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The impact of criminal records and ethnic-sounding names on young men's employment chances in Germany: Field experimental evidence

Summary: This paper examines whether job applicants with a criminal conviction are disadvantaged in the German labor market and how the effect of having a conviction compares to the effect of having a Turkish-sounding name. To answer this question, I conducted a preregistered correspondence study in Germany (N = 2,134) with a two-by-two between-subjects design. Unsolicited email requests from fictitious job applicants were sent to employers in the cleaning and security sectors. The findings indicate that having a criminal record and having a Turkish name independently reduce the likelihood of receiving a response. The negative impact of a Turkish name was similar to that of having a criminal record: Applicants with Turkish names and no criminal record received about the same number of positive responses as those with German names and a criminal record. Among all groups, Turkish applicants with a criminal record received the fewest responses. As the study examined initial and informal contact between job applicants and employers, the findings shed light on the challenges faced by convicted applicants in two fields of employment that have less formal application processes.

Keywords: field experiment, criminal record, labor market, discrimination, ethnicity

Marcel Knobloch, Die Auswirkungen von Vorstrafen und türkischen Namen auf die Beschäftigungschancen junger Männer in Deutschland: Erkenntnisse eines Feldexperiments

Zusammenfassung: In diesem Beitrag wird untersucht, ob männliche Bewerber mit einer Vorstrafe auf dem deutschen Arbeitsmarkt benachteiligt werden und wie sich eine Vorstrafe im Vergleich zu einem türkisch klingenden Namen auswirkt. Zur Beantwortung dieser Frage habe ich eine präregistrierte Korrespondenzstudie mit einem 2x2-Between-Subjects-Design in Deutschland durchgeführt (N = 2134). Initiativbewerbungen von fiktiven Bewerbern wurden per E-Mail an Firmen in der Reinigungs- und Sicherheitsbranche gesendet. Die Auswertungen dieser Daten zeigen, dass sich sowohl eine Vorstrafe als auch ein türkischer Name negativ darauf auswirkt, ob Arbeitgeber*innen auf solche Initiativbewerbungen reagieren. Die Nachteile durch einen türkischen Namen und eine Vorstrafe waren ähnlich stark: Bewerber mit türkischen Namen ohne Vorstrafe erhielten etwa genauso viele positive Rückmeldungen wie Bewerber mit deutschen Namen und einer Vorstrafe. Türkische Bewerber mit Vorstrafen erhielten insgesamt die wenigsten Rückmeldungen. Durch die Untersuchung des ersten, informellen Kontakts zwischen Bewerbern und Arbeitge-

ber*innen spiegeln die Ergebnisse dieser Studie die Realität von vorbestraften Bewerbern in zwei Arbeitsmarktsektoren mit weniger formalisierten Bewerbungsverfahren wider.

Schlüsselwörter: Feldexperiment, Vorstrafe, Arbeitsmarkt, Diskriminierung, Ethnizität

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1 Introduction

Criminal convictions can have lasting labor market consequences even years later (Decker et al., 2015; Pager, 2003). There are many mechanisms through which a criminal conviction can influence an applicant's labor market chances. Ex-offenders may have gaps in their work history or lack formal qualifications due to time spent in prison (Apel and Sweeten, 2010: 452). Young offenders may not have access to crime-free personal networks that could help them get a job (Hagan, 1993; Granovetter, 1995). Stigma and hiring discrimination can also prevent ex-offenders from leading a crime-free life. Numerous audit and correspondence studies conducted in the United States (Agan and Starr, 2018; Leasure and Kaminski, 2021; Pager, 2003; Pager, Bonikowski, et al., 2009; Pager, Western, et al., 2009; Uggen et al., 2014) and Europe (Ahmed and Lång, 2017; Baert and Verhofstadt, 2015; Rovira, 2019) have found that having a criminal record negatively affects employment chances. This labor market discrimination may drive some individuals back to crime, as employment—or lack thereof—is one of the key predictors of recidivism (a return to criminal behavior, Schnepel, 2017; Uggen, 2000; Van Der Geest et al., 2011).

The stigma attached to having a criminal record is clear given that even minor convictions that do not result in prison time can have lasting consequences. Research from the United States indicates that one-time contact with the justice system already negatively affects future employment opportunities (Leasure, 2019; Uggen et al., 2014). In Germany, most criminal convictions are minor offenses without prison sentences. Although there is no data available on the total number of persons that have been convicted at some point in their life, around 525,000 of the roughly 615,00 convictions in 2021 resulted in a fine rather than a prison sentence (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022b). Conviction discrimination could have far-reaching consequences if employers discriminate against applicants who have the same work experience and level of formal qualifications as other applicants but have been convicted of a minor crime.

Labor-market discrimination can also be an obstacle for ethnic minorities. An ethnically distinctive name can vastly reduce an individual's probability of receiving a positive response to a job application (Bertrand and Mullainathan, 2004; Quillian et al., 2019). In addition to the effect of ethnicity itself, ethnic minority status can intersect with other traits that negatively impact their labor market chances, such as lower socio-economic status (Kalter and Granato, 2018). It is therefore not necessarily only

ethnicity, or the stigma attached to a criminal conviction that influences labor market outcomes, but rather a combination of these (and other) factors.

A criminal record can have a much stronger negative effect for ethnic minorities than for majority applicants. In audit studies conducted in the U.S., Pager and colleagues demonstrated that while a criminal record negatively impacts majority applicants, the combination of a criminal record and ethnic minority status is especially detrimental to employment prospects (Pager, 2003; Pager, Bonikowski, et al., 2009; Pager, Western, et al., 2009). However, recent studies have not unambiguously replicated this interaction, particularly correspondence studies conducted in both the United States (Decker et al., 2015; Leasure, 2019; Leasure and Andersen, 2020) and Europe (Peelen et al., 2022; Van Den Berg et al., 2020).

In this study, I conducted a field experiment to examine whether previously convicted ethnic minority Germans are disproportionately disadvantaged compared to previously convicted applicants with a German name when trying to find a job. There are several gaps in the literature I address in this study. First, research on this topic in Europe, and in Germany in particular, has lagged behind research in the United States (Falk et al., 2009). Although there has been some survey research on the effect of crime on labor market chances in Germany (Dominguez Alvarez and Loureiro, 2012; Entorf, 2009), this is the first study to investigate the effect of having a criminal record on employment chances using a field-experimental design. This study also adds to previous experimental research on labor market discrimination of ethnic minority groups in Germany.

Second, I address the extent to which a single criminal conviction can impact an individual's life, even when the applicant has a very promising profile. As employment is one of the strongest predictors of recidivism and stigmatization of crime is not limited to former prison inmates, it is important to investigate the consequences of having any kind of criminal record. Therefore, I investigate whether a single minor drug conviction that did not result in prison time already harms employment chances.

Third, many online correspondence studies have tested the effect of having a criminal record in highly formal application processes. In this study, I specifically target sectors with poor working conditions and high proportions of non-German employees and German employees with a migration background.[1] Ex-offenders often apply for jobs in these low-wage sectors following their convictions (Entorf and Sieger, 2010; Schnepel, 2018), and application processes in these sectors are often less formalized, with open positions not being advertised. This means that applicants need to be proactive to find a job. For that reason, I sent 2,134 emails from fictitious applicants to employers across Germany, asking whether they had any open positions that might suit the applicant.

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1   In the German context, the term "with a migration background" (in German: Migrationshintergrund) is used to describe individuals who are part of an ethnic minority due to their family's migration history. The term includes first-generation immigrants as well as the descendants of immigrants in the second and subsequent generations, regardless of their citizenship or place of birth.

This study makes several important contributions. First, it assesses the fundamental effect of a criminal record and its interaction with ethnicity in Germany using field-experimental data. Given that recent studies have reported mixed results, this relationship still remains a highly relevant research topic. My findings thus contribute to the international research on the labor market consequences of having a criminal record and being part of an ethnic minority.

Second, this study adds to previous research on the disadvantages experienced by ethnic minority groups in the German labor market. By incorporating the dimension of crime, it not only provides useful insights into the comparative labor market positions of ex-offenders and regular applicants, with and without a migration background, but also highlights how labor market discrimination can reinforce social inequalities, particularly for marginalized groups.

Finally, by showing that labor market discrimination can be assessed with a relatively straightforward and inexpensive approach, my study delivers important insights into how field experiments to capture (employment) discrimination can be simplified—at least when applying for entry-level jobs. Experiments involving speculative applications are also more ethically appropriate, as they reduce the time required from employers and do not hinder the invitation of other applicants.

2 Background

Discrimination theory

From a theoretical perspective, there are many possible explanations for why employers discriminate against ethnic minorities or applicants with a criminal history. *Statistical discrimination theory* suggests that discrimination stems from a lack of information about applicants' skills or productivity (Arrow, 1973; Phelps, 1972). When deciding on an application, employers may rely on general statistical information about the applicant's likely productivity, often inferred from visible characteristics like ethnicity or gender. There may be various mechanisms at work when hiring a convicted individual, such as the risk of reoffending, safety concerns, or lower productivity due to a lack of work experience. Therefore, statistical discrimination theory would predict that convicted applicants would be at a disadvantage compared to other applicants. Similarly, ethnic minority applicants would have lower chances of being hired and applicants with both characteristics would be especially disadvantaged (Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016).

Status-based discrimination theory assumes that employers rely on stereotypes when judging the suitability of a particular candidate (Ridgeway, 2014; Ridgeway and Correll, 2004). Rather than assuming that discrimination occurs on rational grounds and that people have knowledge (actual numbers and empirical evidence) about a group's average productivity, as statistical discrimination theory does, status-based discrimination theory assumes that employers rely on preexisting biases when evaluating workers. Because employers tend to favor higher-status groups, applicants with both a

minority name and a criminal record would be at a distinct disadvantage in recruitment processes. Applicants with these two characteristics would experience compounded negative effects, as they are subject to dual sources of perceived low status.

Finally, *taste-based discrimination theory* suggests that prejudice or animosity towards certain demographic groups may drive the different treatment of different groups (Becker, 1957). Unlike in statistical and status-based discrimination theory, in taste-based discrimination theory, an employer's decision is not rational, as they choose applicants from one demographic group over another based on their personal preferences alone. Having a criminal record is highly stigmatizing and people are reluctant to interact with, trust, and work with convicted persons (Hirschfield and Piquero, 2010; Rasmusen, 1996). For ex-offenders, the interaction of a criminal history with other variables such as ethnicity may be especially relevant, as applicants then possess two traits that could trigger negative biases or aversion.

Statistical, status-based, and taste-based discrimination theory all predict discrimination against applicants with a criminal record and ethnic minority applicants. Furthermore, they suggest even greater penalties for convicted ethnic minority applicants. Research from the US suggests that employers may perceive a criminal record differently depending on the applicant's ethnicity, since the high number of Black people with previous convictions makes the relationship between the two dimensions of crime and ethnicity especially salient (Agan and Starr, 2018; Pager, 2003; Uggen et al., 2014). In Germany, employers may also be more forgiving towards German-name offenders and perceive convicted German-name applicants as having made a one-time mistake; by contrast, they may assume a more systematic reason for Turkish-name applicants, such as certain socio-demographic characteristics that may make them more likely to commit a crime, thus signaling lower productivity. Although my study design does not allow me to test the different theories, it is important to note that discrimination against applicants in this study could be a product of statistical, taste-based, or status-based discrimination, or even a combination thereof.

Crime & labor market opportunities

While individuals with a criminal record may face numerous challenges in finding employment, such as limited work experience or inadequate social networks, employer-side discrimination is likely one of the most significant barriers. There is ample empirical evidence of the negative effect of having a criminal record on labor market opportunities in the United States. In-person audits have consistently shown that ex-offenders who have spent time in prison have lower chances of getting a job (Decker et al., 2015; Pager, 2003; Pager, Bonikowski, et al., 2009; Pager, Western, et al., 2009). This effect is not limited to those who have served time in prison but also applies to those with one-time minor convictions with no prison time. Applicants with minor convictions receive fewer positive responses than those without convictions in in-person audit settings (Uggen et al., 2014) and online correspondence study designs (Agan and Starr, 2018; Leasure, 2019; Leasure and Kaminski, 2021). Surprisingly,

there is no difference in callback rates between those with less severe (misdemeanor) convictions and those with more severe (felony) convictions (Leasure, 2019). From a theoretical perspective, this could indicate that it is not the severity of the conviction that determines labor market outcomes but the mere presence of a criminal record.

Multiple field experiments underline the detrimental effect of having a criminal record on employment chances in the United States, although there are some diverging results (see Galgano, 2009 for a study that found only a small negative effect for female offenders or Decker et al., 2015 for a correspondence study with null findings). The findings that employers are reluctant to hire ex-offenders are consistent with those of previous nonexperimental studies (Apel and Sweeten, 2010; Emmert, 2019; Graffam et al., 2008; for an overview see Griffith et al., 2019; Holzer, 2007; Holzer and Raphael, 2003; Waldfogel, 1994a, 1994b; Western et al., 2015).

Publication	Country	~N	Design	Occupations	Crime	Crime effect	Interaction found
Pager (2003)	USA	350	In-person audit	Various entry-level	Drug-related	Yes	Yes
Pager, Bonikowski, and Western (2009)	USA	340	In-person audit	Various entry-level	Drug-related	Yes	Yes
Pager, Western, and Sugie (2009)	USA	250	In-person audit	Various entry-level	Drug-related	Yes	Yes
Uggen et al. (2014)	USA	300	In-person audit	Various entry-level	Disorderly conduct	Yes	No
Decker et al. (2015)	USA	300	In-person audit	Customer service, manual labor, restaurant	Drug-related	Yes	Not significant
Decker et al. (2015)	USA	3100	Correspondence study	Customer service, manual labor, restaurant	Drug-related	No	Not significant
Agan and Starr (2018)	USA	15,000	Correspondence study	Chains (restaurants, retail, hotels, etc.)	Drug-related, property crime	Yes	No
Leasure (2019)	USA	580	Correspondence study	Various entry-level	Drug-related	Yes	No
Leasure and Andersen (2020)	USA	610	Correspondence study	Various entry-level	Drug-related	Yes	Not significant
Leasure and Kaminski (2021)	USA	800	Correspondence study	Various entry-level	Drug-related, theft	Yes	Not tested
Baert and Verhofstadt (2015)	Belgium	490	Correspondence study	Manual worker, barkeeper, nanny	Juvenile Delinquency	Yes	Not tested

Publication	Country	~N	Design	Occupations	Crime	Crime effect	Interaction found
Ahmed and Lång (2017)	Sweden	2080	Correspon-dence study	Truck driver, car mechanic	Assault	Yes	Not tested
Rovira (2019)	Spain	601	Correspon-dence Study	Various entry-level	Not specified	Yes	Not tested
van den Berg et al. (2020)	Nether-lands	520	Correspon-dence study	Various entry-level	Violent, property, sexual offense	No	Not significant
Peelen et al. (2022)	Nether-lands	300	Correspon-dence study	IT companies	Cybercrime, property crime	No	Not significant
Rovira (2023)	UK	1,050	Correspon-dence study	Various entry-level	Not specified	Yes	Yes

Note: Entry-level jobs are positions that do not require specialized qualifications beyond a basic school diploma. Examples include retail, restaurants, construction, manufacturing, agriculture, and logistics.

Table 1: Field experiments on crime & ethnicity

In Europe, researchers have also found that having a criminal record hurts employment prospects. Baert and Verhofstadt (2015) showed that having a criminal record had a negative effect on the employment chances of former juvenile delinquents in Belgium. Ahmed and Lång (2017) in Sweden and Rovira (2019, 2023) in Spain and the UK found that ex-offenders, both without (Sweden, UK) and with (Spain, UK) prison time, have a lower probability of receiving a positive employer response to their application. However, recent studies conducted in the Netherlands were not able to replicate these results and did not find a significant effect of having a criminal record; this could have been caused by differences in the severity of the crimes studied or structural differences between the US and the Netherlands (Dirkzwager et al., 2015; Peelen et al., 2022; Van Den Berg et al., 2020). For an overview of field experiments on ethnicity and crime, see Table 1.

Based on these findings and theoretical predictions, I hypothesize that applicants with a criminal history will be disadvantaged in the German labor market. This is in line with evidence from Germany that shows that having been in prison has a negative effect on hiring chances and future wages (Falk, Walkowitz, and Wirth, 2009; Dominguez Alvarez and Loureiro, 2012). From a theoretical perspective, statistical discrimination theory suggests that a criminal record signals lower productivity, while status-based discrimination theory predicts that convicted criminals have lower social status. Additionally, taste-based discrimination theory indicates that individuals with a criminal record are likely stigmatized and subject to prejudice.

H1: Applicants with a criminal record have lower chances of receiving a positive response than applicants without a criminal record.

Ethnicity

Aside from discrimination based on criminal convictions, research has documented many different forms of hiring discrimination, such as discrimination based on gender (Hipp, 2020), religion (Di Stasio et al., 2021), or ethnicity (Quillian et al., 2019; Zschirnt and Ruedin, 2016). Studies show that ethnic minority groups have lower employment chances in Germany when their ethnic affiliation is indicated by their name (Goldberg et al., 1996; Kaas and Manger, 2012; Koopmans et al., 2018; Thijssen et al., 2021), place of birth (Veit and Thijsen, 2021), or accent (Schmaus and Kristen, 2022). Koopmans, Veit and Yemane (2018) argue that cultural distance is the driving factor behind this and that discrimination is therefore mostly the result of taste-based discrimination. On the other hand, Kaas and Manger (2012) reported that discrimination rates drop when additional material with more information about the applicants is included. This finding supports statistical discrimination theory but was not confirmed by Thijssen et al. (2021), who found that including additional personal information does not reduce discrimination against Turkish applicants in Germany. Veit and Thijsen (2021) found that although foreign-born ethnic minority applicants have worse labor market chances in Germany than majority applicants, domestic-born ethnic minority applicants receive almost the same number of positive responses as majority applicants.

Although constituting the largest ethnic minority group in Germany, Turkish migrants and their descendants nevertheless have worse labor market chances than other immigrant groups and non-minority job seekers (Höhne and Buschoff, 2015; Kalter, 2006; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022a), even with the same level of education or professional training (Seibert and Solga, 2005). This can be read as an indication of status-based discrimination, which suggests that Turkish-name applicants have lower status than German applicants. Taste-based discrimination might lead employers to favor German-name applicants due to personal biases, while statistical discrimination predicts the assumption that Turkish-name applicants are perceived as less qualified or productive – both of which are an expression of racism. Accordingly, I expect Turkish-name applicants in both criminal record conditions (no record vs. criminal record) to receive fewer positive responses than their counterparts with a German name in the same condition.

H2: Applicants with a Turkish name have lower chances of receiving a positive response than applicants with a German name.

Interaction of crime & ethnicity

Labor market disadvantages due to ethnicity can have important implications for the effect of crime as well. Some studies have found that the negative effect of having a criminal record is even more pronounced for ethnic minority applicants. This interaction of ethnicity and crime has been documented by Pager, (2003); Pager, Bonikowski

and Western, (2009); Pager, Western and Sugie, (2009) for Black and Hispanic applicants in the United States. Furthermore, these studies suggest that the negative effect of ethnicity even surpasses the impact of having a criminal record; Black or Hispanic applicants with no criminal history receive fewer positive callbacks than previously incarcerated White applicants. In the US and the UK, crime and ethnic minorities are considered to be so strongly linked that prohibiting employers from asking about the criminal history of an applicant fosters discrimination against Black applicants (Agan and Starr, 2018; Rovira, 2023). Similarly, providing additional documents stating the good behavior of ex-prisoners only benefits White and not Black applicants (Leasure and Andersen, 2020).

In recent years, however, researchers from both the United States and Europe have struggled to replicate these findings. Some studies have found no evidence for an interaction at all (Leasure, 2019; Uggen et al., 2014), whereas others detected an interaction between crime and ethnicity that was not statistically significant (Decker et al., 2015; Leasure and Andersen, 2020; Peelen et al., 2022; Van Den Berg et al., 2020). Although these studies lack statistical power, two studies from the Netherlands did find that minority applicants without a criminal record are less likely to receive a positive response than majority applicants with a criminal record (Peelen et al., 2022; Van Den Berg et al., 2020). Nevertheless, the evidence for an interaction between ethnicity and crime remains somewhat mixed, with researchers finding no evidence or an effect that was not statistically significant. However, field experiments are highly context-dependent, and diverging results may be driven by the different contexts, sample sizes, and design decisions of these studies.

It is not possible to determine whether foreigners are relatively more frequently convicted than Germans, because official crime statistics also includes other foreigner groups such as e.g. tourists and illegal immigrants that are not part of the foreign resident population in Germany. As a result, these statistics cannot be directly compared to the foreign resident population. Similarly, there is no distinction between Germans and Germans with a Turkish (or any other) background (Bundeskriminalamt, 2020: 93; Sommer, 2012; Walburg, 2014). Nevertheless, the stereotype of the foreign (or migrant) offender is prevalent amongst the German population (Bolesta et al., 2022) and media outlets report higher crime rates amongst foreigners/migrants, even though they have no empirical basis (Feltes et al., 2018; Sommer, 2012; Walburg, 2014). Statistics on criminal suspects could be influenced by different reporting behavior with regard to ethnic minorities or a different intensity of policing of ethnic minorities (Bundeskriminalamt, 2020; Expert Council on Integration and Migration, 2023; Golian, 2019). This hints at a multiplicative interaction between crime and ethnicity and may indicate that offenders with a non-German name suffer greater penalties for their criminal record.

Given the theoretical predictions and current state of research regarding the effects of having a criminal record and ethnicity, I expect that convicted applicants will receive fewer responses if they have a Turkish name. This expectation aligns with statistical, status-based, and taste-based discrimination theory, all of which suggest that employers may perceive Turkish-named applicants with a criminal record as more risky hires

(statistical discrimination), as having lower social status (status-based discrimination), or as less preferable (taste-based discrimination).

H3: Convicted applicants with a Turkish name have lower chances of receiving a positive response than convicted applicants with a German name.

3 Data & Methods

Study design

To investigate whether ethnic minority applicants are disproportionately discriminated against for having a criminal record in the German labor market, I conducted a field experiment with a two-by-two between-subjects design in which I sent inquiries about job vacancies via email to real employers across Germany. When employers don't have open positions, they usually don't need to choose between two applicants but make their decision based on one individual application, which favors a between-subject design. A matched (or within-subject) design using speculative applications was also ruled out due to the increased risk of detection. From an ethical standpoint, a between-subjects design also minimizes the time required from each employer, although a matched design would require a lower sample size to detect small differences in positive responses (in the case of high concordance, Hipp, 2020, Vuolo et al., 2016, 2018).

Since the majority of crimes are committed by men (e.g., around 90% of all drug convictions in Germany in 2021, Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022b) and the addition of gender as a dimension in the research design would require more statistical power, I only included male applicants. Before data collection, I preregistered the study and obtained ethics approval. Due to ethical concerns, I sent employers a rejection as soon as possible if they responded favorably to the email, to avoid causing them any further inconvenience.

In the email, the applicants asked whether the employers had any open positions for which the applicant could be considered. This text contained most of the information that would be conveyed in a formal application, such as the age of the applicant, their education, and their work experience. All applicants met the formal requirements for a position in the employment sector in question.

The employer sample consisted of employers from the cleaning or security sectors. Both sectors have problematic working conditions, low incomes, and a comparatively low level of required qualifications (Nexaro GmbH, 2023; Zanker, 2023). Therefore, in theory, ex-offenders may face less discrimination in these sectors than in other, high-skilled sectors in which crime may be perceived more negatively (Peelen et al., 2022: 12). They are also characterized by less formalized application processes, and speculative applications and social networks may be common hiring routes (Granovetter, 1973).

The cleaning sector has one of the highest shares of non-German workers (workers without a German passport, Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2023) and German employees with a migration background (about 55%, Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020) of all German employment sectors. Similarly, the security sector also has a high share of non-German employees (about 17 %) and workers with a migration background (about 37% for the combined sectors of transport, logistics, and security and protection, Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020; Zanker, 2023). Where an ex-offender applies matters a great deal to their employment prospects, as previous research has shown that minority-owned businesses are substantially more likely to hire ex-offenders (Pager, 2007: 129). The high number of ethnic minority employees and minority-owned businesses therefore make both the sectors in this study particularly suitable for determining ethnic differences at a fundamental level; substantial negative effects of ethnicity found in these sectors will most likely be even more pronounced for other German employment sectors with a lower share of foreign or migrant workers or fewer minority-owned businesses.

To obtain jobs in the security sector, applicants are required to present a clean criminal record to employers. This is not the case for the cleaning sector. Some jobs in the security sector have stronger limitations with regard to a criminal record, and rely on the Bewacherregister[2] (guard register) or require at least 5 years to have passed since the last conviction (§ 34a Gewerbeordnung, trade regulations). Possible differences in effect sizes between the two sectors may in part be driven by these requirements.

Experimental manipulations

In the criminal record condition, applicants stated that they had been convicted of a drug offense three years previously. In Germany, possible penalties for drug crimes range from a fine to a prison sentence, depending on the type of offense committed and the substances involved. Drug crimes with quantities above a certain threshold will result in at least one year of prison time (§ 29a BtMG, Betäubungsmittelgesetz, German Narcotics Act). However, more than three-quarters of BtMG offenses in 2021 resulted in fines (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022b).

There are several reasons why I chose drug crimes for the crime condition. First, BtMG offenses are among the most common offenses, both overall and among German and Turkish passport offenders (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022c). Choosing drug crimes therefore boosts the external validity of the results.

Second, drug crimes usually do not indicate a tendency towards violence or untrustworthiness to the same extent as other crimes. When an individual has been convicted of theft or robbery, for example, the employer may be reluctant to hire the applicant because they fear that company inventory may be stolen. The same may be true for violent crimes such as assault, where the employer may fear for their safety or that of their other employees. For these reasons, employers are far more likely to hire

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2 For more information, see: https://www.bewacherregister.de

offenders who have committed drug offenses than those who have committed other crimes (Holzer et al., 2007; Holzer and Raphael, 2003; Society for Human Resource Management and Charles Koch Institute, 2018).

Third, drug crimes have been shown to have important implications for ethnic disparities and are often linked with ethnic minorities, especially in the United States (Pager, 2003) but also in Germany (Golian, 2019). Given the lack of field-experimental research on this topic in Germany, this study can therefore help to address the importance of drug crimes for ethnic disparities in the German context. Since this study investigates the effect of crime at its most fundamental level, it was crucial to ensure that applicants had a brief criminal history consisting solely of a minor conviction.

In the security sector, applicants are almost always required to have a clean criminal record. This is not the case in the cleaning sector, but some employers ask for it anyway. It is therefore important that the applicants fulfill the formal requirement of having a clean criminal record. Applicants stated that they had been convicted of a drug offense 3 years previously, but that this conviction would be expunged from their criminal record in the following days and they would then have a clean criminal record again. In Germany, drug convictions are expunged from an individual's criminal record after a period of between 3 years (for minor crimes such as in this study) and 20 years (Brauer, 2022; Strauer, 2019). For this study, this has the advantage of signaling the applicants' criminal past to the employer while making sure that they still meet the formal requirements. Furthermore, this clarifies that the applicants did not serve time in prison for their conviction. That the conviction was already three years old and would officially be a thing of the past following its deletion from the record — both from the offender's and the state's perspective—should also have reduced discrimination against applicants with a criminal record. Applicants expressed their regret about what had happened and stated that it would not happen again (Ahmed and Lång, 2017; Van Den Berg et al., 2020). This statement was included to provide as much information to the employer as possible and reduce stigma and ambiguity, while also keeping the statement as short as possible.

Applicants are not required to state their criminal record to the employer for most of the jobs in the sample. However, admitting to a criminal history upfront is a form of stigma management (Park and Tietjen, 2021). This can prevent stigmatization problems at a later point if the topic comes up in the interview or the employer finds out after hiring (Ali et al., 2017; Harding, 2003). Many ex-prisoners use this tactic to signal their criminal record (Cherney and Fitzgerald, 2016; Ramakers, 2022; Ricciardelli and Mooney, 2018) and survey data suggests that this honesty leaves a positive impression on employers (Employee Screen IQ, 2013). Mentioning a criminal record upfront also provides an explanation for why the applicant has not worked in the sector they completed their training in for the past three years (*see Applicant characteristics*), a question that is likely to come up in a potential interview.

I manipulated the signaling of ethnic affiliation to employers by altering the applicant's name, with applicants either having a German or Turkish name. To reduce bias related to potential uncertainty about language skills or educational background, appli-

cants in the Turkish-name condition were also presented as German citizens. This was done by mentioning that the city that the employer is located in was the applicant's place of birth (»recently moved back to my hometown [city] with my partner«). First names were selected from lists of the most common names of the applicant's birth cohorts. For surnames, I selected common ethnically distinct surnames for both the German and the Turkish name condition.

Applicant characteristics

Although many jobs in the security and cleaning sector do not require professional training, there are vocational training programs available for both of them. In order to stand out, applicants mentioned that they had completed dedicated vocational training. Both vocational training courses last three years. In the case of the security sector, applicants presented themselves as protection and security professionals (*Fachkraft für Schutz und Sicherheit*), and in the case of the cleaning sector as trained building cleaners (*Gebäudereiniger*).[3]

Apart from the vocational training, applicants reported a total of six years of work experience, of which three had been performed in the employer's field. A six-year period was long enough to signal to employers that the applicant was indeed capable of being a reliable worker, and it was a realistic amount of work experience for someone of the applicant's age and level of education. Since applicants were not able to work in their sector in the three years following their conviction (at least in the security sector), they described having spent half of those six years in other fields. Both the high level of qualifications and the amount of work experience should have indicated that the candidate was ideal or even overqualified. In theory, this should make discrimination against the applicants more unlikely.

Applicants were presented as 27 years old, meaning they had graduated from school at the age of 18 (or younger), spent three years in vocational training, and then worked for six years. This also helped to create a realistic applicant profile when signaling the crime condition, as drug offenses are among the most common convictions for 25 to 30-year-old offenders (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2022c).

Similar to the study by Van Den Berg et al. (2020), the applicants indicated that they had recently moved with their partner to the employer's city. This should signal to the employer that the applicant is not a socially isolated individual (which could indicate a higher risk for recidivism).

Each email sent out by the fictitious applicants included all of these characteristics and a sentence indicating that the applicant was flexible in terms of working hours and eager to start a new position. To ensure that employers read the full email, the text was kept as short as possible. It was crucial that the email would not be brushed

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3 For some jobs in the security sector (though not all), applicants are required to present an additional certificate, the 34a-certificate (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2024; IHK Berlin, 2024). This information was therefore included for emails in the security sector.

off as spam by the employers, so the subject line and the actual email address were important. The email addresses contained the full name of the applicants, reinforcing the signaling of the applicants' ethnicity. The original email text in German is provided in the Appendix along with an English translation.

Data collection

To collect the data, I sent out applications to the entire population of firms in the cleaning and security sector in Germany (N= 2,332), out of which 2,134 had valid email addresses or responses. The data were purchased from a commercial provider. The firms were located across Germany and varied in terms of their town and size. As shown in Table 2, there are substantially more firms in the building cleaning sector (N = 1,643) than in the security sector (N = 491). The number of valid data points per condition (Turkish/German and convicted/not convicted applicant) varies, due to factors such as emails that did not get delivered or responses indicating other formal requirements.

Ethnicity	Sector		Crime		
	Security	Cleaning	Convicted	Not convicted	Total
German	252	819	531	540	*1071*
Turkish	239	824	532	531	*1063*
Total	*491*	*1643*	*1063*	*1071*	**2134**

Ethnicity	Security		Cleaning		
	Convicted	Not convicted	Convicted	Not convicted	Total
German	125	127	406	413	*1071*
Turkish	119	120	413	411	*1063*
Total	*244*	*247*	*819*	*824*	**2134**

Table 2: Distribution of emails by sector and experimental condition

For each email, I altered the name of the applicant, the city that the employer was located in, and information about the applicant's education based on the employer's sector. Finally, I randomly assigned the crime or no crime condition to the emails. To eliminate possible variance due to the names themselves, I randomly assigned the four names (two German and two Turkish names) to the crime conditions while making sure that each name had roughly the same number of emails in the convicted/not convicted condition. All applications were sent out via email using the gmailr package (Hester and Bryan, 2021) in 13 batches over 11 days. Employer responses were collected daily using the gmailr package for 14 days after sending out the application.

Unlike other studies investigating ethnicity and crime, applicants in this study did not directly apply for open positions advertised by employers. This has several advantages.

First, there is a high demand for workers in both targeted sectors (Nexaro GmbH, 2023; Zanker, 2023), and smaller businesses are constantly looking for new employees, even when they have no advertised positions. Speculative applications are therefore quite common in both lines of work, which adds to the external validity of the results. Second, there are methodological advantages to this study design since field experiments on crime often lack statistical power (see Leasure, 2019; Van Den Berg et al., 2020; Peelen et al., 2022). It is hard to achieve a high number of observations when only applying for advertised jobs, as it is both expensive and time-consuming. With speculative applications, researchers are not required to construct fictitious resumes. This makes it easier to achieve a higher sample size, particularly if real applicants in that sector commonly write speculative applications, as they do in the cleaning and security sectors.

Outcome variable

The outcome variable in this study is the type of response received. I distinguished between positive responses and negative responses. Although there were methodological issues to consider when deciding whether to use any type of positive response or actual invitations as the outcome variable (see e.g. Leasure, 2022), there were two specific reasons why I chose any kind of positive response for this study. First, as I had sent out speculative applications and there were no disadvantages for employers who did not respond, any expression of general interest in the applicant could be treated as a positive response. Second, as this study did not involve formal application processes, positive responses took many different forms aside from actual invitations: employers asked to be called, offered a one-day trial, or did not have any positions available but promised to contact the applicant if an opportunity came up.[4]

In addition to explicitly negative responses, I also treated no response from an employer as a negative response. As employers had not advertised any positions, they faced no negative consequences for not responding. Therefore, if employers had not been interested in the applicant, they may simply have not responded. However, coding nonresponses in this way did not allow me to distinguish between actual rejections and employers simply not responding. Moreover, not all non-responses necessarily indicated a lack of employer interest. The employer may have simply missed the email, or other unobserved characteristics influenced the response behavior.

Analytical strategy

To address differences between positive response rates for each of the experimental conditions, I calculated descriptive statistics and used chi-squared tests to test whether

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4 As a robustness check, I repeated the analyses using a (not pre-registered) stricter coding of the dependent variable. In this coding, deflective answers, such as "no position is available right now, but we will call if one comes up", or asking for additional material, were also coded as negative. This stricter coding did not change the direction of any of the coefficients (see Table 8 in the Appendix).

differences between any of these groups were statistically significant. I also estimated a logistic regression, with *receiving a positive response* as the outcome variable; the two experimental condition variables, the sector, and an interaction term of ethnicity and crime were predictors. To validate and test how robust and generalizable the results were, I finally repeated both the descriptive (comparisons between experimental groups using chi-squared tests) and regression analyses with separate subsets of only the cleaning or security sectors.

4 Findings

A total of 41.4 % of all emails received a response, with the vast majority of them being positive (38 % of all emails). In the case of the pooled crime conditions, the no-record condition received 41.7 % positive responses. Applicants who had revealed a prior conviction received 34.2 % favorable responses. These differences were statistically significant (χ^2 = 12.71, p < 0.001). For applicants with a German name, the positive response rate was 41.6 %, substantially higher than the positive response rate for the Turkish name condition (34.3 %). This difference between the ethnicity conditions was also statistically significant (χ^2 = 12.09, p < 0.001).

Table 3 displays the distribution of responses for all four experimental conditions. There were differences within the German and Turkish ethnicity conditions. For German applicants, differences between the crime (38.2 % positive responses) and no-crime conditions (45 % positive responses) were statistically significant (χ^2 = 5.05, p < 0.05). Similarly, Turkish applicants with a criminal record received significantly fewer positive responses (30.3 %) than Turkish applicants without a record (38.4 %, χ^2 = 7.84, p < 0.01). German applicants therefore received 6.8 percentage points fewer positive responses if they had been convicted of a crime. This difference was 8.1 percentage points for applicants with a Turkish name. Even though Turkish applicants with a criminal record had the lowest proportion of positive responses of all experimental conditions, the penalty they suffered due to having a criminal record was not much larger than that of German applicants.

The differences in response rates for the different ethnicities also persisted when considering the criminal record conditions. Turkish applicants had lower positive response rates than German applicants, both in the no-conviction and the conviction conditions. In the criminal record condition, Turkish applicants received 7.9 percentage points fewer responses than German applicants (χ^2 = 7.49, p < 0.01). In the no-record condition, this difference was 6.6 percentage points (χ^2 = 4.77, p < 0.05). The great disadvantage for Turkish applicants was underlined by the fact that Turkish applicants *without* a record received the same number of responses as German applicants *with* a record.

	Criminal record			
	Yes (N=1063)	No (N=1071)	Total	P value (χ2)
Ethnicity				
German	203/531	243/540	1071	0.025
	(38.2 %)	(45.0 %)		
Turkish	161/532	204/531	1063	0.005
	(30.3 %)	(38.4 %)		

Table 3: Positive/all responses by experimental condition (pooled sample)

In summary, the descriptive analyses suggest that there is a penalty for having a criminal record (H1), as applicants with a criminal record consistently received fewer responses in both the German and Turkish name conditions as well as in the pooled results. Furthermore, there seems to be an effect of ethnicity (H2); Turkish applicants receive fewer responses than German applicants, pooled and across both crime conditions. These results emphasize the persistent disadvantages that both minority applicants and ex-offenders face when applying for a job. Most notably, however, Turkish applicants with no record experienced a similar level of labor market disadvantage as ex-offenders with a German name. This underlines the magnitude of the negative effect of ethnicity in particular.

Turkish applicants with a criminal record received fewer positive responses than German applicants with a criminal record (H3). However, this does not necessarily indicate an interaction of the two dimensions, as Turkish applicants only suffered marginally larger relative penalties from having a criminal record. The differences between convicted German and Turkish applicants were primarily driven by the effect of ethnicity and not caused by Turkish applicants experiencing a proportionally larger negative effect of having a criminal record. Though the effect of a criminal background was not multiplied for Turkish-name applicants, the cumulative disadvantage of having a criminal record and ethnicity nevertheless put convicted Turkish applicants in the most disadvantaged labor market position of the four experimental groups. Results from logistic regressions confirmed these descriptive results and revealed a negative effect of both having a criminal record and having a Turkish name. The interaction term of these two variables was very small and not statistically significant (see Table 7 in the Appendix).

Robustness checks

To test the robustness of the results, I analyzed the cleaning and security firms separately. Overall, I found negative effects of having a criminal record and of ethnicity in both sectors (see Tables 5 & 6 in the Appendix). Both of these effects were stronger in the security sector than in the cleaning sector. The response rates by experimental conditions indicate that there were only small and nonsignificant differences between the two sectors for German applicants with a criminal record and applicants with Turkish

or German names without a criminal record (Table 4). The strongest sectoral impact was evident for Turkish ex-offenders, who received only 21 % positive responses in the security sector compared to 32.9 % in the cleaning sector (χ^2 = 6.221, p < 0.1). This suggests that, although the effect of having a criminal record was more pronounced in the security sector as a whole, it was especially detrimental for Turkish applicants. Separate logistic regressions for the cleaning and security sectors revealed a large effect size for the interaction of ethnicity and having a criminal record in the security sector —but only a very small effect in the cleaning sector (see Table 7 in the Appendix). None of the interaction terms were significant, possibly due to the low number of observations in the subsamples. A power analysis confirmed insufficient power, especially within the security sector. Additionally, unobserved differences between the two sectors may also have contributed to these results.

Although I sent out email requests to the entire population of employers in the cleaning and security sector in Germany, it is theoretically possible that the purchased population frame may not have included all employers. As part of my sensitivity analyses, I therefore also assessed the statistical power of the study. These post-hoc tests revealed that the overall power of the study was about 0.7 (assuming the effect size found in my study and alpha set to 0.05 for a one-sided test); for the experimental groups, the power ranged between 0.6 and 0.85, meaning that the likelihood of detecting an effect—if there is an effect—was between 60 % and 85 %. As expected, due to the smaller sample sizes, the power for the cleaning and security sector subsets was lower (about 0.4 and 0.6). Finally, the general direction of the coefficients was robust to a stricter coding of the dependent variable (see Table 8 in the Appendix).

		Sector		
		Cleaning	Security	P value (χ2)
Ethnicity	**Crime**			
German	No	188 (45.5 %)	55 (43.3 %)	0.661
Turkish	No	161 (39.2 %)	43 (35.8 %)	0.508
German	Yes	158 (38.9 %)	45 (36.0 %)	0.557
Turkish	Yes	136 (32.9 %)	25 (21.0 %)	0.013

Table 4: Positive response rates by sector & experimental condition

5 Discussion

In this study, I conducted a field experiment to examine the consequences of having a Turkish-sounding name and having a criminal record in two sectors of the German labor market. My results confirm that having a criminal record has negative effects on employment chances, as both German-name and Turkish-name applicants were penalized for having a criminal record. Overall, applicants with a criminal record received significantly fewer positive responses than applicants with no criminal record (around 8 percentage points less).

Ethnic minority applicants also face disadvantages in the German labor market, receiving about eight percentage points fewer responses than applicants with German-sounding names. These findings indicate that both criminal history and ethnicity negatively affect job opportunities. When applicants have both a Turkish name and a criminal record, I observed an additive but not a multiplicative effect. German-name and Turkish-name applicants faced similar relative penalties for having a criminal record, but because of the strong effect of ethnicity, convicted Turkish-name applicants had the lowest response rate.

The interaction between ethnicity and a criminal record appears to be highly context-dependent. A substantial interaction between ethnicity and having a criminal record was found only in the security sector, though it was not significant. Given that almost all employers in the security sector require a clean criminal record, it may not be surprising that employers dismiss candidates with a criminal record, even if a conviction is soon to be expunged from the record.

Although the results provide mixed evidence for the interaction between having a criminal record and ethnicity, the combined negative effect of being part of an ethnic minority and having a criminal record means that Turkish-name applicants with a criminal record still have the bleakest labor market prospects of all applicants. One finding makes this particularly apparent: a candidate with a Turkish name and no conviction has similar chances of receiving a positive response to an application as a German-name candidate *with* a prior conviction.

My results not only highlight the challenges faced by ethnic minority Germans in finding employment, but they are also especially striking, given that the cleaning and security sectors are among the largest employers of non-Germans and Germans with a migration background in Germany. These sectors lacked sufficient personnel at the time of this study (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2023; Statistisches Bundesamt, 2020; Zanker, 2023). Therefore, the results may be quite conservative and underestimate the effect of ethnicity and its interaction with crime. In sectors with a lower share of foreign or migrant workers, applications from ethnic minorities may stand out even more. Similarly, I detected a strong negative effect of having a criminal history, even though applicants were overqualified for most of the jobs they applied to, had ample work experience, and had only been convicted of a one-time minor offense with no prison time. Accordingly, one could reasonably expect the negative effect of crime to be even more pronounced for ex-offenders with lengthier criminal records or applicants with a lower level of formal qualifications (which are most likely the majority of applicants in the sectors investigated in this study).

This study finds that having a criminal record of any kind has a fundamental effect, emphasizing the challenges that ex-offenders—and in particular ethnic minority ex-offenders—face in the German labor market. These findings are in line with previous research on crime from the US, though they contrast with the findings of recent European studies that have not found a significant negative effect of crime despite testing for more severe convictions (Peelen et al., 2022; Van Den Berg et al., 2020). The effect size of having a criminal record in this study—a difference of 8 percentage points

in positive responses—falls within the range found in other studies on minor offenses, such as 4 percentage points in Uggen et al. (2019) and 13 percentage points in Leasure (2019).

This study has several limitations. First, this study could not provide a more fine-grained explanation as to *why* German employers discriminate against applicants with a Turkish name background or a criminal record. Although my results are in line with predictions based on discrimination theory, it remains unclear whether this discrimination is the product of statistical, taste-based, or status-based discrimination. Similarly, I cannot draw any conclusions on the specific reasons why employers chose to reject the applicants. Future research could benefit from including additional materials such as productivity signals or conducting interviews with hiring managers to answer these questions.

Second, field experiments such as this one are highly dependent on the national or local context, the state of the labor market, and the sectors they are conducted in. Although I did send out a large number of applications, these were only spread across two sectors of the German labor market. The results are therefore not representative of the German labor market as a whole and should not be generalized to other countries. Furthermore, while my fictitious candidates had high levels of qualifications, most real applicants are likely less qualified for the sectors in question.

Finally, this field experiment used speculative applications rather than applications for advertised positions; future research may find that results differ in more formalized application processes. Although I included as much information in the email as possible, employers usually receive more information about applicants in formal applications, which often require a resume or a letter of motivation. This may reduce uncertainty and, therefore, statistical discrimination. On the other hand, when directly comparing candidates, employers may favor applicants with a clean record. Furthermore, some employers in this study might simply have ignored the applicant because they had no open positions at the time of the application. Employers in these sectors may also rely on networks and personal contacts to hire new personnel.

The findings of this study are highly relevant for future research. First, this is the first study to show that there is a penalty for having a criminal record in Germany using field-experimental data. My results are in line with predictions made by statistical, taste-based, or status-based discrimination theory and suggest that the effect of having a criminal record is strong even when applicants only have a one-time minor conviction and an otherwise promising profile.

Second, this study adds to various field experiments on the interaction of ethnicity and having a criminal record. Although I did not detect an interaction in the cleaning sector, I found a strong (though insignificant) interaction between ethnicity and having a criminal record in the German security sector.

Third, this study confirms and adds to the findings of discrimination against Germans with a Turkish migration background found by previous studies (Kaas and Manger, 2012; Koopmans et al., 2018; Schmaus and Kristen, 2022; Thijssen et al., 2021) and contrasts with another finding that domestic-born minority applicants receive

almost the same number of responses as non-minority applicants in Germany (Veit and Thijsen, 2021). Even in sectors with a high share of foreign or migrant workers, such as the cleaning or security sectors, employers still prefer workers with German names.

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Appendix

	Criminal record		P value(χ2)
	Yes	No	
Sector			
Security	70 (28.7 %)	98 (39.7 %)	0.01
Cleaning	294 (35.9 %)	349 (42.4 %)	0.007

Table 5: Positive response rates by criminal record and sector

	Ethnicity		P value(χ2)
	German	Turkish	
Sector			
Security	100 (39.7 %)	68 (28.5 %)	0.009
Cleaning	346 (42.2 %)	297 (36 %)	0.01

Table 6: Positive response rates by ethnicity and sector

	Outcome variable: **Positive response**		
	Pooled	Cleaning	Security
Turkish	-0.274** (0.124)	-0.260* (0.141)	-0.313 (0.261)
Criminal	-0.280** (0.124)	-0.271* (0.142)	-0.306 (0.258)
Sector: Security	-0.220** (0.108)		
Turkish x Criminal	-0.084 (0.180)	0.0001 (0.203)	-0.436 (0.392)
Constant	-0.150* (0.090)	-0.180* (0.099)	-0.269 (0.179)
Observations	2,134	1,643	491

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 7: Coefficients of logistic regression models, pooled and by sector

	Outcome variable: **Positive response (strict coding)**		
	Pooled	Cleaning	Security
Turkish	-0.257** (0.128)	-0.190 (0.145)	-0.489* (0.279)
Criminal	-0.314** (0.129)	-0.226 (0.145)	-0.631** (0.281)
Sector: Security	-0.440*** (0.117)		
Turkish x Criminal	-0.080 (0.188)	-0.098 (0.210)	-0.106 (0.437)
Constant	-0.369*** (0.092)	-0.438*** (0.101)	-0.566*** (0.185)
Observations	2,134	1,643	491

*p < 0.1; **p < 0.05; ***p < 0.01

Standard errors in parentheses.

Table 8: Coefficients of logistic regression models (strict coding)

German email

Betreff: Anfrage/Bewerbung

Sehr geehrte Damen und Herren,

hiermit möchte ich mich nach offenen Stellen bei Ihnen erkundigen. Ich bin 27 Jahre alt und bin vor kurzem mit meiner Partnerin zurück in meine Geburtsstadt Bonn gezogen. Ich habe eine Ausbildung zur Fachkraft für Schutz und Sicherheit (zum Gebäudereiniger), den 34a-Schein, sowie über 6 Jahre Arbeitserfahrung, davon 3 in Wach- und Sicherheitsdiensten (in der Gebäudereinigung) vorzuweisen. Ich bin zeitlich stets flexibel (auch am Wochenende) und hochmotiviert.

Der Transparenz halber möchte Ihnen mitteilen, dass ich vor 3 Jahren wegen eines Drogendelikts verurteilt wurde und somit aktuell noch vorbestraft bin. Die Vorstrafe wird aber in den nächsten Tagen gelöscht, ich habe dann also ein Führungszeugnis ohne Eintrag. Sie können sich sicher sein, dass die Sache einmalig war und ich meinen Fehler bereue.

Ich würde mich sehr freuen, von Ihnen zu hören. Können wir einen Termin zum persönlichen Kennenlernen (gerne auch per Telefon) ausmachen?

Mit freundlichen Grüßen,

NAME

Email (translated)

Subject: Request/Application

Dear Sir or Madam,

I would like to apply for a position with you. I am 27 years old and have recently moved with my partner back to my hometown, Bonn. I have vocational training as a specialist for protection and security (as a building cleaner), a 34a certificate, and over six years of work experience, three of which I obtained in guard and security services (in building cleaning). I am always flexible in terms of availability (also available on weekends) and am highly motivated.

For the sake of transparency, I would also like to inform you that I was convicted of a drug offense three years ago and therefore currently still have a criminal record. However, this conviction will be deleted from my record in the next few days, so I will then have a clean criminal record. I can assure you that this was a one-time thing and that I regret my mistake.

I would be very happy to hear from you. Can we make an appointment to get to know each other (by phone if you like)?

Yours sincerely,

NAME