

EFFECTS OF CRIMINAL HISTORY AND RACIAL
IDENTIFICATION ON EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

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in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

The present study investigated the effects of criminal history and racial identification on employment opportunities. It was hypothesized that employment opportunities would become fewer as extent of prior criminal involvement increased. It was also expected that Indian applicants would receive fewer opportunities than Whites in all three criminal history conditions.

One hundred and fifty handwritten letters were sent in application for unskilled and semi-skilled jobs advertised in the "Help Wanted" columns of a large daily newspaper. Replies were considered either positive or negative depending on the degree of interest expressed in the applicant.

The results failed to support the hypothesized relationship between criminal history and employment opportunities for both racial groups. As extent of prior criminal involvement increased, neither response rates nor proportion of positive responses decreased significantly. Differences between races for each of the legal history levels were non-significant in all analyses.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Criminological Perspectives

While crime and attempts to account for crime have a long history, the beginnings of a "scientific criminology" have generally been traced back only to the first half of the nineteenth century (Schur, 1969; Taft & England, 1968). It was then that Adolphe Quetelet, who has been called the "first social criminologist", attempted to quantitatively measure the incidence of crime. He took advantage of the advent of modern national census-taking to study various social phenomena, including crime, in terms of their geographical distribution (see Hankins, 1968; De Quiros, 1911). After finding correlations between crime and social conditions, Quetelet (1835) wrote:

The crimes which are annually committed seem to be
a necessary result of our social organization . . .
Society prepares the crime and the guilty is only the
instrument by which it is accomplished. Hence, it happens
that the unfortunate person who loses his head upon the
scaffold, or who ends his life in prison, is in some
manner an expiatory victim for society. His crime is
the result of the circumstances in which he finds himself,
and the severity of the punishment is perhaps another
result of it. (See, Hankins, 1968, pp. 88)

Of prime importance to the present paper was Quetelet's emphasis on factors external to the individual as determinants of criminality.

Quetelet's social determinism may be contrasted with the early "Italian" school of criminology, led by Cesare Lombroso, which also saw its beginnings in the nineteenth century (Schur, 1969). Taking an anthropological approach, Lombroso sought to delineate criminal "types". Through anthropometric measurements of the cranium, description of anomalies of the face and of peculiarities of body structure, he determined those factors which supposedly distinguished criminals from non-criminals. He believed that some persons were born criminals as they were, physiologically, "throwbacks" or reversions to past races of mankind. Physically, emotionally, and behaviourally, the born criminal was seen as similar to primitive races and children, all of whom were hedonistic, non-intellectual, curious, cruel and cowardly (See, Savitz's introduction to the reprinted edition of Lombroso-Ferrero, 1972, pp. x-xi). Though subsequent testing has shown the "distinguishing characteristics" approach to be of doubtful validity (Schur, 1969), it still enjoys a certain degree of popularity, perhaps because it conceives the criminal as being somehow naturally different from the rest of us. Important for the present paper was Lombroso's emphasis on internal or ascribed factors as being the most important determinants of criminality.

The two theories described above typify what Taft & England (1968) have referred to as "objective" (externally oriented) and "subjective" (internally oriented) approaches to the social psychology of deviance. Note that, depending upon one's general criminological perspective, different

foci of research are implied.

The subjective approaches are committed, by definition, to investigation of processes within the individual who has committed a criminal act. Depending on one's particular suborientation, criminality in a given individual may be ascribed to hereditary factors, throwback to an earlier form of man, or possession of a "criminal" personality.

The research methodology most common to studies rooted in the subjective orientation has been the comparison of criminals with non-criminals. Unfortunately, it appears that investigators have generally chosen to compare institutionalized criminals with a non-institutionalized sample. The validity of such a measure is dubious. It rests on the assumption that the institutionalized population is representative of the universe of criminals, while those on the "outside" are all non-criminals. Obviously, not all criminals get caught, nor are all caught criminals sent to jail. Institutionalized samples thus constitute a subset of the total criminal population which may differ from the parent population in systematic and significant ways. Results of early research which found "criminals" to be less intelligent than the "normal" population (cf. Tulchin, 1939), for example, may be attributed in some degree to this biased selection process.

The view that even a majority of the non-institutionalized population are "non-criminal" has also been called into question (Rubington & Weinberg, 1968). Wallerstein & Wyle (1947), for example, prepared a list of forty-nine criminal acts and distributed it to persons representing a wide range of occupations and professions across the United States.

Ninety-nine per cent of the one thousand six hundred ninety-eight persons from whom they received replies admitted to having committed at least one of the forty-nine crimes listed in the questionnaire. In terms of severity of the crimes represented, sixty-four per cent of the males and twenty-nine per cent of the females admitted to having committed at least one act which would legally have been considered a felony. The authors concluded that unlawful behavior is a very common phenomenon which is not necessarily conducted by socially and/or psychologically abnormal persons. As they stated: "Whether a man becomes a confirmed criminal may well depend less on what he does to society than on what society does to him." (Wallerstein & Wyle, 1947, p. 112)

The objective approaches, on the other hand, have focussed on those factors external to the individual which may cause or increase the probability of indulging in criminal activity. Particular suborientations of this approach have included geographical (eg., J. Cohen, 1941), ecological (eg., Burgess, 1962; Shaw & McKay, 1942), economic (eg., Bongor, 1969; Glaser & Rice, 1959; Vold, 1958,) and sociological and cultural approaches (eg., Merton, 1968; Merton, Broom, & Cottrell, 1959; Rubington & Weinberg, 1968).

The major deficiency of the various objective approaches has been their major reliance on correlative studies. Thus, while a great volume of published literature exists which contain correlations between various conditions and crime, very little exists which has shown any sort of cause and effect relationship.

The remaining portion of this introduction will be devoted to a more detailed discussion of one particular objective approach known as the "labelling perspective" (eg., Becker, 1963; Lemert, 1951, 1967; Payne, 1973; Schur, 1968, 1969, 1971; Simmons, 1969). This approach has also been called the "interactionist perspective" (Rubington & Weinberg, 1968), and the "social reaction orientation" (Taylor, Walton, & Young, 1973).

The Labelling Perspective

While focussing on factors external to the individual the labelling perspective has concentrated on societal reaction to the individual's behavior. Minimal emphasis has been placed upon characteristics of the individual himself. Similarly, the content of the individual's behaviour was ascribed a secondary role; of primary concern was whether or not a label of "deviant" was applied. "The deviant is one to whom the label has been successfully applied; deviant behavior is behavior that people so label (Becker, 1963, p. 9)." Essentially the same view was expressed earlier by Kitsuse (1962), Lemert (1951), and Tannenbaum (1938), and it has become an integral part of the labelling perspective.

The labelling perspective's emphasis on social reaction and labels implies that when we speak of "those persons who commit deviant acts" and "those persons who have been labelled deviant", we are undoubtedly speaking of two overlapping, but distinct populations. Perhaps one of the most meritorious aspects of the labelling orientation is its acknowledgement of the sometimes subjective, arbitrary, and fallable nature of the labelling process.

The central tenet of the labelling perspective, as Schur (1971) has noted, is quite straightforward:

Deviance and social control always involve processes of social definition...At the heart of the labelling approach is an emphasis on process; deviance is viewed not as a static entity but rather as a continuously shaped and reshaped outcome of dynamic processes of social interaction. (pp. 7-8)

This emphasis has its roots in the writings of Cooley (1902) and Mead (1956), both of whom suggested that it is through interaction with others that one compiles a concept of oneself. Thus, it may be expected that labelling an individual "deviant" will change the self-concept of that individual and perhaps lead to further deviant behaviour which, in turn, would further solidify the label.

As A. Cohen (1966) has noted, there is probably a considerable difference between being a rule violator and being labelled as such:

It is one thing to commit a deviant act - eg., acts of lying, stealing, homosexual intercourse, use of narcotics, drinking to excess, unfair competition.

It is quite another thing to be charged and invested with a deviant character, ie., to be socially defined as a liar, a thief, a homosexual, a dope fiend, a drunk, a chiseler, a brown-noser, a hoodlum, a sneak, a scab,

and so on. It is to be assigned a role, to a special type or category of persons. The label - the name of the role - does more than signify one who has committed such-and-such a deviant act. Each label evokes a characteristic imagery. It suggests someone who is normally or habitually given to certain kinds of deviance; who may be expected to behave in this way; who is literally a bundle of odious or sinister qualities. It activates sentiments and calls out responses in others: rejection, contempt, suspicion, withdrawal, fear, hatred. (p. 24)

Generally, there are two ways in which deviant labels may be conferred upon individuals: (a) through formal status degradation ceremonies (see Garfinkel, 1956) such as court trials, sanity hearings, or public criticism (Payne, 1973); or (b) through informal means such as stereotyping. Common to modes of both types, however, is that they redefine the individual psychological makeup - past, present, and future.

The work of the denunciation effects the recasting of the objective character of the perceived other: The other person becomes in the eyes of his condemners literally a different and new person. It is not that the new attributes are added to the old 'nucleus.' He is not changed, he is reconstituted. The former identity, at best, receives the accent of mere

appearance. In the social calculus of reality representations and test, the former identity stands as accidental; the new identity is the 'basic reality.' What he is now is what, 'after all,' he was all along. (Garfinkel, 1956, p. 422)

This total reconstruction was amply delineated by Tannenbaum (1938, 1968) in his description of the "dramatization of evil." He cited the example of the youth who breaks windows, annoys people, steals from pushcarts, plays truant, etc., all the while defining his actions in terms of play, adventure, excitement, and mischief. To those in the community, however, these actions are seen as taking the form of nuisance, evil, and delinquency, with the demand for control, admonition, chastisement, and police court. The conflict arises out of a divergence of values and, as the "problem" develops, the situation is gradually redefined.

There is a gradual shift from the definition of the specific acts as evil to a definition of the individual as evil, so that all his acts come to be looked upon with suspicion . . . From the community's point of view, the individual who used to do bad and mischievous things has now become a bad and unredeemable human being.

(Tannenbaum, 1938, p. 17)

A similar change may occur in the self-concept of the individual.

He begins to feel a sense of injustice at being unduly punished for his adventurous play activity, and soon notes the social definitions which he is uniquely given. This results in a change of self-definition.

The young delinquent becomes bad because he is defined as bad and because he is not believed if he is good. There is a persistent demand for consistency in character. The community cannot deal with people whom it cannot define. Reputation is this sort of public definition. Once it is established, then unconsciously all agencies combine to maintain this definition even when they apparently and consciously attempt to deny their own implicit judgement. (Tannenbaum, 1938, pp. 17 - 18)

In perusing the literature, the present author was able to determine three factors which have been cited or implied as prima facie causes of behaviour leading to a label of deviant.

The first of these, which we shall call the "accidental" mode of initiation to the label, may most properly be attributed to Becker (1963). He felt that the "common wisdom" which saw all deviant acts as intentional and somehow criminally motivated was incorrect. Rather, acts which eventually led to the individual's being labelled deviant may have been completely without criminal intent. Persons deeply involved in a particular culture or

subculture, for example, may simply be unaware that everyone does not act "that way". Their "normal" way of acting, therefore, might lead them to be cast as deviant when in contact with another culture. Persons who fall into the "accidental" mode of initiation might best be described as rule-violators whose time has come.

A further example of the "accidental" mode concerns the recent Watergate scandal in the United States. Daniel Ellsberg (1974), while recounting experiences he had had during his tenure with the U. S. State Department, noted that he and other government officials often indulged in technically criminal (rule-violating) behaviour because they felt that the law simply did not apply to them. Apparently, most felt that their actions were part of routine government business for the good of America, with little thought given to the possibility that they would soon be cast in another light.

The second mode of initiation to the label of deviant shall be called "forced deviancy". This may occur when conditions are such that a person must engage in deviant activity in order to merely obtain the staples of life. A classic example is provided by the story of Jean Val Jean in Victor Hugo's (1927) Les Miserables. Jean Val Jean was forced to steal food in order to feed his family. This "economic determinism" approach is perhaps most closely related to Merton's (1938; 1971) theory of anomie, and has been extensively researched (eg., Bonger, 1969; Cressey, 1966; Glaser & Rice, 1959; Merton, 1968; Vold, 1958).

Most important for the present paper, however, is the third mode of initiation into deviant careers, which has been dubbed the "self-fulfilling prophecy" after Merton (1968). The classic example of this process was given in his "Sociological parable" of the Last National Bank. It seemed that the Last National Bank of Millingville was a flourishing institution whose solvency was beyond question. But on Black Wednesday, rumours spread among the depositors that the Bank was in fact insolvent.

The stable financial structure of the bank had depended upon one set of definitions of the situation: belief in the validity of the interlocking system of economic promises men live by. Once depositors had defined the situation otherwise, once they questioned the possibility of having these promises fulfilled, the consequences of this unreal definition were real enough. (Merton, 1968, p. 476)

Thus, as Black Wednesday - and even Blacker Thursday - progressed and closed, the rumours spread wider and the queues of anxious persons in front of the tellers' wickets grew longer. Because of their redefinition of the situation, the rumours came true. On Thursday, the Bank closed its doors for the last time.

The self-fulfilling prophecy, then, is based upon an initially

false definition of the situation which evokes behaviour that makes the originally false conception come true.

This self-fulfilling pattern may begin some deviant careers. As was previously noted, Cooley (1902) and Mead (1956) have speculated on the mechanisms by which persons come to have a social definition of themselves. This process is illustrated diagrammatically in Figure 1.

Of relevance is the work of Piliavin & Briar (1964) who spent nine months in the field observing interactions between juvenile officers in a police department and juveniles. Data were primarily in the form of notes and records compiled during the nine month period. Confrontations between juveniles and the police were characterized by the authors as occurring (in decreasing order of frequency) in the following three ways:

- (1) encounters occurring as the result of officers' directly observing youth either committing offenses or in "suspicious circumstances";
- (2) encounters taking place at or near the scene of offenses reported to police headquarters; and
- (3) encounters resulting from officers spotting officially "wanted" youths. (p. 207)

It was found, however, that the probability of an encounter actually occurring, or of a particular disposition being taken, was

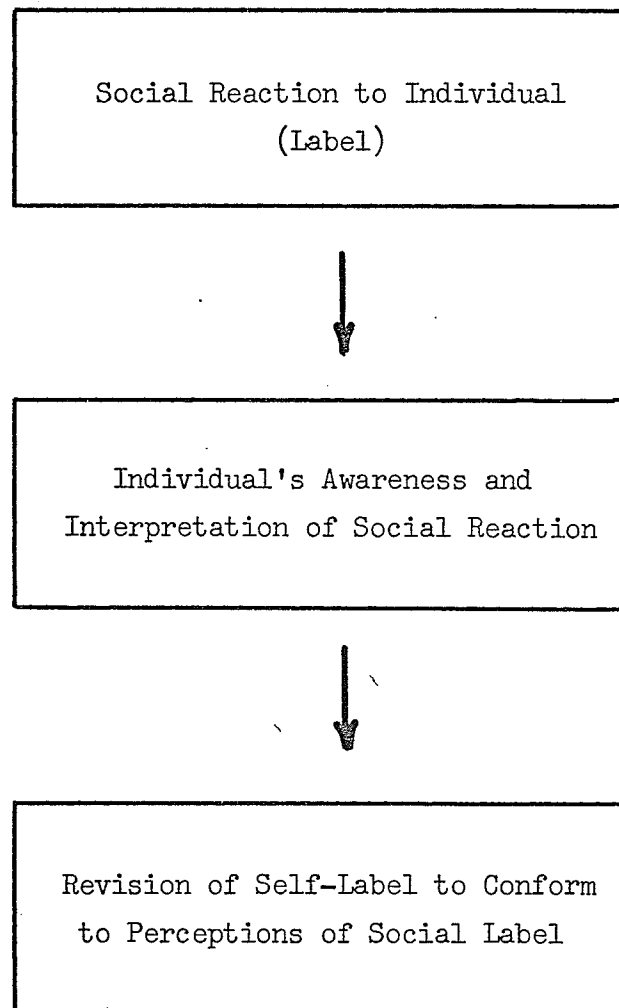


Figure 1. The creation of a deviant self-image (From Payne, 1973, p. 35).

only in part determined by the knowledge that an offense had actually taken place or that a particular juvenile had committed an offense. Once the decision had been made to encounter a youth, police officers were then forced to decide what to do with him.² Several modes of disposition were open to them. Police could:

- (1) merely release the individual outright;
- (2) release the individual, but submit a "field interrogation report" which briefly described the circumstances initiating the police-juvenile confrontation;
- (3) give the juvenile an "official reprimand" and release him to parents or guardian;
- (4) make a citation to juvenile court; or
- (5) arrest the individual and confine him in juvenile hall.

Dispositions 3, 4, and 5 differed significantly from the first two in two major respects. First, the process of reprimand, citation, or arrest almost inevitably meant that the youth would be taken to the police station. Second, any of dispositions 3, 4, or 5 meant

²The exception here is the category of officially "wanted" youths who were usually placed under arrest or protective custody.

that the individual acquired a "record", ie., his name was officially recorded in the police files as a juvenile violator.

The data indicated that for nearly all categories of offenses the police exercised their discretionary powers to the fullest extent, using all dispositional alternatives available to them. Piliavin & Briar (1964) found, however, that certain systematic biases were exposed in terms of which disposition was used.

The decisions were based largely on cues which emerged in the police-juvenile interaction from which the officer made inferences regarding the character of the youth. Cues included group affiliations, age, race, grooming, dress, and demeanor. Older persons, members of gangs, Negroes, individuals with greasy hair, black jackets, or jeans, and boys who, in their interactions, did not show the proper degree of "respect" tended to receive the most severe dispositions. Of all the above cues, demeanor was considered the most influential, being the major determinant for 50 - 60 per cent of the cases.

The cues used by police to assess demeanor were fairly simple. Juveniles who were contrite about their infractions, respectful to officers, and fearful of the sanctions that might be employed against them tended to be viewed by patrolmen as basically law-abiding or at least "salvageable".

For these youths it was usually assumed that informal or formal reprimand would suffice to guarantee their future conformity. In contrast, youthful offenders who were fractious, obdurate, or who appeared nonchalant in their encounters with patrolmen were likely to be viewed as "would-be tough guys" or "punks" who fully deserved the most severe sanction: arrest. (Piliavin & Briar, 1964, pp. 210 - 211)

These discriminatory practices of detainment, interrogation and differential labelling were based on "good investigative tactics". In the words of one of their informants, a "highly placed official" in the department:

If you know that the bulk of your delinquent problem comes from kids who, say, are from 12 to 14 years of age, when you're out on patrol you are much more likely to be sensitive to the activities of juveniles in this age bracket than older or younger groups. This would be good law enforcement practice. The logic in our case is the same except that our delinquency problem is largely found in the Negro community and it

is these youths toward whom we are sensitized. (Piliavin & Briar, 1964, p.212)

The relevance of this logic to the present concern with the problem of "self-fulfilling prophecy" is obvious. Interviews with police officers and their acquired data showed that Negroes were more likely to be accosted as potential troublemakers. One would expect that Black hostility toward the police would increase as a function of the greater harassment received, particularly in those youths innocent of any wrongdoing. Similarly, one might expect individuals to become progressively more nonchalant at the prospect of being accosted and interrogated by the police as the frequency of such incidents increased; it would have, after all, become routine. It is important to note, however, that it was exactly these predictable behavioural reactions that law enforcement personnel viewed as being indicative of the serious delinquent. In this way, the officers' prejudices were reinforced, leading to a closer surveillance of Negro districts, leading to more numerous encounters with Negro youths, leading to a higher inclusion of Negroes in delinquency statistics in view of the more severe dispositions imposed upon those evidencing the "tough guy" demeanor, leading to increased "objective justification" of why their discriminatory practices should continue, and so on.

Similar data have been reported by Heussenstamm (1973) in a study which investigated differential treatment toward drivers as

a function of political affiliation. A group of Black students, whom the author taught at California State College, began to complain bitterly to the author of the continuous harassment they were receiving from police. All were receiving traffic citations, which they felt were undeserved, to the point where many were in danger of losing their driving permits. Discussion revealed that the one thing they had in common was that all displayed a "Black Panther" bumper sticker on their vehicles. A field study was proposed to investigate whether it was this affiliation that had led to their harassment.

Fifteen students were chosen from a larger group of volunteers to participate in the study. All were forewarned of the purpose of the study. A large cross-section of persons were represented in the sample: 5 were black, 5 were white, and 5 were of Mexican descent (there were 3 males and 2 females in each group); their appearance ranged from "a shoulder-length-maned-hippie" to a "white-shirt-and-necktie straight". All had exemplary driving records. Their vehicles ranged from a "flower child hippie van" to "standard American makes of all types", but all were free of defects. Lights, horns, brakes, and tires were all inspected and found to be satisfactory.

The study required that all 15 participants place "Black Panther" bumper stickers on their vehicles, and then merely drive as usual to see if anything would happen. All participants vowed

that they would continue to drive in their normal fashion, and promised that they would do nothing to attract police attention. If given a ticket, they were to accept it without resistance or complaint. A meeting was held beforehand to discuss rules of the road, and to point out the negative sanctions that awaited them (eg., possibly losing licences; increases in insurance premiums) if they received too many tickets. All violations obtained during the course of the study, however, were to be paid by the author. With that, the volunteers placed the stickers on their cars, and continued about their normal business.

Within two hours, the first participant received a ticket for "making an incorrect lane change" on the freeway. Five more were received by others on the second day for such offenses as "following too closely", "driving too slowly in the high-speed lane of the freeway", and "driving erratically". And so the trend continued. Several participants were forced to drop out of the study because they had reached the previously agreed upon maximum of three citations — one short of losing their licenses. By the end of 17 days, the "exemplary" group of drivers had amassed a total of 33 traffic violations, and the study was halted due to lack of funds. There appeared to be no consistency as to whom the violations were given in regards to sex, race, appearance, type of car, or other variables. Rather, the author concluded that the mere identification

of the participants as supporters of the "Black Panthers" was enough to cause them harassment. Some citations were undoubtedly deserved, but the probability of the group gathering so many citations, in view of the possible negative consequences to themselves and their previously impeccable driving records, seems remote.

Thus, in their harassment of these supposed Black Panther supporters, as well as in their harassment of Black juveniles in the Piliavin & Briar (1964) study cited earlier, the police may well have set the stage for future hostilities, and a fulfillment of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

These two studies (Heussenstamm, 1973; Piliavin & Briar, 1964) are not without deficiencies. Ward (1971), for example, has criticized Piliavin & Briar (1964) for going too far beyond their data. While they indicated the possible implications of felt hostility toward law enforcement personnel, no data were presented which demonstrated this to the case. While the Black Panther students who motivated Heussenstamm's (1973) study expressed resentment regarding their harassment, it is not known to what extent their feelings became expressed in action.

..... An abundance of psychological literature (eg., See, Adair,, 1973; Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1969), however, has demonstrated that expectations, whether in regard to positive or negative behaviour, may become fulfilled merely because a prediction has been made. The effect has been demonstrated in experimental laboratories (eg., Rosenthal, 1966), as well as in such

applied settings as classrooms (Rosenthal & Jacobson, 1968) and factories (King, 1974).

Similarly, data from the following studies have indicated that negative attitudes toward outgroups may lead to a fulfillment of negative expectations. Using a Hullian notion of anxiety production in response to goal blockage, Gillin (1942) has presented anthropological data regarding Indians showing that negativity is the usual response when culturally valued goals are blocked by the dominant society. The "Monture report" (Canadian Corrections Association, 1967) came to similar conclusions from a national survey regarding Canadian Indians and the law. A study of Blacks who supported and/or participated in the Detroit riots of 1967 (Forward & Williams, 1970) gave further support to this view. Merton's (1938, 1968, 1971) theory of anomie made many of the same predictions. Thus, the belief that a particular outgroup was either unwilling, unable, or unworthy of assimilating into the dominant society, followed by action which denied the group participation in that society, led to behaviour from the outgroup members that supported the original belief - a fulfillment of the self-fulfilling prophecy.

Thus far, the self-fulfilling prophecy has been described only in terms of how expectations may account for some initial acts of deviance. It is clear, however, that similar processes may be operative in maintaining the deviant identity once it has already been established.

Rehabilitation of rule-violators is presumably best accomplished

through resocialization, a process whereby the former offender is taught to fulfill himself through legitimate, socially approved means (Nedd, 1973). Naturally, once the techniques are learned, the released offender must be afforded the appropriate legitimate opportunity structures to employ those techniques. Cloward & Ohlin (1960) have stated that:

There are marked differences from one part of the social structure to another in the types of illegitimate adaptations that are available to persons in search of solutions to problems of adjustment arising from the restricted availability of legitimate means. In this sense, then, we can think of individuals as being located in two opportunity structures - - one legitimate, the other illegitimate. Given limited access to success goals by legitimate means, the nature of the delinquent response that may result will vary according to the availability of various illegitimate means. (p. 152)

Many criminologists (eg., Horlick, 1961; Kirkpatrick, 1965; Lemert, 1951; Pownall, 1971; Rubin, 1970; Waller, 1974), penologists (eg., Brown, Markman, & Dupont, 1970; Canadian Committee on Corrections, 1969; McSally, 1960), and previously institutionalized offenders (eg., See, data presented in Brown, et al., 1970; Horlick, 1961; Marshall & La Rague, 1974; Waller, 1974) have indicated that community support, especially in terms of

availability of suitable employment, is one, if not the key variable of importance in determining the probability of recidivism. All have stated, either implicitly or explicitly, that lack of opportunity to support oneself financially after release leaves the ex-inmate with little choice but to return to criminal activity. Moriarity (1974) has demonstrated that only when individuals are stigmatized do they feel and act like social deviants. Thus, stigmatization may serve to reinforce the former deviant role such that criminal activity becomes the most salient mode in the illegitimate opportunity structure once the legitimate means are blocked.

Numerous authors (eg., Canadian Committee on Corrections, 1969; Kirkpatrick, 1965; Lemert, 1951) have commented on the general lack of employment opportunities for ex-offenders. None, however, have provided data to support their claims that any lack of opportunities are due to their ex-offender status per se. Pownall (1971) and Taggart (1972) have shown that ex-inmates do indeed have higher unemployment rates than the general population, but as Taggart (1972) has indicated, one need not necessarily infer from this datum that ex-inmates are receiving prejudicial treatment in the labour market. Pownall (1971), for example, found in a United States national sample of released prisoners (N=945) that almost two-thirds had only a ninth grade education or less. Thus, the higher unemployment rates experienced by ex-inmates may merely reflect their generally lower job qualifications.

To the present author's knowledge, the only experimental investigation of the effects of a criminal history on employment availability was

that performed by Schwartz & Skolnick (1962). In the first part of their study, they investigated the effects of a criminal record on the employment opportunities of unskilled workers during the summer season in a resort area in the Catskill Mountains. Four employment folders were prepared, all of which described a "thirty-two year old single male of unspecified race, with a high school training in mechanical trades, and a record of successive short term jobs as a kitchen helper, maintenance worker, and handyman." (p. 134) The only difference between the four folders was that in the first, the individual was described as having been convicted and sentenced for assault; in the second, the applicant had been tried for assault, but acquitted; the third folder was similar to the second except for the additional inclusion of a letter from the judge certifying the finding of not guilty and reaffirming the legal presumption of innocence²; the final folder made no mention of a criminal record.

One hundred potential employers were visited by a research assistant who posed as an employment agent. They were assigned non-randomly (due to a misunderstanding in instructions) to one of the four "treatment" groups. Each employer was asked whether he could "use" the man described in the folder; no indication was given at any time that the

²The authors indicated that such an accompanying letter is available to acquitted persons if they request and petition the court for it. An investigation by the present author has, however, led to the conclusion that this is available only in the United States.

employer was in fact participating in an experiment. If the employer indicated that he would like to hire the individual, he was phoned a few hours later and told that the applicant had taken another job. "Responses were dichotomized: those who expressed a willingness to consider the applicant in any way were termed positive; those who made no response or who explicitly refused to consider the candidate were termed negative." (p. 135) Their results are depicted in Figure 2.

Nine (36%) of the twenty-five employers approached with the "no criminal record" folder made positive responses regarding the applicant. The authors considered this to be the "ceiling" of jobs available for their particular applicant under the given field conditions. All other categories were to be compared to this "maximum" possible number. For the folder of the previously convicted and sentenced applicant, only one (4%) of the twenty-five employers approached gave any sort of positive response. The applicants who were acquitted and in possession of a letter from the judge, and those acquitted but without such a letter, received six (24%) and three (12%) positive responses respectively.

The authors concluded that "conviction constitutes a powerful form of 'status degradation' which continues to operate after the time when, according to the generalized theory of justice underlying punishment in our society, the individual's 'debt' has been paid. A record of conviction produces a durable if not permanent loss of status." (p. 136) From the labelling theory perspective, one would say that the labels live on.

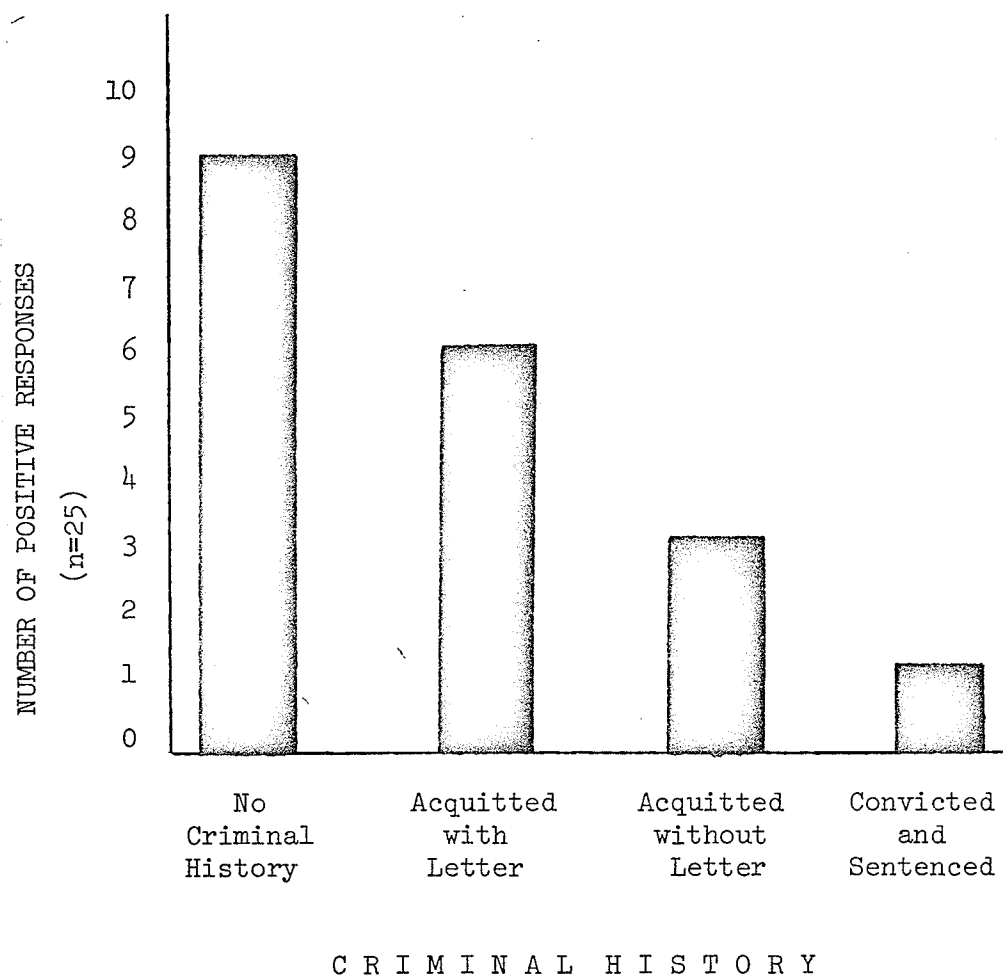


Figure 2. Effects of four types of legal folders on job opportunities. (Adapted from Schwartz & Skolnick, 1962, p. 137)

Are the stigmatic effects of a criminal past allocated evenly across all those who have been labelled deviant? Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) investigated this question in the second part of their study. This second study concerned physicians, and specifically those who had been defendants in suits involving medical malpractice. A total of 58 physicians were questioned, their positions ranging from "the lowest professional stratum to chiefs of staff and services in (Connecticut's) most highly regarded hospitals." (p. 138) Of the 58 cases, 38 were clearly won by the doctors involved; the remainder were either settled out of court or were judged in favour of the plaintiff.

The consequences of the court action to these doctors are most instructive. In no case was a physician's hospital privileges reduced after the suit; all doctors had no difficulty in later obtaining malpractice insurance; the State Licensing Commission, headed by a physician, never intervened in any instance; local medical societies, though they investigated all charges, never took any action other than to recommend or assist in legal defense against the suit.

In terms of their practice, 52 of the 58 respondents reported no negative effects of the law suit. Out of the remaining six, five reported that their practice actually improved after the suit. As one physician (a radiologist) reported: "I guess all the doctors in town felt sorry for me because new patients started coming in from doctors who had not sent me patients previously." (p. 139)

Only one physician reported adverse consequences, and even these were only indirectly related to the suit. This individual suffered a temporary drop in his practice because of a lowered effectiveness in surgical work due to severe physical and emotional stress symptoms.

It would appear, then, that persons of higher social and professional status do not feel the stigmatic effects of labelled deviancy nearly as much as their more unskilled counterparts. But why? Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) have offered several theoretical interpretations.

First, they noted that the crimes for which the stigmatic effects were investigated (assault vs. malpractice) differed in the degree to which intent could be ascribed. An assault charge carries with it the implication of intent to harm, and further implies that the man so charged may repeat his act. Malpractice, however, implies negligence or failure to exercise reasonable care. This, the authors felt, did not imply future repetitions of the act. They doubted, however, that the public would make such fine distinctions.

Second, high occupational status may tend to insulate doctors from allegations of incompetence. Professionals are generally "assumed to possess uniformly high ability, to be oriented toward community service, and to enforce adequate standards within their own occupation." (p. 141)

Finally, physicians appear to be protected from negatively stigmatic consequences by the powerful support they receive from individual

colleagues and professional organizations.

Of course, the studies varied in many respects. Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) observed, for instance, that the first study (ie., with unskilled labourers) investigated direct reaction to previous legal involvement of applicants, while the second (malpractice) study required physicians to recall immediate and eventual consequences to an event which may have occurred as many as 15 years prior to the study. Error due to distorted recollection, therefore, remains as a possible contaminant of the second study.

It should also be noted that the unskilled labourer study investigated only immediate consequences of legal entanglement, with comparisons made between an accused and identical non-accused individual at one point in time. The malpractice study, on the other hand, examined both immediate and long-term consequences. Further, no control groups were included. Thus, while most of the physicians reported no significant changes in their practice, other physicians' (eg., an uninvolved control group) practices may have increased over the same period. That is, while the physicians who had been sued did not receive any active censure (eg., loss of license or hospital privileges), their stigmatization may have been reflected by their lack of economic growth.

A third difference between the two research designs may also have influenced results. In the unskilled labourer study, employers were provided with all the "relevant" information about applicants, including

previous legal history. This compares to the usual labour market situation where employers are told, or can infer, that an applicant has been undesirably involved with the law. It is doubtful, however, that physicians' employers (ie., patients) will be informed that a physician has been involved in a suit of malpractice. A malpractice study which desired comparability with the unskilled labourer study, therefore, should have presented prospective patients with data regarding previous history of malpractice of doctors, and queried whether the patient would be willing to procure that physician's services.

Ross (1963) has added the additional criticism that two different types of stigma (ie., stigma of crime and stigma of tort) were investigated by the two studies, such that direct comparison of results is invalid. He felt that in order to make the conclusion that differential stigmatizing effects were due to status differences of offenders, one should compare reactions to persons of varying statuses who had committed the same crime.

Further criticisms of Schwartz & Skolnick's (1962) study may be noted. Procedurally, their experiment on unskilled labourers must be viewed with suspicion because of the (unintentionally) non-random way in which employers were assigned to groups. Further, their description leaves one with the impression that the research assistant/employment agent knew full well the type of folder he was giving to each employer, thus leaving the data open to criticisms of influence through experimenter-bias (See, Adair, 1973; Rosenthal, 1966).

Employment availability also appears to vary according to the ex-inmate's racial origin. Pownall (1971) found that while unemployment rates among ex-inmates are consistently higher than those of the general population, unemployment rates among Black ex-offenders are consistently higher than those of similar Whites. It would thus appear that minority group members may be victims of a double prejudice: those resulting from both legal and racial stigma. Apparently, however, no one has experimentally determined the additional effects racial identification might have upon employment availability for persons bearing legal stigma.

The Present Study

The Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) investigations of legal stigma, as have been outlined, are deserving of much criticism. The importance and significance of these studies to the field of criminology in general, and to the labelling perspective in particular, cannot, however, be minimized. In an area deluged with empty theorization, single-person case studies, anecdotal evidence and correlational analyses, Schwartz & Skolnick's (1962) utilization of the experimental method was a most welcome addition. It was the present author's intention to build on their example, benefit from their mistakes, and undertake another step in the study of the stigmatic effects of deviant legal and racial labels.

The design of the present study was similar to Schwartz & Skolnick's (1962) study of legal stigma regarding unskilled labourers. It differed, however, in two major respects. First, the "acquitted but with a letter from the judge" condition was not included in the investigation, as this post-trial alternative is peculiar to the legal system in the United States.

A second change concerned the addition of another dimension of investigation -- an assessment of the stigma associated with minority racial group membership. The Indian/White differentiation was chosen for investigation because of the paucity of data in the area, plus its special relevance to the Canadian scene.

In summary, the two factors of criminal history and racial identification were varied in the present study. Three levels of legal history were employed: No Criminal History (NCH); Previously Arrested but Acquitted (ACQ), and; Previously Arrested, Convicted, and Sentenced (CON). The racial variable was represented by an Indian-White comparison.

Hypotheses. In view of Schwartz & Skolnick's (1962) findings, it was predicted that job opportunities would become less available as degree of previous legal entanglement increased. Thus, it was expected that maximal job availability would be enjoyed by individuals in the NCH groups; the least number of job opportunities would be available to individuals in the CON groups. Individuals in the ACQ conditions were expected to have a moderate number of job opportunities, falling

in between the other two groups listed above.

The reader will recall Pownall's (1971) finding that minority group (Black) ex-offenders experienced consistently higher unemployment rates than similar Whites. In view of this, as well as the author's subjective appraisal that Canadian Indians are generally relegated to "second class" status, it was predicted that Indian applicants would receive significantly fewer job opportunities than Whites across all levels of criminal history.

II

METHOD

Subjects

The subject sample consisted of one hundred and fifty presumably different business firms which had advertised unskilled and semi-skilled positions available in the "Help Wanted" columns of a large daily newspaper in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Only these positions were considered, as they are the ones for which former inmates would be most qualified. (Pownall, 1971; Taggart, 1972). Furthermore, only businesses which specified mailed correspondence were included in the sample.

Procedure

Six separate employment histories were prepared, representing the six experimental groups in the 2x3 design described above. The six employment histories were identical in all respects except for apparent race and previous criminal record. The crime involved in some of the cases was assault, to facilitate comparison with the Schwatz & Skolnick (1962) study.

In all six histories the applicant was a twenty-nine year old single male with a grade ten education, a description which roughly typifies the released offender (Pownall, 1971). The applicant was further described as having had some high school training in mechanical trades, and a record of successive short-term jobs as a gas station

attendant, restaurant employee, and truck driver.

The racial manipulation was made through variation of the name of the applicant. Toward this end, a pilot study was performed in December, 1973. One hundred and eighty-seven University of Manitoba Introductory Psychology students (100 females and 87 males) were given a list of 22 names and asked to identify the ethnic or religious background of each name (See Appendix A for a more detailed accounting of procedures and results). Subjects were also asked to rate, on a five-point scale, the degree of confidence with which they assigned each ethnic label (where 1=not at all confident and 5=very confident). From the results of the pilot study, it was decided that the names Peter Crowfoot and George McDougall would be used for the "applicants" in the present experiment. The name Peter Crowfoot was listed by 92.0 per cent of the subjects as being of Indian ancestry, with a mean confidence rating of 4.02 on the 5-point scale. On the other hand, 95.7 per cent of the sample listed the name of George McDougall as being "British" (ie., Scottish, English, or Irish). The mean confidence rating here was 3.89 on the same 5-point scale. Mean confidence ratings did not differ significantly for the two names ($t=1.00$; $p>.05$).

Both Indian and White applicants said they came from Pine Falls, a small town in rural Manitoba that has significant numbers of both White and Indian inhabitants. There should thus have been no inconsistency between the applicants' apparent racial background and place of upbringing.

Employment histories were presented by merely listing "some of the jobs I had" in serial fashion. For the NCH groups, all previous jobs were listed with no reasons for leaving cited. For the ACQ groups, however, mention was made that the second most recent job had ended because the applicant had been arrested on a charge of assault, and that the employment was not renewed after acquittal. The CON groups were said to have lost their second most recent jobs because of being sent to prison on a charge of assault.

The most recent job for all applicants was that of baker's helper, a job available both inside and outside the prison environment. Some applicants were thus seeking employment after being released from prison, while those from the NCH and ACQ groups were simply unemployed and seeking further employment.

Finally, all of the applicants gave as an address a residence in a lower-middle class (blue collar) section of the city. The location of the "experimental headquarters" was thus consistent with the general description portrayed by the applicant, who would probably be expected to live in a predominantly blue-collar neighbourhood.

A potential problem arose, however, with the coding of group membership. The author found that numerous "Help Wanted" advertisements gave only a job description and a box number to which applications could be sent. It would have been impossible in these instances, therefore, to determine to which business firm one was sending an application.

Thus, when a reply arrived at the experimental residence, it would have been similarly impossible to determine the group to which the sender (ie., business firm) belonged. The name of the addressee (ie., Peter Crowfoot or George McDougall) would have indicated whether the response was made to the White or Indian applicant, but there would be no way of determining group membership in terms of criminal history. The "headquarters" was a private residence, however, and had no boarders. By assigning fictitious room numbers within the residence to each of the supposedly different applicants, the experimental condition of any of the responding firms was easily obtained.

All the above demographic and workhistory information was given in handwritten letters, with one mailed to each of the 150 sample business firms (See Appendix B for copies of each of the six different types of letters sent). All letters were written by the present author according to the following procedure: letters were written in blocks of six, with each block containing one of each type of letter; the order of letters within each block was randomized. In this way, deterioration of the quality of the author's handwriting over time was effectively counterbalanced across conditions.

Letters were sent in several batches, the size of each batch being dependent upon the number of suitable job opportunities that appeared in any given edition of the newspaper. For each edition, the author first went through the "Help Wanted" section and cut out all

advertisements that seemed suitable for the applicants. All chosen opportunities were then randomly assigned to one of the six groups, and all letters for that edition were mailed the same night.

Letters of reply were opened as they arrived, and the responses were classified as being either positive or negative. A positive categorization was assigned whenever any active interest was expressed in the applicant (eg., job offered, given an appointment for an interview). Letters which expressed passive interest (eg., "the job is no longer available, but we'll keep you on file") or none at all were deemed negative.

Business firms which sent positive replies were immediately sent a return letter thanking them for their interest, but indicating that the applicant had found another job in the interim. The exact content of the letter varied so as to be an appropriate response to the reply sent by that particular business firm. It was hoped that in this way the experiment would prove minimally disruptive to the business firms involved.

As noted, job openings were randomly assigned to the six conditions of the experiment. While use of the randomization process would lead one to infer that status or quality of jobs applied for would be equal for all groups, an analysis was performed to ensure that this was indeed the case.

Two classificatory schemata were utilized. The first was

the modified White-Blue Collar scale developed by Rice (see, Robinson, Athanasiou, & Head, 1969, pp. 342-343) of the University of Michigan Survey Research Centre. The following categories are used:

1. High status white-collar work
2. Low status white-collar work
3. High status blue-collar work
4. Low status blue-collar work
5. Farmwork occupations

General white-blue collar divisions were made by Rice on the basis of U. S. Census Bureau job status categories, while "the division between high and low status was determined by finding the median (Census Bureau status) score separately within the white-collar domain and within the blue-collar domain. Those occupations falling above their respective medians were coded 'high' and those falling below were coded 'low'." (Robinson et al., 1969, p.343)

Rice classifications were determined by the present author and an independent judge for each of the 150 jobs applied for by applicants of the present study.

The second classificatory schema was developed by Duncan (see, Reiss, Duncan, Hatt, & North, 1961) and provides ratings of various jobs on the dimension of socio-economic status. Index scale values range from 0 to 96, and were devised from U. S. Census aggregate data on the mean income and educational levels of persons in each

Census occupational category (some 500 categories are represented). Duncan Socio-Economic Indexes (DSI) were determined for each of the 150 jobs applied for by applicants of the present study. Once again, initial classifications were made by both the present author and an independent judge.

After making independent classifications, however, the two judges compared notes. Obvious errors on the part of one judge or the other were rectified; in the case of equally justifiable interpretations, the two scores were left in disagreement and a mean rating entered as that job's DSI score. Finally, it should be noted that both judges were aware of the purpose and design of the study.

III

RESULTS

Job Homogeneity

One hundred per cent agreement was obtained between the two judges regarding the Rice classifications. All 150 of the jobs applied for by applicants of the present study fell into the fourth category -- low status blue collar.

An interjudge agreement of 75.3 per cent was obtained on the DSI scores. The correlation of inter-judge reliability was $r=.93$. The mean of the two DSI scores was used in those instances where disagreements occurred. These scores were placed into the appropriate cells of the 2x3 design, and a two-way fixed effects analysis of variance was performed in order to determine whether job status was indeed equal for all six groups.

By and large, a relatively homogeneous group of jobs was applied for; the DSI's ranged from 4 to 32 (out of a possible range from zero to 96). The mean scores for the six groups are shown in Table 1. The results of the two-way ANOVA (see Appendix C) revealed no significant differences between groups in terms of the average status of jobs for which the six applicants applied. There was a tendency, however, for the jobs applied for by Indian applicants to be of slightly lower status than those applied for by Whites ($F=3.37$; $df=1,144$; $p=.07$).

	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted
White	12.62	13.88	13.76
Indian	12.08	11.08	12.30

n=25 for all cells

Table 1. Mean Duncan Socio-Economic Indexes of jobs
applied for by each of the six groups.

Response Rates

While differential response rates for the six groups were not predicted, the trends which developed were interesting. Response rates for each group, ignoring response content, are presented in Table 2. They can be seen to range from a low of 12.0 per cent (3 responses) for the Indian/CON group, to a high of 44.0 per cent (11 responses) for the Indian NCH group. The overall response rate was 24.7 per cent (36 replies).

The data were analyzed by means of a chi-square analogue to the analysis of variance. This analysis allows one to partition out influence due to main effects, as well as to the association between the a priori determined "key" variable and the dependent variable for each main effect subgroup. This is analogous to the way in which the overall sum of squares is partitioned in the analysis of variance. There are still definite limitations to the chi-square partitioning procedure, however. One cannot, for example, obtain a chi-square value due to the interaction of independent variables; nor can between-group comparisons be performed (except in special instances). The reader is referred to Castellan (1965) and Maxwell (1961) for a discussion of the procedure and its rationale.

In the present analysis (see summary table in Appendix D), a non-significant main effect due to race (collapsing across legal

	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted
White	7 (28.0%)	6 (24.0%)	4 (16.0%)
Indian	11 (44.0%)	6 (24.0%)	3 (12.0%)

n=25 for all cells

Table 2. Number of responses received, regardless of response content, by each group.

history levels) was obtained, as evidenced by the "White x Indian" χ^2 value of less than 1.00 ($df=1$; $p>.10$). There was thus no association between racial identification of the applicant and overall number of replies received. Further, the relationship between legal history and response rates was non-significant for the White applicant sub-group ($\chi^2=1.06$; $df=2$; $p>.10$). The relationship between these same two variables was, however, significant within the Indian applicant sub-group ($\chi^2=8.60$; $df=2$; $p<.02$).

One deficiency of the above analysis is that it did not allow an assessment of the main effect due to legal history (collapsing across race). A subsequent analysis was thus performed. A 2x3 contingency table was prepared for the analysis of criminal history and response rates, and a traditional chi-square operation performed. A χ^2 value of 7.87 was obtained which, with 2 degrees of freedom, is significant at beyond the .02 level. As the partitioning analysis revealed, however, this overall effect is quite probably attributable almost entirely to the relationship between these two variables found in the Indian applicant sub-group.

The Major Analysis: Employment Opportunities

Data for the major analysis, which investigated the number of positive replies for each group (and upon which all hypotheses were focussed), revealed trends similar to those obtained in the

analysis of response rates. Overall, positive returns were received from 14.7 per cent (22 replies) of the employer sample. The smallest number of returns was received by the Indian/CON group, who received 2 job offers (8.0 per cent of jobs applied for). The highest number, on the other hand, was obtained by the Indian/NCH group who received 6 job offers (24.0 per cent of jobs applied for). The number of positive responses received by each of the six groups is presented in Table 3.

As was the case for the analysis of differential response rates, the present analysis employed the chi-square partitioning procedure outlined by Castellan (1965) and Maxwell (1961). As can be seen from the contingency table (see Appendix E), Criminal history was considered to be the "key" variable for this analysis, and the relationship between criminal history and number of job offers was assessed for each of the main effect (racial) sub-groups.

The summary table (see Appendix F) reveals, first of all, that there was a non-significant relationship between criminal history and number of job opportunities within the White applicant sub-group ($\chi^2=1.49$; $df=2$; $p>.10$). This non-significant association was also true with regards to the Indian applicants ($\chi^2=2.77$; $df=2$; $p>.10$). Furthermore, the main effect due to race of the applicant (collapsing across legal history levels) was also found to be non-significant, as evidenced by the "White x Indian" term ($\chi^2<1.00$; $df=1$; $p>.10$).

	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted
White	5 (20.0%)	4 (16.0%)	2 (8.0%)
Indian	6 (24.0%)	3 (12.0%)	2 (8.0%)

n=25 for all cells

Table 3. Number of job offers received by each group.

A deficiency of the above analysis is that it did not allow a test of the main effect due to legal history (collapsing across race of the applicant), nor of the differences between Whites and Indians at each legal history level. A reanalysis of the data was thus subsequently performed. As the contingency table (see Appendix G) reveals, the data on number of job offers were analyzed this time with racial identification of the applicant considered to be the "key" variable of the analysis.

The summary table (see Appendix H) reveals that the relationship between racial identification of the applicant and number of job offers received was non-significant within the NCH sub-group ($X^2 < 1.00$; $df=1$; $p > .10$). This non-significant association was also found within both the ACQ ($X^2 < 1.00$; $df=1$; $p > .10$) and CON ($X^2 < 1.00$; $df=1$; $p > .10$) subgroups. Indian and White applicants thus did not differ significantly in number of jobs received at any level of criminal history. Furthermore, as revealed by the "NCHxACQxCON" term ($X^2=3.94$; $df=2$; $p > .10$), the main effect due to legal history was found to be similarly non-significant.

Quality of Job Offers

Finally, a look at the data left the impression that, though the quantity of job offers did not decrease significantly due to the criminal history or racial identification of the applicants, the quality

of those offers may have. A post hoc analysis was thus performed to investigate the status or quality of those jobs offered each of the six groups. DSI's were once again employed as a measure of job status level. The mean DSI's for each group may be found in Table 4.

The choice of an appropriate statistical analysis for these data were influenced by several factors. First of all, the cells contained unequal n's, and proportionality was not present, such that the usual two-way analysis of variance could not be used. Second, there was reason to believe that the situation of unequal n's was due to at least one of the independent variables; this ruled out an unweighted means analysis. A Least Squares Analysis for Unequal n's using Dwyer's Square Root Algorithm technique was thus deemed most appropriate (see, Kirk, 1968, pp.204-208).

As the summary table for this analysis (see Appendix I) reveals, all effects failed to attain statistical significance. F-ratios for the two main effects of Race ($df=1,16$) and Criminal History ($df=2,16$), and their interaction ($df=2,16$) were all less than one.

	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted
White	$\bar{X}.=11.40$ n=5	$\bar{X}.=10.38$ n=4	$\bar{X}.=12.00$ n=2
Indian	$\bar{X}.=12.25$ n=6	$\bar{X}.=10.67$ n=3	$\bar{X}.=10.00$ n=2

Table 4. Mean Duncan Socio-Economic Indexes of jobs offered each group.

IV

DISCUSSION

Probably the most significant feature about the preceeding analyses was the consistency with which non-significant results were obtained. Regardless of whether the data under consideration were response rates to applicants' letters, number of employment opportunities, or the quality of those opportunities, there was no evidence (with one exception) to suggest that any group was being treated differentially due to their criminal history or racial identification.

With specific regard to the major analysis of employment opportunities (upon which all hypotheses were focussed), there was no significant effect obtained due to racial identification, no significant effect obtained due to criminal history, and nor did the two racial groups differ significantly at any of the legal history levels. All hypotheses thus failed to obtain empirical support.

A first question which comes to mind is the contradiction in findings on the criminal history variable between the present study and that of Schwartz & Skolnick (1962). It will be recalled that those authors had found employment opportunities to be significantly influenced by the criminal history of the applicant, while the present study revealed a non-significant effect. Several interpretations are offered as possible explanations for this inconsistency.

As noted previously, the Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) study was conducted in the Catskill Mountain resort area of New York State. Given that the criminal charge involved was assault, it may be that their results were enhanced to the point of significance due to the particular situation in which their investigation was conducted. That is, Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) stated that opportunities were sought with hotels in the area during the tourist season. In view of the possibility that job openings may well have involved contact with the public (eg., such positions as bellhop, doorman, waiter, elevator operator), hotel managers may have been especially cautious about hiring an individual who, in a fit of rage or whatever, might cause fewer tourist dollars to return next season. Unfortunately, the authors have not delineated the type of jobs sought or acquired.

With the above interpretation in mind, an attempt was made to analyze the data from the present study in terms of jobs that required contact with the public and those that did not. The present author and an independent judge went through the 150 job descriptions and classified them in terms of those which would probably require contact with the public and those that probably would not. An inter-judge agreement of 98.0 per cent was initially obtained; this was subsequently forced to 100 per cent. It was found that most jobs (75.3 per cent) applied for by applicants of the present study were not of a public contact nature. The number of public contact (PC)

and non-public-contact (NPC) jobs was relatively evenly distributed between groups; the number of PC jobs per group, for example, ranged from 6 to 8.

Given that the nature (PC or NPC) of the jobs applied for by each group was quite similar, the author then looked to see if the nature of the jobs acquired varied as a function of legal history. If the current interpretation of the differential results between the present study and that of Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) is to remain feasible, then one would predict that while both PC and NPC jobs would be obtained in the "No Criminal History" conditions, fewer PC jobs would be obtained in those conditions which gave some hint of previous criminal involvement (ie., the "Arrested and Acquitted" and "Arrested and Convicted" conditions). The contingency table for this analysis (see Table 5) would seem to lend support to the hypothesis. Of the eleven job offers received by applicants in the "No Criminal History" condition (the racial variable was collapsed), three were of a PC nature, while 8 were NPC. For the "Arrested and Acquitted" and "Arrested and Convicted" groups, however, all jobs (seven and four respectively) were of a NPC nature, while none were PC. A chi-square analysis on these data, however, revealed that the relationship between criminal history and nature of job received was non-significant ($\chi^2=3.48$; $df=2$; $p>.10$).

A second possible explanation for the difference in findings between Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) and the present study is once again

Type of Job	C r i m i n a l H i s t o r y			Totals
	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted	
Public Contact	3	0	0	3
No Public Contact	8	7	4	19
Totals	11	7	4	22

Table 5. Type of jobs received for each level of criminal history.

of a situational nature, this time in relation to the unemployment level in Winnipeg at the time of the study. A recent news report (October 29, 1974) on the CBC radio network revealed that the number of work permits issued in Canada over the last year reached an all-time high. The relevance of this datum to the present study is made salient when one realizes that in order to obtain working permit for a non-Canadian, a company must demonstrate that there are no Canadians available to fill those jobs. One might thus infer that numerous unskilled jobs were available in Winnipeg at the time the present study was conducted, such that companies would probably be less choosy about who they picked, leading to the non-significant results of the present study.

In terms of a comparison of the design and methods of the two studies, the present author would venture the opinion that the current study represents an improvement over Schwartz & Skolnick's (1962) initial attempt to investigate this social problem area. Unlike their original study, the present one randomly assigned employers to groups, precautions were taken to minimize biasing expectancy effects, and a sample of employers actively seeking employees was utilized in an attempt to avoid the possible "ceiling" effect experienced by Schwartz & Skolnick (1962).

The present study may have fallen victim to its own "ceiling" effect, however, while trying to avoid the pitfalls experienced by Schwartz & Skolnick (1962). That is, in utilizing a sample of employers who had advertised in a local newspaper, the applicants of the present

study may have experienced more competition than those of Schwartz & Skolnick's (1962) study. As such, however, the present study may be more realistic in that it more closely approximates the conditions under which a job search would be conducted.

The more "being-in-the-right-place-at-the-right-time" nature of the Schwartz & Skolnick (1962) study may also have led to their significant results when one considers their study in the light of their non-random assignment of employers to groups. As they state in their article, employment in the Catskills is of a very short term nature. As the present author imagines the situation, one envisions resort hotels hiring all the individuals they need en masse at the beginning of the summer. Thus, their results may well have been largely dependent upon how the employers were non-randomly assigned. For example, if the research assistant/employment agent had first gone to the 25 "No Criminal History" employers, then to the 25 "Acquitted but with a letter from the Judge" employers, and so on, then one would naturally expect the number of job offers to decrease merely because there would be fewer jobs available as time progressed. Unfortunately, the authors did not describe the exact format that their non-randomness took.

On the other hand, as one looks over the various tables which summarize the data of the present study, a general consistency exists for trends to be in the predicted directions. That is, as criminal history became more extensive for each racial group, response rates tended to decrease (six out of six cell frequencies follow the

predicted order), the number of job offers received tended to decrease (six out of six cell frequencies follow the predicted order), and the quality of jobs offered tended to decrease (five out of six cell means follow the predicted order). What may have been needed, therefore, was a more powerful statistical test (in the case of the response rate and job offer analyses) through which one might tease out any significant differences that might exist. Unfortunately, one was not at hand. The nature of the design called for an analysis of the chi-square genre, which is generally not a terribly powerful analysis. In the case of the job quality analysis, unequal n's and small obtained sample sizes (and thus relatively few denominator degrees of freedom in the F-ratio) both mitigate against the possibility of obtaining significant results. Future research along these lines might thus do well to increase sample size in order to see if the same pattern of results are obtained, and at the same time test for significance with more workable sample sizes.

Regarding the racial manipulation, particular caution is warranted in interpretation because of the non-significant tendency for Indian applicants to apply for slightly lower status jobs than Whites. On the assumption that lower status jobs would be easier to obtain, it may be that the observed frequencies in response rates and job offers for the Indian applicant groups are slightly higher than might have been observed had job status been exactly equal. Future investigations which involve application to a variety of different jobs might employ a matching or forced equality technique rather than a straight random

assignment of employers to groups.

In any event, one would hope that the present data have revealed an atmosphere where racial identification and criminal history are minimally relevant or irrelevant factors in securing employment. Such a statement would not be warranted as a conclusion, however, as null results do not provide support for a null hypothesis. Rather, the following statement will be offered: It would appear that the "horror" stories which frequent the literature regarding diminished employment opportunities because of ex-offender status and minority group membership per se are undeserved; a more conservative statement is warranted.

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APPENDIX A

NAME STANDARDIZATION PILOT STUDY

APPENDIX "A"

(Name Standardization Pilot Study)

As noted in the body of the manuscript, the name standardization study was performed in order to obtain two names which would be easily recognized as belonging to persons of Indian and non-Indian ancestry.

A list of 22 names was prepared, some of which the author thought might be considered to be of Indian ancestry. Others were inserted because of their generally non-Indian associations; the rest were merely fillers. The actual task description, instructions, and data sheet given to subjects is shown on the following page.

Subjects were 187 students taking an Introductory Psychology course at the University of Manitoba (100 females, 87 males). All were there to gain credits toward their final grade by participating in an experiment. The major experiment for which they reported was a questionnaire study being run by a colleague of the author. He kindly consented to allow the present author to affix the name standardization study as a final page to his questionnaire.

The final pages in this appendix show the data obtained in the analysis.

In the column at left below is a list of names. Please read each name, and then write down beside it (in the middle column) what you feel is probably that person's ethnic or religious background (eg., English, French, Jewish, Indian, Italian, etc.). Then indicate, in the column at right how confident you feel about your guess. If you feel not at all confident about your guess, put a circle around the number 1. Should you feel very confident, however, then put a circle around the number 5. The numbers 2 through 4 should be used to illustrate varying degrees of confidence.

Name	Ethnicity or Religion	Confidence
Norbert Abigosis	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Thomas Baranchuk	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Nelson Bird	_____	1 2 3 4 5
John Batticcio	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Pierre Cote	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Peter Crowfoot	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Brian Epstein	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Herman Friesen	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Sidney Goldstein	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Andrew Harper	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Joseph Hi-Eagle	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Andrew La Pierre	_____	1 2 3 4 5
George McDougall	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Gerald Morrison	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Ted Palys	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Steven Ross	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Murray Seidman	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Arnold Shingoose	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Morton Stall	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Allan Stevens	_____	1 2 3 4 5
George Turtle	_____	1 2 3 4 5
Joseph Wulkan	_____	1 2 3 4 5

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0*	1	2	3	4	5
Norbert Abigosis (N = 187)	Indian	49	26.20%	1	16	11	11	5	5
	French	35	18.71%	0	11	5	9	4	6
	Italian	23	12.29%	1	9	4	5	3	1
	Greek	20	10.69%	1	4	6	5	3	1
	Jewish	11	5.88%	0	6	4	1	0	0
	English	9	4.81%	0	3	4	0	0	2
	Spanish	5	2.67%	0	2	0	2	1	0
	Scandinavian	5	2.67%	0	4	1	0	0	0
	Mexican	3	1.60%	0	2	1	0	0	0
	African	2	1.07%	0	1	0	1	0	0
	German	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Hungarian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Dutch	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Ukranian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Scottish	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Russian	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	No Response	19	10.16%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Thomas Baranchuk (N = 187)	Ukranian	119	63.64%	1	14	14	25	39	26
	Polish	20	10.70%	0	4	3	3	8	2
	English	16	8.56%	0	4	5	1	6	0
	Jewish	7	3.74%	0	2	2	1	2	0
	German	5	2.67%	0	1	2	0	1	1
	Russian	2	1.07%	0	0	1	1	0	0
	French	2	1.07%	1	0	0	0	0	1
	Dutch	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
...cont'd									

* A confidence level of "0" was assigned when S ventured a guess but did not circle a confidence level, or when a zero was inserted by S.

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
Thomas Baranchuk ...cont'd	Irish	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Czech	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	American	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Slavic	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Scandinavian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Indian	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	No Response	9	4.81%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Nelson Bird (N = 187)	English	142	75.94%	0	21	23	28	36	34
	Indian	29	15.51%	0	3	6	6	6	8
	American	3	1.60%	0	0	1	1	1	0
	Jewish	2	1.07%	0	0	0	2	0	0
	German	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Italian	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Scandinavian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Scottish	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Protestant	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	No Response	6	3.21%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
John Batticcio (N = 187)	Italian	169	90.37%	1	7	23	36	55	47
	Spanish	4	2.14%	0	0	1	2	1	0
	Jewish	4	2.14%	0	2	0	2	0	0
	French	2	1.07%	0	0	0	0	1	1
	English	2	1.07%	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Mexican	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Latin	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Indian	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	No Response	3	1.60%	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
Pierre Cote (N = 187)	French	185	98.93%	2	10	2	5	20	146
	Indian	2	1.07%	1	0	0	0	0	1
	No Response	0	.00%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Peter Crowfoot (N = 187)	Indian	172	91.98%	0	14	8	27	34	89
	English	12	6.42%	0	3	3	1	2	3
	American	2	1.07%	0	0	0	1	1	0
	French	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	No Response	0	.00%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Brian Epstein (N = 187)	Jewish	117	62.57%	1	11	10	21	21	53
	German	33	17.65%	1	4	6	5	12	5
	English	17	9.09%	0	1	0	4	6	6
	French	4	2.14%	0	0	2	0	1	1
	Swedish	2	1.07%	0	0	1	1	0	0
	Indian	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Canadian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	American	1	.53%	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Swiss	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Dutch	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Austrian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	No Response	8	4.28%	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
Andrew Harper ...cont'd	Protestant	3	1.60%	0	0	1	2	0	0
	German	2	1.07%	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Scottish	2	1.07%	0	0	1	1	0	0
	Catholic	2	1.07%	0	0	0	2	0	0
	Irish	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	French	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Canadian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	No Response	11	5.88%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Joseph Hi-Eagle (N = 187)	Indian	175	93.59%	2	12	10	27	39	85
	English	2	1.07%	0	0	0	1	1	0
	French	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	German	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Belgian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Italian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Jewish	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Canadian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	No Response	4	2.14%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Andrew La Pierre (N = 187)	French	182	97.33%	2	11	2	11	34	122
	Metis	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Canadian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Jewish	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	No Response	2	1.07%	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
George McDougall (N = 187)	Scottish	131	70.05%	0	6	6	21	41	57
	English	27	14.44%	2	1	3	7	8	6
	Irish	21	11.23%	0	3	1	5	3	9
	Ukranian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Catholic	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	American	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Celtic	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Swedish	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Canadian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	No Response	2	1.07%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Gerald Morrison (N = 187)	English	122	65.24%	4	17	20	36	29	16
	Scottish	17	9.09%	0	0	1	3	3	10
	Irish	8	4.28%	0	1	4	3	0	0
	Icelandic	6	3.21%	0	0	2	1	2	1
	French	6	3.21%	0	1	1	1	2	1
	American	5	2.67%	0	2	0	2	0	1
	Swedish	4	2.14%	0	0	2	1	1	0
	German	3	1.60%	0	1	0	1	1	0
	Jewish	3	1.60%	0	0	1	1	0	1
	Italian	2	1.07%	0	0	2	0	0	0
	Protestant	2	1.07%	0	0	0	1	1	0
	Norwegian	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Indian	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Catholic	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	No Response	6	3.21%	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
Ted Palys (N = 187)	English	47	25.13%	0	19	12	11	1	4
	French	28	14.97%	0	14	6	5	3	0
	Jewish	13	6.95%	0	5	5	2	1	0
	Polish	12	6.42%	0	6	3	3	0	0
	Greek	12	6.42%	0	6	2	3	1	0
	Italian	11	5.88%	0	2	5	2	2	0
	Ukranian	7	3.74%	0	2	4	1	0	0
	German	6	3.21%	0	4	1	1	0	0
	Indian	6	3.21%	0	2	0	4	0	0
	American	4	2.14%	0	1	0	2	1	0
	Czech	2	1.07%	0	1	1	0	0	0
	Cuban	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	East Indian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Romanian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Oriental	1	.53%	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Scandinavian	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Belgian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Slavic	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Protestant	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Iraqi	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Spanish	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Catholic	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Balkan	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Swiss	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	European	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Dutch	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Hungarian	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	No Response	23	12.30%	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
Steven Ross (N = 187)	English	134	71.66%	5	26	18	33	32	20
	Scottish	9	4.81%	0	2	2	5	0	0
	Irish	8	4.28%	0	3	1	4	0	0
	American	8	4.28%	0	3	0	2	2	1
	Jewish	7	3.74%	0	1	2	0	4	0
	Norwegian	3	1.60%	0	0	1	1	0	1
	German	2	1.07%	0	0	0	0	1	1
	Polish	2	1.07%	0	1	1	0	0	0
	Indian	2	1.07%	0	0	1	1	0	0
	Ukranian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Protestant	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	No Response	10	5.34%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Murray Seidman (N = 187)	Jewish	100	53.48%	3	15	15	21	25	21
	German	40	21.39%	0	6	11	13	9	1
	English	17	9.09%	2	8	2	4	1	0
	Dutch	4	2.14%	0	1	3	0	0	0
	Swedish	3	1.60%	0	3	0	0	0	0
	Ukranian	2	1.07%	0	1	0	1	0	0
	Danish	2	1.07%	0	2	0	0	0	0
	Indian	1	.53%	1	0	0	0	0	0
	Norwegian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Russian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	French	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	American	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Irish	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Scottish	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	Hungarian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Icelandic	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	No Response	10	5.34%	-	-	-	-	-	-

NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	Confidence					
				0	1	2	3	4	5
George Turtle ...cont'd	Scottish	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	No Response	12	6.42%	-	-	-	-	-	-
NAME	Ethnicity	Freq.	% of total	0	1	2	3	4	5
Joseph Wulkan (N = 187)	English	46	24.60%	0	21	10	8	4	3
	German	43	22.99%	1	17	9	7	5	4
	Ukranian	16	8.56%	0	8	2	4	2	0
	Jewish	15	8.02%	0	5	6	3	1	0
	Indian	10	5.34%	0	5	2	2	1	0
	Russian	5	2.67%	0	0	2	3	0	0
	Irish	4	2.14%	0	2	2	0	0	0
	Dutch	3	1.60%	0	1	0	1	0	1
	Yugoslavian	3	1.60%	0	1	1	1	0	0
	Scandinavian	3	1.60%	0	3	0	0	0	0
	Scottish	3	1.60%	0	1	0	2	0	0
	Romanian	2	1.07%	0	1	0	1	0	0
	Flemish	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Canadian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Australian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Icelandic	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Austrian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	Welsh	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Mongolian	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	Arabian	1	.53%	0	0	1	0	0	0
	French	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Swedish	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	American	1	.53%	0	0	0	0	1	0
	Balkan	1	.53%	0	1	0	0	0	0
	African	1	.53%	0	0	0	1	0	0
	No Response	21	11.23%	-	-	-	-	-	-

APPENDIX B

LETTERS SENT TO EMPLOYERS BY APPLICANTS

Letter No. 1^a
White Applicant/No Criminal History

Dear Sir:

I'd like to apply for the job in the paper that I saw yesterday. Because I don't have a job right now but I would like one.

My name is George McDougall, I am 29 years old, I was born around Pine Falls, I finished Grade 10 at the school there. We took shops at school so I learned about carpentry and car mechanics a bit there. Right now I'm living in Winnipeg by myself. Here's some of the jobs I had. I worked in a gas station in Pine Falls for a couple years, come to Winnipeg and work in a restaurant, went to Alberta and picked potatoes around Taber, back to Winnipeg and drove truck for awhile, then worked as a bakers helper. I quit the last one cause I had to work nights all the time. Shifts are OK but I don't like working nights all the time.

So I'd like another job now. I figur I've done a lot of things and learn pretty fast. I don't have a phone though so you'll have to right to let me know what happens. I live at Room 1, 161 Lansdowne. I could come down and talk to you or start anytime.

Yours truly,

George McDougall

^aLetters are presented in type-written fashion merely for ease of reading. Those sent to sample business firms were all handwritten.

Letter No. 2
White Applicant/Arrested and Acquitted

Dear Sir:

I'd like to apply for the job in the paper that I saw yesterday. Because I don't have a job right now but I would like one.

My name is George McDougall, I am 29 years old, I was born around Pine Falls, I finished Grade 10 at the school there. We took shops at school so I learned about carpentry and car mechanics a bit there. Right now I'm living in Winnipeg by myself. Here's some of the jobs I had. I worked in a gas station in Pine Falls for a couple years, come to Winnipeg and work in a restaurant, went to Alberta and picked potatoes around Taber, back to Winnipeg and drove truck for awhile. I got fired from the last one when I got arrested for assault. I was found not guilty and then got work as a bakers helper. I quit that one cause I had to work nights all the time. Shifts are OK but I don't like working nights all the time.

So I'd like another job now. I figur I've done a lot of things and learn pretty fast. I don't have a phone though so you'll have to right to let me know what happens. I live at Room 2, 161 Lansdowne. I could come down and talk to you or start anytime.

Yours truly,

George McDougall

Letter No. 3
White Applicant/Arrested and Convicted

Dear Sir:

I'd like to apply for the job in the paper that I saw yesterday. Because I don't have a job right now but I would like one.

My name is George McDougall, I am 29 years old, I was born around Pine Falls, I finished Grade 10 at the school there. We took shops at school so I learned about carpentry and car mechanics a bit there. Right now I'm living in Winnipeg by myself. Here's some of the jobs I had. I worked in a gas station in Pine Falls for a couple years, come to Winnipeg and work in a restaurant, went to Alberta and picked potatoes around Taber, back to Winnipeg and drove truck for awhile. I got fired from the last one when I got arrested for assault. I worked as a bakers helper at Headingley until I got parole.

So I'd like another job now. I figure I've done a lot of things and learn pretty fast. I don't have a phone though so you'll have to write to let me know what happens. I live at Room 3, 161 Lansdowne. I could come down and talk to you or start anytime.

Your truly,

George McDougall

Letter No. 4
Indian Applicant/No Criminal History

Dear Sir:

I'd like to apply for the job in the paper that I saw yesterday. Because I don't have a job right now but I would like one.

My name is Peter Crowfoot, I am 29 years old, I was born around Pine Falls, I finished Grade 10 at the school there. We took shops at school so I learned about carpentry and car mechanics a bit there. Right now I'm living in Winnipeg by myself. Here's some of the jobs I had. I worked in a gas station in Pine Falls for a couple years, come to Winnipeg and work in a restaurant, went to Alberta and picked potatoes around Taber, back to Winnipeg and drove truck for awhile, then worked as a bakers helper. I quit the last one cause I had to work nights all the time. Shifts are OK but I don't like working nights all the time.

So I'd like another job now. I figure I've done a lot of things and learn pretty fast. I don't have a phone though so you'll have to write to let me know what happens. I live at Room 4, 161 Lansdowne. I could come down and talk to you or start anytime.

Yours truly,

Peter Crowfoot

Letter No. 5
Indian Applicant/Arrested and Acquitted

Dear Sir:

I'd like to apply for the job in the paper that I saw yesterday. Because I don't have a job right now but I would like one.

My name is Peter Crowfoot, I am 29 years old, I was born around Pine Falls, I finished Grade 10 at the school there. We took shops at school so I learned about carpentry and car mechanics a bit there. Right now I'm living in Winnipeg by myself. Here's some of the jobs I had. I worked in a gas station in Pine Falls for a couple years, come to Winnipeg and work in a restaurant, went to Alberta and picked potatoes around Taber, back to Winnipeg and drove truck for awhile. I got fired from the last one when I got arrested for assault. I was found not guilty and then got work as a bakers helper. I quit that one cause I had to work nights all the time. Shifts are OK but I don't like working nights all the time.

So I'd like another job now. I figur I've done a lot of things and learn pretty fast. I don't have a phone though so you'll have to right to let me know what happens. I live at Room 5, 161 Lansdowne. I could come down and talk to you or start anytime.

Yours truly,

Peter Crowfoot

Letter No. 6
Indian Applicant/Arrested and Convicted

Dear Sir:

I'd like to apply for the job in the paper that I saw yesterday. Because I don't have a job right now but I would like one.

My name is Peter Crowfoot, I am 29 years old, I was born around Pine Falls, I finished Grade 10 at the school there. We took shops at school so I learned about carpentry and car mechanics a bit there. Right now I'm living in Winnipeg by myself. Here's some of the jobs I had. I worked in a gas station in Pine Falls for a couple years, come to Winnipeg and work in a restaurant, went to Alberta and picked potatoes around Taber, back to Winnipeg and drove truck for awhile. I got fired from the last one when I got arrested for assault. I worked as a bakers helper at Headingley until I got parole.

So I'd like another job now. I figur I've done a lot of things and learn pretty fast. I don't have a phone though so you'll have to right to let me know what happens. I live at Room 6, 161 Lansdowne. I could come down and talk to you or start anytime.

Yours truly,

Peter Crowfoot

APPENDIX C

SUMMARY TABLE ON DUNCAN SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDECES OF JOBS APPLIED FOR

Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F	p
Race (R)	96.00	1	96.00	3.37	p = .07
Criminal History (C)	13.03	2	6.52	< 1	p > .10
RxC	32.29	2	16.15	< 1	p > .10
Within Cells	4103.50	144	28.50		
TOTAL	4244.82	149			

Summary table of analysis on Duncan Socio-Economic Indexes of Jobs applied for.

APPENDIX D

SUMMARY TABLE FOR ANALYSIS ON OVERALL RESPONSE RATES

Summary Table

Source	χ^2 Value	df	p
Within Whites	1.06	2	$p > .10$
Within Indians	8.60	2	$p < .02$
Whites x Indians	< 1	1	$p > .10$
TOTAL	10.09	5	$p = .07$

Summary table for analysis on overall response rates.

APPENDIX E

CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR OBSERVED FREQUENCY
OF JOB OFFERS

Job Offers	GROUPS						TOTALS
	WHITES			INDIANS			
	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted	No Criminal History	Arrested but Acquitted	Arrested and Convicted	
Positive	5	4	2	6	3	2	22
Negative	20	21	23	19	22	23	128
TOTALS	25	25	25	25	25	25	150

Contingency table showing observed frequencies of positive and negative responses for each group.

APPENDIX F

SUMMARY TABLE FOR ANALYSIS ON OBSERVED FREQUENCY
OF JOB OFFERS

Summary Table

Source	χ^2 Value	df	p
Within Whites	1.49	2	$p > .10$
Within Indians	2.77	2	$p > .10$
White x Indian	< 1	1	$p > .10$
TOTAL	4.26	5	$p > .10$

Summary table for analysis on observed frequency of positive responses.

APPENDIX G

CONTINGENCY TABLE FOR REANALYSIS ON OBSERVED
FREQUENCY OF JOB OFFERS

Job Offers	GROUPS						TOTALS
	No Criminal History		Arrested but Acquitted		Arrested and Convicted		
	White	Indian	White	Indian	White	Indian	
Positive	5	6	4	3	2	2	22
Negative	20	19	21	22	23	23	128
TOTALS	25	25	25	25	25	25	150

Contingency table showing observed frequencies of positive and negative responses for each group (reanalysis).

APPENDIX H

SUMMARY TABLE FOR REANALYSIS ON OBSERVED FREQUENCY OF
JOB OFFERS

Summary Table

Source*	χ^2 Value	df	p
Within NCH	< 1	1	p > .10
Within ACQ	< 1	1	p > .10
Within CON	< 1	1	p > .10
NCHxACQxCON	3.94	2	p > .10
TOTALS	4.26	5	p > .10

* NCH refers to the "No Criminal History" group; ACQ refers to the "Arrested but Acquitted" group; CON refers to the "Arrested and Convicted" group.

Summary table for reanalysis on observed frequency of positive responses.

APPENDIX I

SUMMARY TABLE FOR ANALYSIS ON DSI'S OF JOBS

FOR WHICH POSITIVE REPLIES RECEIVED

Summary Table

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Race (adj.)* (R)	1.05	1	1.05	<1
Criminal History (adj.) (CH)	8.97	2	4.48	<1
R x CH (adj.)	5.06	2	2.53	<1
Error	319.93	16	20.00	

* (adj) signifies that the SS for these variables have been adjusted by the Least Squares method.

Summary table for analysis on DSI's of jobs for which positive replies were received.