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Employment as a Part of Rehabilitation: A Review of Similarities and Differences between Female and Male Criminals

Zatrudnienie jako element resocjalizacji. Przegląd podobieństw i różnic między przestępcami płci męskiej i żeńskiej

ABSTRACT

In this review article, the latest knowledge in the area of the importance of employment in the process of rehabilitation is presented. The goal is a literature review and an analysis of the similarities and differences between female and male criminals in the context of employment during the prison sentence and the chances of finding employment after release. Also, the relationships between employment and later recidivism are analyzed. To present the relationship between employment and recidivism holistically, the following points were referred to: the role of work in rehabilitation and adaptation to freedom; differences between males and females in employment experiences and peculiarities in social background affecting their labour force attachment; the employment of prisoners before, during and after punishment; opportunities and barriers in finding a job by former prisoners; bidirectional relationship – employment as a way to reintegrate ex-offender with the society and as a way to prevent recidivism. Different phases of rehabilitation (being in prison, leaving prison) were distinguished and labour force attachment prior to imprisonment spell were also discussed. Also, the article consists of a discussion section where conclusions and recommendations are presented. The indications for further research were also listed, one of which is to examine the real benefit of the work of convicts – whether it provides the possibility of subsistence. In the article, study results from various countries, and consequently, various judicial systems, are referred to.

Keywords: employment; recidivism; female offenders; male offenders; social exclusion; social reintegration

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INTRODUCTION

Work is one of the basic human activities. We usually devote one-third of a day to it. For many, the workplace becomes a second home due to the commitment of time and social relationships at work. Occupation or function is something that marks a place in social stratification. Many years of education lead to get specific profession and practice it in accordance with the professional rules and ethics, with the awareness that by working and paying taxes you are a part of the civil society.

The human-work relationship is so strong that in some countries information about the profession is even found on tombstones. Work is a source of income, it provides subsistence and independence, it can raise the property status. It is a moral imperative present in social consciousness, proverbs and literature: "Earn the food they eat" (2 Thessalonians 3:12), "No bees no honey, no work no money". Work organizes life; therefore, its role is interesting in relation to those who are on the fringe of the community or outside it – in relation to criminals, in particular those whose specialty is property crime.

RESEARCH AND RESULTS

The goal of the article is a literature review and an analysis of the similarities and differences between female and male criminals in the context of their relationship with the labour market. The relationship of employment and recidivism is a complex one. Its main aspect is the role of work in rehabilitation and adaptation to freedom. What is also important is the differences between males and females in employment experiences and peculiarities in social background affecting their labour force attachment. Employment is significant in all stages of criminal behaviour and punishment, that is before, during and after punishment. Also, opportunities and barriers in finding a job by former prisoners indicate a bidirectional relationship – employment is a way to reintegrate ex-offender with the society and makes it possible to prevent recidivism.

Therefore, the research question is: what are the relationships between employment and criminal activity on various stages: before committing a crime, during the sentence and after release, in the case of both female and male criminals? The analysis of the literature also helps answer the following question: what is the current state of research and study methods in various countries when it comes to the study of the relationships between labour market and the recidivism in the case of male and female offenders?

The article includes possible general conclusions and recommendations as well as study challenges of the relationships between employment and recidivism, both jointly in the case of men and women as well as with a gender distinction. The

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analyzed literature describes various judicial systems, in the vast majority – the American one. The conclusions may have limited application possibilities in the countries of different judicial system, yet the readaptation role of the employment is the same.

1. Employment and recidivism

Most of the research on prisoners is conducted on groups of men, which reflects the fact that they constitute the overwhelming number of people committing crimes, serving sentences in prisons and recidivists. The number of individuals held in penal institutions all over the world has exceeded 10 million.[1] The majority of them will return to society after the end of their sentence or will be granted parole. Hence, it is key to prevent recidivism and help ex-prisoners to reintegrate.

The National Institute of Justice considers recidivism as "one of the most fundamental concepts in criminal justice. It refers to a person's relapse into criminal behavior, often after the person receives sanction or undergoes intervention for a previous crime".[2] It is in the first months after release from prison that ex-prisoners are particularly likely to recidivate.[3] Statistically speaking, 68% of American ex-prisoners were arrested again within 3 years of release from prison, 47% of them were re-convicted and almost 52% were incarcerated again within 3 years of release, including parole revocation.[4] Yukhnenko et al. investigated the recidivism level in 50 countries with the largest total prison population and found that recidivism rates varied significantly between these countries.[5] Overall, for a 2-year follow-up period, reported re-arrest rates were between 26% and 60%, reconviction rates ranged from 20% to 63%, and reimprisonment rates varied from 14% to 45%. Data for reimprisonment for selected countries were as follows: Australia 45% (data for 2015–2016), New Zealand 43% (data for 2015–2016), South Korea (3-year follow-up) 25% (data for 2013), Chile (3-year follow-up) 50% (data for 2007), Israel 28% (data for 2008), Poland (5-year follow-up) 40,1% (data for 2009–2015).[6] The longer the observation period, the more ex-convicts commit

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[1] R. Walmsley, *World Prison Population List (11th ed.)*, Institute for Criminal Policy Research (ICPR) 2016.

[2] National Institute of Justice, *Measuring Recidivism*, 2014, http://www.nij.gov/topics/corrections/recidivism/Pages/measuring.aspx (access: 28.11.2023).

[3] P.A. Langan, D.J. Levin, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1994*, "Federal Sentencing Reporter" 2002, vol. 15(1), pp. 58–65; B.S.J. Wartna et al., *Recidivism Report 2002–2008: Trends in the Reconviction Rate of Dutch Offenders*, Factsheet 2011-5a, The Netherlands 2011.

[4] *Ibidem*.

[5] D. Yukhnenko, S. Sridhar, S. Fazel, *A Systematic Review of Criminal Recidivism Rates Worldwide: 3-Year Update*, "Wellcome Open Research" 2019.

[6] *Ibidem*; World Population Review, *Recidivism Rates by Country*, 2021, https://worldpopulationreview.com/country-rankings/recidivism-rates-by-country (access: 28.11.2023); Ministerstwo

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crime again and return to prison. However, this happens most often in the first year after release. The trend is visible both among ex-prisoners that have been granted parole and ones that served their time. After imprisonment there is a greater degree of recidivism than after intensive or traditional probation, these are mostly cases of property crimes and drug crimes. The criminogenic effect of prison is similar for females and males.[7]

Among the reasons for recidivism are: unemployment after release, poverty, educational illiteracy, and inadequacy to social norms.[8] It has been established that recidivism decreases with age and increases with prior sentences. It is more likely to affect men than women and property offenders than violent offenders. Married individuals are less likely to recidivate than single ones. Family ties and stable employment also have been found to play a role in decreasing the risk of recidivism. In fact, these two are closely connected as family members often help ex-offenders find a job.[9] Horney et al. prove the same point, showing that employed ex-offenders are less likely to commit property offense.[10] Last but not least, the likelihood of recidivism decreases with the level of education.[11]

In literature, there are numerous links between employment and offender's situation and recidivism. Studies show that recidivism may be connected to division into two groups: individuals that have worked and ones that have never worked. Such division takes place even before incarceration. The division is further deepened by the incarceration and later influences the risk of recidivism.[12]

Sprawiedliwości, *Powrotność do przestępstwa w latach 2009–2015*, Warszawa 2017, https://isws.ms.gov.pl/pl/baza-statystyczna/publikacje/download,3502,13.html (access: 28.11.2023).

[7] D. Mears, J. Cochran, W. Bales, *Gender Differences in the Effects of Prison on Recidivism*, "Journal of Criminal Justice" 2012, vol. 40(5), pp. 370–378.

[8] J.M. Nally, S. Lockwood, T. Ho, K. Knutson, *Post-Release Recidivism and Employment among Different Types of Released Offenders: A 5-Year Follow-up Study in the United States*, "International Journal of Criminal Justice Sciences" 2014, vol. 9(1), pp. 16–34.

[9] J.H. Laub, R.J. Sampson, *Shared Beginnings, Divergent Lives: Delinquent Boys to Age 70*, Cambridge 2003; J. Petersilia, *When Prisoners Come Home*, New York 2003; C. Visher, J. Travis, *Transitions from Prison to Community: Understanding Individual Pathways*, "Annual Review of Sociology" 2003, vol. 29(1), pp. 89–113.

[10] J. Horney, D.W. Osgood, I.H. Marshall, *Criminal Careers in the Short-Term: Intra-Individual Variability in Crime and Its Relation to Local Life Circumstances*, "American Sociological Review" 1995, vol. 60(5), pp. 655–673.

[11] E. Baumer, *Levels and Predictors of Recidivism: The Malta Experience*, "Criminology" 1997, vol. 35(4), pp. 601–628.

[12] M. Bhuller, G.B. Dahl, K.V. Løken, M. Mogstad, *Incarceration, Recidivism, and Employment*, "NHH Dept. of Economics Discussion Paper" 2018, no. 14; T. Skardhamar, K. Telle, *Post-release Employment and Recidivism in Norway*, "Journal of Quantitative Criminology" 2012, vol. 28(4), pp. 629–649.

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Importantly, not any job prevents one from committing criminal acts.[13] Crime-reducing effect stems from a combination of factors such as stability, work intensity, and earnings.[14] Long-term unemployment has a vast number of consequences: not only economic and social but also psychological ones, such as decrease in psychological well-being,[15] increased risk of mental distress and lower self-esteem,[16] and change of characteristics.[17] Longer employment decreases the likelihood of recidivism.[18] The numerous effects of joblessness point to the importance of employment in preventing recidivism.

The majority of research points to universal links between employment and reduced recidivism. These relationships also take into account education and job skills and are confirmed in studies conducted in various penal systems for female and male offenders and with various lengths of served sentences.[19]

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[13] A. Ramakers, P. Nieuwbeerta, J. V. Wilsem, A. Dirkzwager, *Not Just Any Job Will Do: A Study on Employment Characteristics and Recidivism Risks After Release*, "International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology" 2017, vol. 61(16), pp. 1795–1818.

[14] R.J. Sampson, J.H. Laub, *Crime and Deviance over the Life Course: The Salience of Adult Social Bonds*, "American Sociological Review" 1990, vol. 55(5), pp. 609–627.

[15] R. Winkelmann, *Unemployment, Social Capital, and Subjective Well-Being*, "Journal of Happiness Studies" 2009, vol. 10(4), pp. 421–430; H. Ervasti, T. Venetoklis, *Unemployment and Subjective Well-being: An Empirical Test of Deprivation Theory, Incentive Paradigm and Financial Strain Approach*, "Acta Sociologica" 2010, vol. 53(2), pp. 119–139.

[16] K.I. Paul, K. Moser, *Unemployment Impairs Mental Health: Meta-analysis*, "Journal of Vocational Behaviour" 2009, vol. 74(3), pp. 264–282.

[17] C. Boyce, A.M. Wood, M. Daly, C. Sedikides, *Personality Change Following Unemployment*, "Journal of Applied Psychology" 2015, vol. 100(4).

[18] J. Verbruggen, A.A.J. Blokland, V.R. van der Geest, *Effects of Employment and Unemployment on Serious Offending in a High-Risk Sample of Men and Women from Ages 18 to 32 in the Netherlands*, "The British Journal of Criminology" 2012, vol. 52(5), pp. 845–869.

[19] M.T. Berg, B.M. Huebner, *Reentry and the Ties That Bind: An Examination of Social Ties, Employment, and Recidivism,* "Justice Quarterly" 2011, vol. 28(2), pp. 382–410; G. Kleck, D. Jackson, *What Kind of Joblessness Affects Crime? A National Case – Control Study of Serious Property Crime*, "Journal of Quantitative Criminology" 2016, vol. 32, pp. 1–25; J. Verbruggen, A.A.J. Blokland, V.R. van der Geest, *op. cit.*; S. Lageson, C. Uggen, *How Work Affects Crime – and Crime Affects Work – Over the Life Course*, [in:] *Handbook of Life-Course Criminology: Emerging Trends and Directions for Future Research*, ed. C.L. Gibson, New York 2013, pp. 201–212; C. Uggen, S. Wakefield, *What Have We Learned from Longitudinal Studies of Work and Crime?*, [in:] *The Long View of Crime: A Synthesis of Longitudinal Research*, ed. A.M. Liberman, New York 2008; P. Finn, *Job Placement for Offenders in Relation to Recidivism*, "Journal of Offender Rehabilitation" 1998, vol. 28(1–2), pp. 89–106; B. Harrison, R.C. Schehr, *Offenders and Post-Release Jobs: Variables Influencing Success and Failure*, "Journal of Offender Rehabilitation" 2004, vol. 39(3), pp. 35–68; C. Uggen, J. Staff, *Work as a Turning Point for Criminal Offenders Corrections*, "Management Quarterly" 2001, vol. 5(4), pp. 1–16; T. Wadsworth, *The Meaning of Work: Conceptualizing the Deterrent Effect of Employment on Crime among Young Adults*, "Sociological Perspectives" 2006, vol. 49(3), pp. 343–368; L. Burke, J. Vivian, *The Effect of College Programming on Recidivism Rates at the Hampden County House of Correction: A 5-Year Study*, "Journal of Correctional Education" 2001, vol. 52(4), pp. 160–162; C. Harlow, *Education and Correc-*

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Other studies dealing with the links between situation on the labour market and the level of recidivism show that poor labour market outcomes increase the recidivism rate[20] and decrease in recidivism is closely linked with more employment opportunities for released prisoners in California,[21] 43 US states,[22] and France.[23] Lockwood et al. noted that unemployed released offenders were 1.5 times more likely to recidivate than employed ones.[24] Also, recent studies conducted on two groups, violent and non-violent ex-offenders, showed that intensive job assistance improves the average work readiness in ex-offenders and in 19% reduces the re-arrest rate for non-violent ex-offenders, but does not affect violent offenders.[25]

There has been extensive research on the influence of employment on recidivism and only a few studies show no correlation between employment and desistance from crime,[26] and only a few show no strong links between labour market situation at the time of release and recidivism rates.[27]

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tional Populations, Washington 2003; J. Nuttall, L. Hollmen, M. Staley, *The Effect of Earning a GED on Recidivism Rates*, "Journal of Correctional Education" 2003, vol. 54(3), pp. 90–94; D.B. Wilson, C.A. Gallagher, D.L. MacKenzie, *A Meta-Analysis of Correction-Based Education, Vocation, and Work Programs for Adult Offenders*, "Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency" 2000, vol. 37(4), pp. 347–368; C. Visher, S. Debus, J. Yahner, *Employment After Prison: A Longitudinal Study of Releases in Three States*, Washington 2008.

[20] D. Weiman, M. Stoll, S. Bushway, *The Regime of Mass Incarceration: A Labor Market Perspective*, [in:] *Barriers to Reentry? The Labor Market for Released Prisoners in Post-Industrial America*, eds. S. Bushway, M. Stoll, D. Weiman, New York 2007; B. Western, *From Prison to Work: A Proposal for a National Prisoner Reentry Program*, "Discussion Paper 2008-16", The Hamilton Project, The Brookings Institution, Washington 2008; C. Uggen, S. Wakefield, B. Western, *Work and Family Perspectives on Reentry,* [in:] *Prisoner Reentry and Crime in America*, eds. J. Travis, C. Visher, Cambridge 2005.

[21] K. Schnepel, *Economics of Incarceration*, "Australian Economic Review" 2016, vol. 49(4), pp. 515–523.

[22] C.S. Yang, *Local Labor Markets and Criminal Recidivism*, "Journal of Public Economics" 2017, vol. 147, pp. 16–29.

[23] R. Galbiati, A. Ouss, A. Philippe, *Jobs, News and Re-offending after Incarceration*, "Toulouse School of Economics Working Paper" 2017, no. 17-843.

[24] S. Lockwood, J.M. Nally, T. Ho, K. Knutson, *The Effect of Correctional Education on Post-release Employment and Recidivism: A 5-Year Follow-Up Study in the State of Indiana*, "Crime and Delinquency" 2012, vol. 58(3), pp. 380–396.

[25] C.R. Bollinger, A. Yelowitz, *Targeting Intensive Job Assistance to Ex-Offenders by the Nature of Offense: Results from a Randomized Control Trial*, "IZA Discussion Paper" 2021, no. 14078.

[26] H. McMillin, *Process and Outcome Evaluation of the Spokane County Meth Family Treatment Court, 2003–2005*, Washington 2007 (unpublished doctoral dissertation), https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download;jsessionid=1DB5943607B889E1493D9D70B89E6946?doi=10.1.1.629.9758&rep=rep1&type=pdf (access: 28.11.2023); A.L. Nielsen, *Testing Sampson and Laub's Life Course Theory: Age, Race/Ethnicity, and Drunkenness*, "Deviant Behavior" 1999, vol. 20(2), pp. 129–151.

[27] For example, see S. Raphael, D.F. Weiman, *The Impact of Local Labor Market Conditions on the Likelihood That Parolees Are Returned to Custody*, [in:] *Barriers to Reentry…*, pp. 304–332.

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2. Types of research on employment and crime

Research on the relationship between employment and recidivism is conducted mainly in two ways:

1. Collecting extensive administrative data and using different models to analyze this data. This data is extensive but often sketchy, moreover, it is adapted to the legal system of a given country and the method of data aggregation.
2. Obtaining data for analysis experimentally in planned longitudinal studies and using mixed methods to analyze this data. This data is obtained in the form of long-term studies or experiments. It allows the verification of more detailed theses and the understanding of phenomena that have not been observed so far. Unfortunately, the size of the studied groups is smaller and this also makes it difficult to generalize.

In fact, most studies share both features – longitudinal studies using administrative data or data obtained in other projects or studies, however, they differ in the method of analyzing these data. For this reason, the following sections will present the methods of analysis: mixed methods and models, longitudinal studies and a few studies showing a cause-effect relationship between employment and recidivism.

3. Mixed methods and models

Horney et al. used retrospective data and found that the probability of committing property offenses was reduced in the months when sample members were employed.[28] Individual-level data was used to examine the relationship between employment status and criminal activity (observation time: previous five years), 4,205 households, and approximately 19,000 respondents.[29] Visher et al. presented the results of a quantitative meta-analysis of eight independent studies using random assignment designs, that focused on ex-offender employment programs and recidivism. They stated that eight interventions had no significant effect on the likelihood that participants would be rearrested.[30] However, community-employment programs may be more effective if the needs of individuals can be identified and linked to specific services.

Benda et al. used Cox's proportional hazard modeling to examine the relationship between employment and time until first felony or parole violation.[31] Tripodi

[28] J. Horney, D.W. Osgood, I.H. Marshall, *op. cit*.

[29] B. Hunter, J. Borland, *Does Crime Affect Employment Status? The Case of Indigenous Australians*, "Economica" 2000, vol. 67(265), pp. 123–144.

[30] C. Visher, L. Winterfield, M. Coggeshall, *Ex-Offender Employment Programs and Recidivism: A Meta-Analysis*, "Journal of Experimental Criminology" 2005, vol. 1, pp. 295–315.

[31] B.B. Benda, N.J. Harm, N.J. Toombs, *Survival Analysis of Recidivism of Male and Female Boot Camp Graduates Using Life-Course Theory*, "Journal of Offender Rehabilitation" 2005, vol. 40(3–4), pp. 87–113.

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et al. used proportional hazard models to examine the effect of employment on reincarceration over time. They stated that desistance from crime is a process of behavioral change with multiple stages.[32]

A mixed-method study of 740 men released from prison showed that within two months after their parole date, nearly 80% of them spent time searching for a job. However, most of the men reported difficulty during the search because of their criminal record.[33] Multiple sequence, cluster analyses and multinomial logistic regression were used by Kang to predict partnering and employment trajectories for delinquent adolescents.[34]

Berg and Huebner constructed multi-state stratified random sample using data that include both pre- and post-release factors derived from the LSI-R.[35] The subject of the study was a group of men whose involvement in criminal behavior was tracked for more than three years following parole. Offender-level data from the Bureau of Justice Statistics was used to track felony cases. The analyzed group included 10,222 adult offenders charged with a felony crime during 2000 in 39 of the counties.[36]

Verbruggen et al. constructed research including group of 270 males and 270 females.[37] These studies are a good example of combining mixed methods and longitudinal observations. The observation period was based on the age of the respondents: from 18 till 32 years old. They used four random and three fixed effects models estimating: the effect of stable background characteristics on the risk of a conviction; the effect of employment on crime, including controlling for background characteristics, marriage and parenthood; the effect of employment duration on offending; the effects of employment, employment duration and unemployment duration on crime, taking into account the influence of background characteristics, marriage and parenthood.

4. Longitudinal research

Ramakers et al. using longitudinal data in the first six months following the release of the Prison Project (n = 714), found that "not just any job, but particularly stable employment and jobs with a higher occupational level could help

[32] S.J. Tripodi, J.S. Kim, K. Bender, *Is Employment Associated with Reduced Recidivism? The Complex Relationship Between Employment and Crime*, "International Journal of Offender Therapy and Comparative Criminology" 2010, vol. 54(5), pp. 706–720.

[33] C. Visher, S. Debus, J. Yahner, *op. cit*.

[34] T. Kang, *The Transition to Adulthood of Contemporary Delinquent Adolescents*, "Journal of Developmental and Life-Course Criminology" 2019, vol. 5, pp. 176–202.

[35] M.T. Berg, B.M. Huebner, *op. cit*.

[36] S.J. D'Alessio, L. Stolzenberg, D. Eitle, *"Last Hired, First Fired": The Effect of the Unemployment Rate on the Probability of Repeat Offending*, "American Journal of Criminal Justice" 2014, vol. 39, pp. 77–93.

[37] J. Verbruggen, A.A.J. Blokland, V.R. van der Geest*, op. cit*.

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reduce crime rates among these high-risk offenders".[38] Another longitudinal research observing the individual factors influencing the likelihood of employment after release from prison was conducted by Visher et al. who created a multi-state sample of former prisoners using data gathered from interviews with prisoners before and at multiple times after release.[39] The results indicate that features such as work experience before incarceration, connection to employers before release, and conventional family relationships have a positive effect on the employment of former prisoners. In contrast, drug abuse, physical or mental health problems, old age and nonwhite skin color are the features that postpone employment by several months after release.

Other studies are based on the analysis of administrative data, e.g. Piquero et al. used data on 524 serious offenders from the California Youth Authority for a seven-year post-parole period.[40] This research used a statistical model and analyzed changes in local life circumstances and criminal activity of young adults. Skardhamar and Telle[41] used a large data set ($n = 7{,}476$) with a follow-up of 3 years, and Schnepel used the data on 1.7 million prisoners released in California between 1993 and 2008.[42] Kang analyzed the data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 ($n = 8{,}984$),[43] and Benda et al. examined administrative data from a random sample ($N = 250$) of Texas male parolees released from prison between 2001 and 2005.[44] Another one including longitudinal research was carried out using data capturing daily online postings on job openings and closings.[45] The findings suggest that released offenders respond positively to news of job creation regardless of whether they can change their employment.

Uggen and Wakefield prepared a summary of longitudinal studies from previous years, and indicated various periods, usually several years, in which observations were carried out.[46] They highlighted repeated studies in different birth cohorts. Their review article not only indicated exemplary methods of analysis, but also demonstrated the value of longitudinal studies. The article by Lageson and Uggen compiling the longitudinal research in field employment and crime is organized in a similar way.[47] Research conducted at different life stages is presented. The authors

[38] A. Ramakers, P. Nieuwbeerta, J.V. Wilsem, A. Dirkzwager, *op. cit*.

[39] C. Visher, S. Debus, J. Yahner, *op. cit*.

[40] A. Piquero, R. Brame, P. Mazerolle, R. Haapanen, *Crime in Emerging Adulthood*, "Criminology" 2002, vol. 40(1), pp. 137–169.

[41] T. Skardhamar, K. Telle, *op. cit*.

[42] K. Schnepel, *Do Post-Prison Job Opportunities Reduce Recidivism?*, "IZA World of Labor" 2017, vol. 399.

[43] T. Kang, *op. cit*.

[44] B.B. Benda, N.J. Harm, N.J. Toombs, *op. cit*.

[45] R. Galbiati, A. Ouss, A. Philippe, *op. cit*.

[46] C. Uggen, S. Wakefield, *op. cit*.

[47] S. Lageson, C. Uggen, *op. cit*.

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answered the question of how work affects crime in adolescence, early adulthood, and older ages. Work has a preventive and rehabilitative role; it can be a factor positively organizing everyday life for people of all ages.

5. Cause-effect relationship

Among many studies presented in the literature, the ones that stand out are those indicating a cause-effect relationship between employment and reduced recidivism. These studies were conducted on groups of convicts from different countries and concerned the type of occupation, duration of employment, and the importance of the family situation.

Berg and Huebner investigated the association between family-based social ties, job attainment and recidivism.[48] Also Piquero et al. examined the effect of conformity (employment and marital status) on recidivism risk.[49]

Fallesen et al. studied the effects of active labour market policies on crime.[50] Hunter and Borland examined the relationship between employment status and criminal activity in Australia.[51] Ramakers et al. examined the association between stable employment and jobs with a higher occupational level and recidivism.[52] Skardhamar and Telle provided evidence that employment can also generate a crime-reducing effect among Norwegian ex-prisoners.[53] Verbruggen et al. examined the effects of employment, employment duration and unemployment duration on offending.[54]

Visher et al. examined the impact of the period from release till the beginning of the first job on recidivism risk and concluded that ex-prisoners who were employed in the second month after release had the same risk of committing a crime in the first eight months as the unemployed ex-prisoners.[55] Galbiati et al. examined French prisoners released during 2009 and 2010 and stated that they were less likely to re-offend after release if in the society there were relevant and numerous job opportunities.[56] Kang studied crime and arrests during adolescence and their consequences on determining partnering and employment trajectories for men and women.[57]

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[48] M.T. Berg, B.M. Huebner, *op. cit*.

[49] A. Piquero, R. Brame, P. Mazerolle, R. Haapanen, *op. cit*.

[50] P. Fallesen, L.P. Geerdsen, S. Imai, T. Tranæs, *The Effect of Active Labor Market Policies on Crime: Incapacitation and Program Effects*, "Labour Economics" 2018, vol. 52, pp. 263–286.

[51] B. Hunter, J. Borland, *op. cit*.

[52] A. Ramakers, P. Nieuwbeerta, J.V. Wilsem, A. Dirkzwager, *op. cit*.

[53] T. Skardhamar, K. Telle, *op. cit*.

[54] J. Verbruggen, A.A.J. Blokland, V.R. van der Geest, *op. cit*.

[55] C. Visher, S. Debus, J. Yahner, *op. cit*.

[56] R. Galbiati, A. Ouss, A. Philippe, *op. cit*.

[57] T. Kang, *op. cit*.

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6. Male prisoners on labour market before crime

Even prior to incarceration inmates have poorer work history,[58] lower cognitive skills[59] and lower educational attainment[60] than general population.

The majority of offenders experienced employment difficulties already before being arrested.[61] As many as 64% male prisoners reported employment during the six months before imprisonment. Unfortunately, 42% of them never held a job for over a year.[62] It is not clear whether it is one year job (single spell) or the sum of jobs for different employers for a total period of one year. However, this shows the importance of employment in the context of crime prevention.

7. Work during incarceration

Time spent in prison is believed to erode existing job skills and embed prisoners into criminal networks as a way of adapting to prison lives.[63] Nevertheless, time spent in prison can be an opportunity to complete your education, gain a profession and work experience. Working in a prison can not only develop a work habit, it also facilitates the current payment of obligations (debts, compensation, alimony, fines, and other court costs). The ability to work and fulfill these obligations prevents the accumulation of debts at the end of the sentence. Paying child support helps maintain family ties, and paying other obligations makes it easier for the prisoner to return to society and start over. Educational programs and supplementing professional qualifications are also the priorities of social rehabilitation in many countries. Research on the effects of prison rehabilitation programs including education and job skills shows that participation in social rehabilitation programs while incarcerated can significantly reduce recidivism. Recidivism decreases by

[58] J. Petersilia, *From Cell to Society: Who Is Returning Home?*, [in:] *Prisoner Reentry and Crime…*; J. Travis, *But They All Come Back: Facing the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry*, Washington 2005.

[59] J. Petersilia, *From Cell…*

[60] C. Harlow, *op. cit*.

[61] M. Henderson, *Employment and Crime: What Is the Problem and What Can Be Done about It from the Inmate's Perspective*, "Corrections Management Quarterly" 2001, vol. 5(4), pp. 46–52; S. Raphael, *Incarceration and Prisoner Reentry in the United States*, "The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science" 2011, vol. 635(1), pp. 192–215; T. Skardhamar, *Inmates' Social Background and Living Conditions*, "Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention" 2003, vol. 4(1), pp. 39–56.

[62] C. Visher, P. Lattimore, *Major Study Examines Prisoners and Their Reentry Needs*, "National Institute of Justice Journal" 2007, no. 258, pp. 30–33.

[63] S. Maruna, H. Toch, *The Impact of Imprisonment on the Desistance Process*, [in:] *Prisoner Reentry and Crime…*, pp. 139–178; C. Uggen, S. Wakefield, B. Western, *op. cit*.

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about 9 percentage points within three years following release.[64] The necessary condition is an appropriate diagnosis of the risks and needs of inmates. Convicts who exhibit high risk and who exhibit pro-criminal attitudes benefit the least from programs.[65] Other studies have shown that reducing recidivism through work is related to the number of hours worked in prison and the length of the sentence. For sentences longer than six months, working in prison reduces the recidivism rate by 3% to 10% over three years and prevents the depreciation of earning ability. For shorter sentences, work reduces the severity of the sentence and is associated with a higher recidivism rate by up to 9%.[66]

8. Work after release – opportunities and barriers

Former prisoners are discriminated in the labour market. It is difficult for them to find employment after release.[67] Employment prospects are poor due to criminal record, time spent in prison and employers' prejudice.[68] Secondly, it is more difficult for former prisoners to find work due to lack of experience and inadequate job skills.[69]

In the time following release from prison, many ex-offenders are unrealistically optimistic and convinced they will easily cope beyond prison bars without committing another crime.[70] Other studies show that at least two-thirds (up to 78%) of ex-prisoners believe it will be easy or even very easy for them to renew family bonds, find employment and a home and it will not be a problem to avoid re-incarceration.[71] The unrealistic optimism stems from lack of contact with outside world and affects the ex-offenders' view on social roles and social ties, hinders social dynamics and makes it more difficult to put into practice the plans of organizing one's life after release.[72]

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[64] W. Arbour, G. Lacroix, S. Marchand, *Prison Rehabilitation Programs: Efficiency and Targeting*, "IZA Discussion Paper" 2021, no. 14022.

[65] *Ibidem*.

[66] G. Zanella, *Prison Work and Convict Rehabilitation*, IZA DP no. 13446, July 2020, https://docs.iza.org/dp13446.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[67] C. Visher, V. Kachnowski, *Finding Work on the Outside: Results from the "Returning Home" Project in Chicago*, Washington 2007, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/292865328_Finding_work_on_the_outside_Results_from_the_returning_home_project_in_Chicago (access: 28.11.2023).

[68] H. Holzer, S. Raphael, M. Stoll, *Will Employers Hire Former Offenders? Employer Preferences, Background Checks, and Their Determinants*, [in:] *Imprisoning America: The Social Effects of Mass Incarceration*, eds. M. Pattillo, D. Weiman, B. Western, New York 2004; D. Pager, *Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration*, Chicago 2007.

[69] B. Western, J. Kling, D. Weiman, *The Labor Market Consequences of Incarceration*, "Crime and Delinquency" 2001, vol. 47(3), pp. 410–427.

[70] E. Zamble, V.L. Quinsley, *The Criminal Recidivism Process*, Cambridge 1997.

[71] C. Visher, J. Travis, *Transitions…*

[72] A. Kacprzak, I. Kudlińska, *Praca socjalna z osobami opuszczającymi placówki resocjalizacyjne i ich rodzinami*, Warszawa 2014.

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After release, ex-offenders experience problems in numerous areas, such as housing, health, income[73] and education.[74] The most difficult part is finding the first job after release from prison. Former convicts find temporary and low-paid jobs.[75] They work mostly in construction or manufacturing industries.[76] It is more and more common to offer ex-offenders transitional job programs that teach them how to work, grant income and occupy ones time in a productive way.[77] Despite various preparation programs offered by the prison, many ex-offenders have no legal means of making money or supporting themselves, so will return to crime. Many of them return to lifestyle they had before their sentence.[78]

People with convictions have numerous fees, fines, and debts to pay, while at the same time their economic opportunities are limited. Almost half of the offenders examined in one of the surveys were unable to afford the costs associated with a conviction. Among poor families, it's even 58%. On top of that, 67% of formerly incarcerated individuals examined in the survey were still unemployed or underemployed five years after their release.[79]

Needless to say, employment is the basis for reintegration.[80] The workplace enables social contacts, it is a place of social control and the salary ensures financial independence.[81] Regular income results in a lower likelihood of property crime.[82] Employment does not only grant income, but helps create social bonds and occupies ex-prisoner's time. Employed individuals have a reduced amount of time than they can spend on criminal behaviour.[83] Thus, income support does not

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[73] C. Visher, J. Travis, *Life on the Outside: Returning Home after Incarceration*, "The Prison Journal" 2011, vol. 91(3, Suppl.), pp. 102S–119S.

[74] C. Visher, P. Lattimore, *op. cit*.

[75] B. Western, *Punishment and Inequality in America*, New York 2006.

[76] K. Schnepel, *Good Jobs and Recidivism*, University of Sydney, School of Economics, "Economics Working Paper Series" 2014, no. 2014-10.

[77] E.J. Valentine, C. Redcross, *Transitional Jobs After Release from Prison: Effects on Employment and Recidivism*, "IZA Journal of Labor Policy" 2015 (December).

[78] N.F. Taryn, *The Effect of Education Programs on Prisoner Recidivism in Michigan*, 2010, https://www.nmu.edu/sites/DrupalEducation/files/UserFiles/Files/Pre-Drupal/SiteSections/Students/GradPapers/Projects/Nelson_Taryn_MP.pdf (access: 28.1.2023).

[79] S. deVuono-powell, C. Schweidler, A. Walters, A. Zohrabi, *Who Pays? The True Cost of Incarceration on Families*, September 2015, https://ellabakercenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/09/Who-Pays-exec-summary.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[80] B. Harrison, R.C. Schehr, *op. cit*.

[81] R.J. Sampson, J.H. Laub, *Structural Variations in Juvenile Court Processing: Inequality, the Underclass, and Social Control*, "Law and Society Review" 1993, vol. 27(2), pp. 285–312.

[82] I. Ehrlich, *Participation in Illegitimate Activities: A Theoretical and Empirical Investigation*, "Journal of Political Economy" 1973, vol. 81(3), pp. 521–65; J. Grogger, *Market Wages and Youth Crime*, "Journal of Labor Economics" 1998, vol. 16(4), pp. 756–791.

[83] M. Warr, *Life-Course Transitions and Desistance from Crime*, "Criminology" 1998, vol. 36(2), pp. 183–216.

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necessarily prevent crime, unless it is accompanied by meaningful daytime activity, such as employment, labour market program or education.[84] At the same time, it has been observed that employment delays re-offending.[85]

9. Female offenders – group characteristics

Female crime is a growing problem with the consequence of an increase in the number of women in prisons.[86] According to the fourth edition of the *World Female Imprisonment List*, more than 714,000 women and girls are held in penal institutions throughout the world, which is 7% of all global inmates.[87] The activity of women is increasing not only in the labour market, but also in the criminal market. It was influenced by technological development, the presence of women outside the home space and the convergence in the male and female social roles.[88] Research continues to insufficiently address women's motivation to commit crimes, and policies fail to differentiate between women and men in crime prevention and punishment programs, treating women fairly leniently. Certainly, the factors that reduce a woman's criminal propensity are having young children and receiving subsidies. Also, appropriate wages for skilled and unskilled workers alike may decrease the inclination of women to commit crimes.[89]

Women's recidivism rates are problematic and similar to male offender recidivism. One-quarter of women fail (have an arrest for a new crime) within six months after release, one-third within a year, and two-thirds within five years.[90] There is also no difference between male and female prisoners regarding the relationship between education, employment and recidivism.[91] Women share with men such risk factors as criminal history, financial issues, substance abuse problems, education, employment, and antisocial peers and relationships.[92] Women's unique risk fac-

[84] T. Skardhamar, K. Telle, *op. cit*.

[85] S.J. Tripodi, J.S. Kim, K. Bender, *op. cit*.

[86] National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, *Fact Sheet on Justice Involved Women in 2016*, https://cjinvolvedwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Fact-Sheet.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[87] R. Walmsley, *World Female Imprisonment List: Women and Girls in Penal Institutions, Including Pre-trial Detainees/Remand Prisoners*, 2018, https://www.prisonstudies.org/sites/default/files/resources/downloads/women-prison-list-2006.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[88] N. Campaniello, *Women in Crime*, "IZA World of Labor" 2019, vol. 105.

[89] *Ibidem*.

[90] National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, *op. cit*.

[91] M. Makarios, B. Steiner, L. Travis, *Examining the Predictors of Recidivism Among Men and Women Released from Prison in Ohio*, "Criminal Justice and Behavior" 2010, vol. 37(12), pp. 1377–1391.

[92] J.R. Erickson, *Risk Factors for Criminal Recidivism in Female Offenders*, Philadelphia 2014 (unpublished MA thesis).

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tors for committing crime and recidivism are poor mental health, low self-esteem, and parental stress.[93] Some risk factors may be more stable (i.e. substance abuse, personal/emotional, attitudes, family/marital), while others may be more acute (i.e. employment, community) and those influence women directly after release.[94] Poverty also drives women to crime: 37% of women and 28% of men report incomes of less than $600 per month prior to their arrest.[95]

Female offenders are most often rearrested for a property crime and women who are incarcerated for drug possession and property offenses fail more often than those incarcerated for a violent offense.[96] Also other aspects such as victimization, economic marginalization, and substance abuse affect women and shape female criminality.[97] Incarceration is clearly related to family income. Study has shown that girls from poorest families (10% in the bottom) are 17 times more likely to end up in jail compared to girls from families in the top 10%.[98] Women are often employed in low-wage entry-level positions or rely on public assistance. They also may turn to illegal means to support themselves and their families.[99]

Female offenders are also a diversified group in terms of the emotional aspect. The level of shame increases with age and the level of guilt is bigger in the case of the women who are in prison for the first time.[100] A typical feature of female offenders is also lack of education (more than half of women), which decreases the chance of finding employment that can stabilize financial situation of the family. Employment opportunities are thus important both to the risk group and former offenders.[101]

[93] R. Ramirez, *Reentry Considerations for Justice Involved Women*, 2010, https://cjinvolvedwomen.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/07/Reentry-Considerations-for-Justice-Involved-Women-FINAL.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[94] L.E. Greiner, M.A. Law, S.L. Brown, *Using Dynamic Factors to Predict Recidivism among Women: A Four-Wave Prospective Study*, "Criminal Justice and Behavior" 2015, vol. 42(5), pp. 457–480.

[95] National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, *op. cit*.

[96] E.P. Deschenes, B. Owen, J. Crow, *Recidivism Among Female Prisoners: Secondary Analysis of the 1994 BJS Recidivism Data Set*, 2006, https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/216950.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[97] B.M. Huebner, C. DeJong, J. Cobbina, *Women Coming Home: Long□Term Patterns of Recidivism*, "Justice Quarterly" 2010, vol. 27(2), pp. 225–254.

[98] A. Loone, N. Turner, *Work and Opportunity Before and After Incarceration*, March 2018, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/03/es_20180314_looneyincarceration_final.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[99] R. Ramirez, *op. cit*.

[100] A. Gorbanescu, *Female Recidivism Prediction*, "Procedia – Social and Behavioral Sciences" 2013, vol. 78, pp. 46–50.

[101] E.M. Schnappauf, T.E. DiDonato, *From Solitary to Solidarity: Belonging, Social Support, and the Problem of Women's Recidivism*, "Modern Psychological Studies" 2017, vol. 23(1).

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10. Female offenders in the labour market prior to imprisonment

Most incarcerated women were previously employed in low wage, entry-level positions. They referred both to public assistance and crime in order to provide for themselves and their children.[102] At the beginning of the 21st century, six out of ten women in jail in the US did not have full-time employment prior to their arrest. One-third received public assistance.[103] Women worked less and less often than men. Their basic activities included childcare, transportation and education. It was also easier for them to start illegal business than legal businesses.[104]

Hamlyn and Lewis[105] in a study of 567 women in 1998 found out that three in ten women were working in the period immediately before imprisonment, and two-fifths had worked in the preceding 12-month period. A fifth of those who had not worked in the preceding 12 months had sought work, although the majority of these had experienced problems such as lack of qualifications, a previous criminal record, or childcare difficulties. A fifth of women had never worked before their sentence. Two-fifths of women possessed a job skill before starting their sentence. Other two-fifths held at least one pre-sentence educational or vocational qualification. It's half the proportion of the equivalent age-group in the general population. There was also a group of women (14%) which lacked both work and qualifications before beginning their sentence.[106]

11. Women work in prison

The work of women in prison has a similar effect on their rehabilitation as it is for men. The objective of work in jail is not only providing inmates with the means to pay their debts and support their families. The job also serves to develop skills that will be useful after release. This is why the conditions of work offered to prisoners should be similar to work outside the prison, with comparable wages to those of free workers in the relevant industry. Unfortunately, prison work programs are often designed to benefit the prison authorities or to keep prisoners occupied. Employment opportunities offered to female prisoners are highly gendered and limited to "domestic" or feminised tasks. Although women in prison are motivated to

[102] National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, *op. cit*.

[103] E. Swavola, K. Riley, R. Subramanian, *Overlooked: Women and Jails in an Era of Reform*, 2016, https://www.safetyandjusticechallenge.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/overlooked-women-in-jails-report-web.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[104] J.M. Erbe, *Spirituality: The Effects on Female Inmates and Recidivism*, 2004, https://scholarworks.lib.csusb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=3698&context=etd-project (access: 28.11.2023).

[105] B. Hamlyn, D. Lewis, *Women Prisoners: A Survey of Their Work and Training Experiences in Custody and On Release*, 2000, https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED469935 (access: 28.11.2023).

[106] *Ibidem*.

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engage in employability activities, these are boring or frustrating since they require only basic skills. Also, they don't meet the needs of the individual women or the requirements of the local job market.[107] Women are often employed to cook, clean and repair prison uniforms. Such duties are not usually part of an organized rehabilitation program but they support the running of the prison,[108] whereas education, employment and treatment programs must be culturally and gender sensitive.[109]

In comparison, studies on groups of men revealed that employment programs offered in prison were not successful in alleviating recidivism for offenders who had prior working experience. Job program seems to be more effective for people without working experience, especially for younger offenders who feel they still have a chance to make a positive change in their life. For men and women with lower socioeconomic status, who often have little to no professional work experience, employment during the sentence can be a turning point in their life course.[110]

Hamlyn and Lewis notice that few women (16%) have had a job which involved recognised vocational training (most often kitchen work, machinist work and hairdressing).[111] Half of interviewed women with jobs claimed that the work had helped them to develop new skills but only three in ten inmates believed that their prison work would help them to secure a job on release. A new skill does not guarantee a job on release. They also said that they had no interest in that type of work, or that the work was too menial, that's why it was not very useful for the future.[112]

12. Female prisoners after release

The key topic covered in literature and interesting in terms of the studies is work after release. Detailed results are provided by Hamlyn and Lewis who analyzed the type of work, income and the amount of time it took to find a job after release.[113] Other studies also show employment as a way to obtain legal income,

[107] L. Piacentini, B. Weaver, C. Jardine, *Employment and Employability in Scottish Prisons: A Research Briefing Paper*, February 2018, https://www.sccjr.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Research_Briefing_Prisons_Employability.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[108] Thailand Institute of Justice, *The Rehabilitation and Social Reintegration of Women Prisoners: Implementation of the Bangkok Rules*, 2019, https://cdn.penalreform.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/PRI_Rehabilitation-of-women-prisoners_WEB.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[109] C.M. Botello, *Women's Imprisonment and Recidivism: An Illustrative Analysis of Boronia Women's Pre-Release Centre (Western Australia) and Progressive/Open Prison Systems in Norway and Sweden (Master of Philosophy School of Arts and Sciences)*, University of Notre Dame Australia 2017, https://researchonline.nd.edu.au/theses/172 (access: 28.11.2023).

[110] C.D. Strickland, *Recidivism Levels, Unemployment Programs, and the Effects on Different Characteristics of Criminal Offenders*, Iowa State University 2018.

[111] B. Hamlyn, D. Lewis, *op. cit*.

[112] *Ibidem*.

[113] *Ibidem*.

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prevent recidivism and integrate successfully with the community. Economic and social disadvantages including racial/ethnic disadvantage and discrimination become the foreground to understanding women's role in offending and challenges on parole.[114] Economic and social disadvantages accumulate throughout the life--course of women and lead to crime, unstable employment before crime and limit their success in finding work when they attempt to reenter the labour market.[115]

The majority of women before release were anticipating being either unemployed or at home with domestic responsibilities. Most of them intended to look for work on release and were optimistic that they would find the type of work they ideally sought within 12 months after release – seven in ten of those intending to seek work thought this likely. The major barrier for those who thought that job-seeking would be problematic is the presence of a prison record.[116] The same study of 567 women in 1998 reveals that only half of respondents with work experience on release had informed their employer about their criminal record; 37% interviewed women found work after release. Pre-prison work record helped them more than what they achieved in prison. Only about one in ten of working former prisoners said that their job was related to the skills developed in prison. They found a job through family or friends, small ads, or by returning to the same job as before prison. But if women's pre-prison employment is any predictor of their post-prison employment status, women are likely to go back to low-wage jobs. They try to use their employment as a way to reconstruct their lives after incarceration, but the low quality of jobs undoes women's efforts to create positive future.[117]

In general, shorter-term prisoners had greater success in the labour market than those serving sentences of more than a year. More recent studies show that women are inadequately prepared for release from prison. Only 8.5% of women leave prison with secured employment.[118] The analysis of the data for 2008 for the US showed that formerly incarcerated males and females suffer from unemployment rates five times the rate of the general public.[119]

Also the expectations of women who were preparing for release from prison were different than those of men. They expected to earn significantly less and, in

[114] B.M. Huebner, C. DeJong, J. Cobbina, *op. cit*.

[115] N.R. Ortiz, *The Gendering of Criminal Stigma: An Experiment Testing the Effects of Race/Ethnicity and Incarceration on Women's Entry-Level Job Prospects*, 2014, https://keep.lib.asu.edu/system/files/c7/113894/Ortiz_asu_0010E_13792.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[116] B. Hamlyn, D. Lewis, *op. cit*.

[117] N.R. Ortiz, *op. cit*.

[118] Women's Breakout, *Women's Breakout Merger into Clinks*, 2017, https://womensbreakout.org.uk/about-womens-breakout/key-facts (access: 28.11.2023).

[119] L. Couloute, D. Kopf, *Unemployment among Formerly Incarcerated People*, 2018, https://www.prisonpolicy.org/reports/outofwork.html (access: 28.11.2023).

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fact, they did make significantly less per hour of work than men.[120] Additionally, more than half of women employed after prison are working less than full-time. Consequently, they earn even less.[121]

Why less than one in ten women has a job to go to on release? Reasons are lack of childcare support, lack of qualifications, low pay, discrimination, and conflict with employer.[122] Much more can be done to tackle employer prejudice and reluctance to employ former offenders.[123] The women are faced with prejudice and difficulties even before committing crime and being sentenced. Most women who enter the criminal justice system are economically disadvantaged, with little education, few job skills, and sporadic employment histories. Many benefited from social assistance that is often unavailable after prison.[124] Female ex-prisoners are often heads of the household, and claim a dependent child after incarceration.[125]

13. Employment and crime – gender comparison

It is shown in the literature that the connection between unemployment and crime is not sustained when applied to women, because they are historically disadvantaged in terms of employment. But other factors determining the impact of employment on criminality are also age, social control and the role of employment in influencing behavioral change.[126]

The previous surveys quoted in this article focused on the structure of the population, education, vocational guidance and work in prison, the influence of incarceration on the personal life of women and men and former offenders' chances on labour market. Women and men differ in these dimensions, which is due to their gender roles, previous experience in the labour market, mental structure and education. Therefore, the education system in prison and re-adaptation after leaving prison should take into account not only professional activation but also proper performance of social roles, including raising children. Typical for all inmates are poor financial resources, minimal education, and poor job skills. Women generally have fewer resources and less work experience than male prisoners and more often

[120] C. Visher, N. La Vigne, J. Travis, *Returning Home: Understanding the Challenges of Prisoner Reentry. Maryland Pilot Study: Findings from Baltimore*, 2004, https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/publication/42841/410974-Returning-Home-Understanding-the-Challenges-of-Prisoner-Reentry.PDF (access: 28.11.2023).

[121] N.R. Ortiz, *op. cit*.

[122] B.M. Huebner, C. DeJong, J. Cobbina, *op. cit*.

[123] Prison Reform Trust, *Working It Out: Employment for Women Offenders*, January 2015, https://prisonreformtrust.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Employmentbriefing.pdf (access: 28.11.2023).

[124] R. Ramirez, *op. cit*.

[125] A. Looney, N. Turner, *op. cit*.

[126] L. Piacentini, B. Weaver, C. Jardine, *op. cit*.

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than men receive welfare assistance at the beginning of the 21st century in the US – 30% female vs. less than 8% male.[127]

The experiences of women and men on the labour market are different at each analyzed stage. Moreover, the social background affecting their labour force attachment before, during and after punishment is different, and so are the opportunities and barriers in finding a job by former prisoners. There are even different job offers in prison and different educational programs, which for men are more suited to the needs of the open labour market. Men can do the same job in prison and after release. Often these are technical works, however, desired on the market and requiring specific qualifications (finishing works, tiling, painting).

Vocational courses for women, such as sewing courses, and gardening or decoupage programs are useful as an occupation for the time spent in prison, but are of little use in terms of future labour market activity. This type of work does not add qualifications that are valuable on the labour market, nor does it change the situation of women who, as unskilled, have a chance of low-paid physical work only.

Meanwhile, in the case of both women and men, employment can guarantee a positive bidirectional relationship – as a way to reintegrate ex-offender with the society and as a way to prevent recidivism. For effective intervention and integration into the labour market, it is important to recognize the needs and trends for both men and women.[128] These needs include education, vocational training, social support and treatment of disorders and addictions. The scope and type of assistance, however, is determined not only by gender, but also by social class, race and origin, as well as a number of other individual factors present in the lives of prisoners and their families.[129]

CONCLUSIONS

The combination of longitudinal observations, statistical methods and the cause-effect analysis within one study enables a deeper inference about the relationship between employment and the first or repeated offense. What is important for the development of knowledge is not only stating the fact of the existence of relationships, but also elaborating on the nature of this relationship and the recommendations for the labour market institutions, educational institutions, judiciary

[127] S. Spjeldnes, S. Goodkind, *Gender Differences and Offender Reentry: A Review of the Literature*, "Journal of Offender Rehabilitation" 2009, vol. 48(4), pp. 314–335.

[128] *Ibidem*.

[129] S. Covington, *Woman's Journey Home: Challenges for Female Offenders and Their Children (NCJ 205853)*, Washington 2002, http://webarchive.urban.org/publications/410630.html (access: 28.11.2023).

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and social assistance. In this article only selected results of previous research were grouped by identifying the factors listed for male and female offenders before their sentence, during prison and after serving their sentence. Such holistic studies should, however, be done for specific countries, meaning specific judicial systems, specific social rehabilitation methods, specific labour markets and specific societies. Comparing results of such studies will help understand the nature of crime and the meaning of employment as both a social value and instrumental value. Such comparison will also help draw broader conclusions regarding organization of crime prevention, social rehabilitation and readaptation of the criminals.

Based on the analysis it can be assumed that a job that makes one busy and provides adequate income as well as a satisfactory social position should act preventively against committing the first offense, just like in the case of recidivism. Of course, this does not apply to crimes committed for reasons other than profit seeking, but it does apply to crimes against property and crimes constituting a source of income. Professional criminals who want to change their life absolutely need to find an occupation that will not only be their source of income but will also make it possible for them to identify with a professional group and re-negotiate the status of the criminal in relation to their surroundings. Employment makes it possible to change one's identity and enter a network of social relations that help solve life problems. This applies both to men and women, both in the United States of America and in Europe to the same extent. Life problems are globally the cause of women's crime. Among them, poverty and unemployment, as well as addiction to psychoactive substances, past trauma and mental illness are key. Performing work however, when it comes to women, requires a particular institutional support, for example in the form of taking care of their children of elderly parents. This aspect makes it clear that employment needs to be integrated with one's life and professional activity needs to be supported by educational institutions, care institutions and social care. What is therefore needed to support employment among criminals and former criminals is the individualization of measures taken. An individualized social rehabilitation plan is used in numerous countries and involves treatment, therapy, psychological help and education. Rehabilitation through employment should also be planned in detail by considering the realistic possibilities of the former criminal taking up a job after release.

The future research may, in addition to the detailed characteristic of the group of male and female offenders, also enable comparison between countries and between genders. Research on the penal system should be conducted separately for men and women due to the differentiating factors of recidivism. The study should cover activation programs carried out in prisons and activities within the framework of active labour market policy conducted in an open environment towards former convicts.

It is necessary to study the actual benefits of employment for convicts, meaning what their real income is after paying court costs, bailiffs' enforcement and other

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debts. This will make it possible to answer the question of what employment has a chance to meet the living needs of convicts.

Further research should concern cause-effect relationships for various categories of prisoners, taking into account differences in sex, age, specific features, the types of issues experienced. These studies should help to determine the possible level of professional activation, and indicate activation paths, even for people who have no profession and have never worked. The results of the research should enable the creation of tools for the diagnosis of activation, defining the strengths and weaknesses, risks and opportunities in the labour market. One should diagnose features that make it difficult to start work and positive features on the basis of which future professional experience can be built.

The relationship between employment and crime is often considered in terms of recidivism. There are talks about rehabilitation, readaptation, and reactivation, while these issues should be addressed from the point of view of prevention. We are talking about reactivation, while the offender might have never been active on the labour market in the first place – they have never worked, never graduated from school, which means they have no profession or experience. The situation of those inmates on the labour market was difficult in the first place, and after serving the sentence it is even more difficult due to the reluctance of employers to hire former prisoners. Difficulties in finding a job cumulate with family, health and financial problems. Lack of work is only one of the problems, but it is a key factor on the way to recidivism. For this reason, further research should be developed towards methods that activate young people who drop out of school, are unemployed, and who do not take up their first job. So that the lack of the first job was not a flywheel that would set their criminal career in motion.

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ABSTRAKT

W artykule poglądowym zaprezentowano najnowszą wiedzę z zakresu znaczenia zatrudnienia w procesie resocjalizacji. Celem jest przegląd literatury oraz analiza podobieństw i różnic między skazanymi kobietami i mężczyznami w zakresie zatrudnienia w czasie pozbawienia wolności, a także szans na znalezienie zatrudnienia po zwolnieniu. Analizowane są też związki pomiędzy zatrudnieniem a późniejszą recydywą. Aby w sposób całościowy przedstawić związek zatrudnienia i recydywy, odniesiono się do następujących punktów: rola pracy w resocjalizacji i adaptacji do wolności; różnice między mężczyznami i kobietami w zakresie doświadczeń zawodowych oraz specyfiki pochodzenia społecznego wpływającego na ich przywiązanie do rynku pracy; zatrudnianie więźniów przed, w trakcie i po karze; możliwości i bariery w znalezieniu pracy przez byłych więźniów; relacja dwukierunkowa – zatrudnienie jako sposób na reintegrację byłego skazanego ze społeczeństwem oraz jako sposób zapobiegania recydywie. Wyodrębniono różne fazy resocjalizacji (przebywanie w zakładzie karnym, opuszczenie zakładu karnego) oraz omówiono związek z rynkiem pracy przed odbyciem kary pozbawienia wolności. Artykuł zawiera także dyskusję, w której przedstawiono wnioski i rekomendacje. Ponadto sformułowano wskazania do dalszych badań, a jednym z nich jest zbadanie realnych korzyści, jakie płyną z pracy skazanych – czy zapewnia ona możliwość utrzymania się. W artykule odniesiono się do wyników badań z różnych krajów, a co za tym idzie z różnych systemów sądownictwa.

Słowa kluczowe: zatrudnienie; recydywa; przestępcy płci żeńskiej; przestępcy płci męskiej; wykluczenie społeczne; reintegracja społeczna