to

students who were merely acting as employers for extra course credits. Prior researchers also suggest that these signaling strategies can be problematic (Pager, 2007), but that they are typically the best strategy unless the researcher wants to overtly state that the applicant is delinquent. It is extremely unlikely that someone with a criminal or delinquent history would be that forthcoming, therefore it is believed that signaling strategies, like the one employed in this study, are the best method to indicate a delinquent background.

Due to the nature of the current study, we were unable to directly ask employers *why* they made the decisions they did. It is possible that selecting delinquent applicants for callbacks was a conscious decision on the part of employers who believed that delinquents were just as ideal or even more ideal of candidates in comparison to non-delinquents (e.g., more likely to stay at the job for a longer period of time, more loyal to employer). Future research should be conducted examining employers' reported perceptions of hiring delinquents.

Relatedly, future research should examine how the method of employers learning of a delinquent background impacts the decision making process, as employers are likely to learn of a delinquent background via sources other than resumes. For example, an employer could respond differently to a former delinquent who openly reveals a delinquency history during a job interview in comparison to a former delinquent whose delinquent history is learned through a background check. This idea was highlighted in a survey of employers, as over 60% of employers preferred that applicants reveal delinquency histories and 93% preferred that applicants reveal this information either on an application or in person (Pham et al., 2015).

Replication studies examining the impact of a delinquent history on employment are also critical. It is possible that replications in other locations, during different time periods, and for other types of jobs (i.e., more skilled positions) would yield different results. For example, employers are more likely to lower their standards and hire felons during tight labor markets where they have fewer job applicants (Maxwell, 2006). The findings of the current study could be a reflection of the tight labor market the United States has experienced in recent years since recovering from the Great Recession, as unemployment has decreased and employers are likely to be less selective and lower their hiring standards. Future research should examine how applicants with a history of delinquency fare in labor markets that are more competitive (Mutikani, 2017).

Finally, future research should examine how race and ethnicity of applicants shapes employers perceptions. Most notably, Pager (2003) found that African American applicants, both those with and without a criminal record, were less likely to be called back for a job in comparison to their Caucasian counterparts. Pager's study indicated that employers stigmatize African American applicants more so than Caucasian applicants with criminal backgrounds, but it is unclear if this also extends to juveniles. Future research should also include applicants from more diverse demographic groups (e.g., race, ethnicity,

gender, sexual orientation), as these could interact with a delinquency history to further shape employers' responses to applicants.

Policy Implications

It is well-known that there are significant collateral consequences (e.g., employment and housing discrimination) of a criminal record on adult convicts' reentry prospects (Huebner, 2005; Pager, 2003). These collateral consequences are recognized to similarly extend to juvenile delinquents. For example, the Judicial Branch of California (2020) informs former delinquents that:

If you were arrested or involved in a court case or had contact with the juvenile justice system when you were under 18, the courts, police, schools, or other public agencies may have records about what you did. If you are able to get those records sealed, it could be easier for you to find a job, get a driver's license, get a loan, rent an apartment, or go to college. In some cases, the court will automatically order your records sealed. In others, you must file a petition asking the court to seal your records. (para. 1)

Recent research also suggests that juveniles with delinquent records fare worse in the labor market when compared with their non-delinquent counterparts (Baert & Verhofstadt, 2015; Taylor & Spang, 2017). In light of these issues, precautions should be taken by parole and probation officers; potential employers; and human resource officers to ensure that former delinquents do not face collateral consequences similar to adult offenders.

There are currently no nationwide standards that require juveniles to be informed of their record protection rights or how to seal or expunge their records (Shah & Rosado, 2015). Considering the role of many juvenile parole and probation officers to advise probationers and parolees of strategies to secure employment (Steiner, Roberts, & Hemmens, 2003), it is critical that juveniles are also informed of the expungement and sealing processes in their states, as applying is only one part of the application process. Considering that employers bear stigmas towards offenders (Pager, 2003), any protections that can be given to these juveniles would be beneficial. As part of the probation and parole process, juveniles should be advised of how they should respond to employers who ask about their delinquent histories and how they can protect their records, as the reality is that employers have increased access to this information.

Although several strategies have been implemented across the country to reduce the stigma of a criminal record (e.g., "Ban the Box" laws, sealing criminal records), employers still commonly access criminal backgrounds through sources like Internet searches and background checks (Weissert, 2016). Although most states allow for limited access to delinquent records, the reality is that employers can learn of delinquent histories via a variety of sources (e.g., applicant unknowingly disclosing, posting delinquent background on social media, unable to pay sealing fee). With information increasingly publicized, it is

important that employers are made aware of juveniles' rights to record protections and why these protections exist. As noted above, Pham and colleagues' (2015) study of employers indicated that employers actually want applicants to reveal their delinquent histories so that they can assess whether that history is something that would impact the applicants' success on the job. In other words, employers openly admit that they would be prejudiced towards certain types of applicants, which is the exact reason why expungement and sealing protections were created for delinquents.

Finally, in each state, human resource officers should be trained on what information they can be given access to, encouraged not to ask applicants about delinquent records, and informed about the typical maturation timing of juveniles. Employment applications should also be required to specify if applicants must disclose juvenile and/or adult convictions. As Vuolo and colleagues (2017) noted, job applications commonly include questions about criminal backgrounds, yet rarely specify if a juvenile record must be revealed. The result is "applicants (are) left to their own discretion in deciding whether to divulge juvenile records" (p. 156).

CONCLUSION

The results of the current study indicate that employers consider delinquent and non-delinquent applicants similarly. This study is a first glimpse into how employers respond to delinquent applicants in the United States. Further replications of the current study are critical, as it is highly possible that different contexts and types of applicants would yield different results. It is also important that future studies begin to examine how employers feel about delinquent applicants, and if they do in fact treat delinquents and non-delinquents similarly, why their perceptions of these types of applicants differ from those of adult offenders.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

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