

Employment as a Part of Rehabilitation. A Review of Similarities and Differences between Female and Male Criminals. (iThenticate Plagiarism Report)

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Abstract:

In this review article, the latest knowledge in the area of ¹⁰¹the importance of employment in the process of rehabilitation is presented. Different phases of rehabilitation (being in prison, leaving prison) were distinguished and labour force attachment prior to imprisonment spell were also discussed. To present the relationship of employment and recidivism holistically, the following points were referred to: (i) the role of work in rehabilitation and adaptation to freedom, (ii) differences between males and females in employment experiences and peculiarities in social background affecting their labour force attachment, (iii) the employment of prisoners before, during and after punishment, (iv) opportunities and barriers in finding a job by former prisoners, (v) bidirectional relationship – employment as a way to reintegrate ex-offender with the society and as a way to prevent recidivism. The literature review on female and male prisoners in the labour market at different stages of punishment - before, during and after release - were presented. The studies on causal relationship and longitudinal studies were pointed out. 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.

KEYWORDS

employment, unemployment, recidivism, female offenders, male offenders, social exclusion, social reintegration

JEL classification: K14, J71, J88, I39

1. Introduction

Working is one of the basic human activities. We usually devote 1/3 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 a 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.

2. 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 and serving sentences in prisons, as well as recidivists. The number of individuals held in penal institutions all over the world has exceeded 10 million (Walmsley, 2016). The majority of them will return to society after at 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 (2014) considers recidivism “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”. It is in the first months after release from prison that ex-prisoners are particularly likely to recidivate (Langan and Levin, 2002; Wartna et al., 2011). Statistically speaking, 68% of American ex-prisoners were arrested again within 3 years from release from prison, 47% of them were re-convicted and almost 52% were incarcerated again within 3 years from release, including parole revocation (Langan and Levin, 2002; similar findings of Durose et al., 2014). Yukhnenko et al. (2019) investigated the recidivism level in 50 countries with the largest total prison population and found that recidivism rates varied significantly between these countries. 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 are 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) (Yukhnenko et al. 2019; Recidivism Rates by Country 2021; Ministerstwo Sprawiedliwości, 2017). The longer the observation period, the more ex-convicts commit 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, in particular greater property and drug recidivism. ⁸⁷ The criminogenic effect of prison is similar for females and males (Mears et al., 2012).

Among the reasons for recidivism are: unemployment after release, poverty, educational illiteracy, and inadequacy to social norms (Nally et al., 2014). 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. ¹⁰ In fact, these two are closely connected as family members often help ex-offenders find a job (Glaser, 1964; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Petersilia, 2003; Visher and Travis, 2003). ¹⁰⁹ Horney et al. (1995) prove the same point, showing that employed ex-offenders are less likely to commit property offense. Last but not least, the likelihood of recidivism decreases with the level of education (Baumer, 1997). ³⁸

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. Hence, recidivism is believed not to be only a consequence of the experience of being in prison (Bhuller et al., 2018; Skardhamar and Telle, 2012). ⁵

Importantly, not any job prevents one from committing criminal acts (Ramaker et al., 2017). ³ Crime-reducing effect stems from a combination of factors such as: stability, work intensity, and earnings (Sampson and Laub, 1990). Long-term unemployment has a vast number of consequences: not only economical and social but also psychological ones, such as decrease in psychological well-being (Winkelmann, 2009; Theodossiou, 1998; Ervasti and Venetoklis, 2010; Angelescu, 2008), increased risk of mental distress and lower self-esteem (Paul and Moser, 2009) and change of characteristics (Chris Boyce et al., 2015). Longer employment decreases the likelihood of recidivism (Van der Geest 2011; Verbruggen, Blokland and Van der ¹⁶

Geest, 2012). 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 (Berg and Huebner, 2011; Kleck and Jackson, 2016, Verbruggen, Blokland, and van der Geest (2012), Lageson and Uggen, 2013; Uggen and Wakefield, 2008; Finn, 1998; Harrison and Schehr, 2004; Solomom, et al., 2008; Uggen, 2000; Uggen and Staff, 2001; Wadsworth, 2006; Burke and Vivian, 2001; Harlow, 2003; Nuttall, et al., 2003; Wilson, et al., 2000, Laub and Sampson, 2003; Finn, 1998; Visser, Debus, and Yahner, 2008).

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 (Weiman et al., 2007; Western, 2008; Uggen et al., 2005) and decrease in recidivism is closely linked with more employment opportunities for released prisoners in California (Schnepel, 2016), 43 US states (Yang, 2017), and France (Galbiati and Jobs, 2017). Lockwood, Nally, Ho, and Knutson (2012) noted that unemployed released offenders were 1.5 times more likely to recidivate than employed ones. 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 (Bollinger and Yelowitz, 2021).

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 (McMillin, 2007; Nielsen, 1999); and no strong links between labour market situation at the time of release and recidivism rates (Bolitzer, 2005; Raphael and Weiman, 2007).

3. 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 this 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.

4. Mixed methods and models

Horney et al. (1995) used retrospective data and found that the probability of committing property offences was reduced in the months when sample members were employed. Individual-level data was used to examine the relationship between the employment status and criminal activity (observation time: previous five years), 4205 households, and circa 19000 respondents (Borland and Hunter, 2000). Visser et al. (2005) 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. However, community-employment programs may be more effective if the needs of individuals can be identified and linked to specific services.

Benda et al. (2005) used Cox's proportional hazard modeling to examine the relationship between employment and time until first felony or parole violation. Tripodi et al. (2010) 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. 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 (Visser et al., 2008). Multiple sequence, cluster analyses and multinomial logistic regression was used by Kang (2019) to predict partnering and employment trajectories for delinquent adolescents.

Berg and Huebner (2011) constructed multi state stratified random sample using data that include both pre- and post-release factors derived from the LSI-R. 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 Bureau of Justice Statistics (2007) 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 (D'Alessio, 2013).

Verbruggen et al. (2012) constructed research including group of 270 males and 270 females. 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 was estimated, 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.

5. Longitudinal research

Ramakers et al. (2017) using longitudinal data in the first 6 months following 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 reduce crime rates among these high-risk offenders”. Another longitudinal research observing the individual factors influencing the likelihood of employment after release from prison was conducted by Visser et al. (2008) who created a multi-state sample of former prisoners using data gathered from interviews with prisoners before and at multiple times after release. 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 the employment by several months after release.

Other studies are based on the analysis of extensive administrative data, for example Piquero et al. (2002) used data on 524 serious offenders from the California Youth Authority for a seven-year post-parole period. This research used statistical model and analyzed changes in local life

circumstances and criminal activity of young adults. Skardhamer and Telle (2012) used a large data set ($n = 7,476$) with a follow-up of 3 years and Schnepel (2017) used the data on 1.7 million prisoners released in California between 1993 and 2008. Kang (2019) analyzed the data from National Longitudinal Survey of Youth 1997 ($n = 8984$) and Benda et al. (2005) examined administrative data from a random sample ($N = 250$) of Texas male parolees released from prison between 2001 and 2005. Another one including longitudinal research was carried out using data capturing daily online postings on job openings and closings (Galbiati et al., 2017). The findings suggest that released offenders respond positively to news of job creation regardless of whether they can change their employment.

Uggen and Wakefield (2008) prepared a summary of longitudinal studies from previous years, and indicated various periods, usually several years, in which observations were carried out. 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 (2013) compiling the longitudinal research in field employment and crime is organized in a similar way. Research conducted at different life stages is presented. The authors answered the question 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.

6. Cause-effect relationship

Among the 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 (2011) investigated the association between family-based social ties, job attainment and recidivism. Also Piquero et al. (2002) examined the effect of conformity (employment and marital status) on recidivism risk.

Fallesen et al. (2018) studied the effects of active labour market policies on crime. Borland, Hunter (2000) examined the relationship between employment status and criminal activity in Australia. Ramakers et al. (2017) examined the association between stable employment and jobs with a higher occupational level and recidivism. Skardhamer and Telle (2012) provided



evidence³ that employment can also generate a crime-reducing effect among Norwegian ex-prisoners⁸⁶. Verbruggen et al. (2012) examined the effects of employment, employment duration and unemployment duration on offending.

Visher et al. (2008) examined¹⁰ 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 release³ had the same risk of committing a crime in the first 8 months as the unemployed ex-prisoners¹⁸. Galbiati et al. (2017) examined¹¹¹ French prisoners released during 2009 and 2010 and stated that they are less likely to reoffend after release if in the society there are relevant and numerous job opportunities. Kang (2019) studied crime and arrests during adolescence and their consequences on determining partnering and employment trajectories for men and women. 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 offence. 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 labor market institutions, educational institutions, judiciary and social assistance. 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.

7. Male prisoners on labour market before crime

Even prior to incarceration individuals have poorer work history (Petersilia, 2005; Travis, 2005), lower cognitive skills (Petersilia, 2005) and lower educational attainment (Harlow, 2003), than general population.

⁹⁸ The majority of offenders experienced employment difficulties already before arrest⁸ (Henderson, 2001; Raphael, 2011; Skardhamar, 2003). 64% serious male prisoners reported employment during the 6 months before imprisonment. Unfortunately, 42% of them never held a job for over a year (Visher and Lattimore, 2007). This shows the importance of employment also in the context of crime prevention⁵. 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 offence, 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.

8. Work during incarceration

Time spent in prison is believed to ⁶erode existing job skills and embed prisoners into criminal ¹⁰³networks as a way of adapting to prison lives (Maruna and Toch, 2005; Uggen et al., 2005). 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 ¹⁷on the effects of prison rehabilitation programs including education and job skills shows ¹⁷that participation in social rehabilitation programs while incarcerated can significantly reduce recidivism. Recidivism decreases by about 9 percentage points within three years following release. The necessary condition is an appropriate diagnosis of the risks and needs of inmates. Convicts who exhibit high risk and who exhibit procriminal attitudes benefit the least from programs (Arbour et al., 2021).

9. Work after release - opportunities and barriers

Former prisoners are discriminated in the labour market. It is ¹⁰⁰difficult for them to find employment after release (Visser and Kachnowski, 2007). Employment ⁴prospects are poor due to criminal record, time spent in prison and employers' prejudice (Holzer et al. 2004; Pager ⁴2003; 2007). Secondly, it is more difficult for former prisoners to find work due to lack of experience and inadequate job skills (Western et al., 2001).

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 (Zamble and Quinsley, 1997). Other studies show that at least 2/3 (up to 78%) of ex-prisoners believe ⁹³it 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 (Visser and Travis, 2003). 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 (Kacprzak and Kudlińska, 2014).

After release, ex-offenders experience problems in numerous areas such as: housing, health, income (Visser and Travis, 2011), and education (Visser and Lattimore, 2007). The most difficult part is finding the first job after release from prison. Former convicts find temporary and low-paid jobs (Western, 2006). They work mostly in construction or manufacturing industries (Schnepel, 2014). 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 (Valentine and Redcross, 2015). 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 (Taryn, 2010). 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 (deVuono-powell et al., 2015).

Needless to say, employment is the basis for reintegration (Bushway and Reuter, 1997; Harrison and Scheher, 2004). The workplace enables social contacts, it is a place of social control and the salary ensures financial independence (Sampson and Laub, 1993). Regular income results in a lower likelihood of property crime (Ehrlich, 1973; Grogger, 1998). 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 (Warr, 1998). Thus, income support does not necessarily prevent crime, unless it is accompanied by meaningful daytime activity, such as employment, labour market program or education (Skardhamar and Telle, 2012). At the same time, it has been observed that employment delays re-offending (Tripodi et al., 2010).

10. Female offenders – group characteristics



Female crime is a growing problem with the consequence of an increase in the number of women in prisons (National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, 2016). 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 (Walmsley, 2018). The activity of women is increasing not only in the labor 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 (Campaniello, 2019). 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 reducing factor a woman's propensity to commit crimes is having young children and receiving subsidies. Also, appropriate wages for skilled and unskilled workers alike may decrease the inclination of women to commit crimes (Campaniello, 2019).

Women's recidivism rates are problematic and similar to male offender recidivism. 1/4 women fail (have an arrest for a new crime) within 6 months after release, 1/3 within a year, 2/3 within 5 years (National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, 2016). There is also no difference between male and female prisoners regarding the relationship between education, employment and recidivism (Makarios, Steiner and Travis, 2010). Women share with men such risk factors as criminal history, financial issues, substance abuse problems, education, employment and antisocial peers and relationships (Erickson, 2014). Women's unique risk factors for committing crime and recidivism are poor mental health, low self-esteem, and parental stress (Ramirez, 2010). 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 (Greiner et al., 2015). Poverty also drives women to crime. 37% of women and 28% men report incomes of less than \$600 per month prior to their arrest (National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, 2016).

Female offenders are most often rearrested for a property crime and women who are incarcerated for drug possession and property offences fail more often than those incarcerated for a violent offense (Deschenes et al., 2006). Also other aspects such as victimization, economic marginalization, and substance abuse affect women and shape female criminality (Huebner et al., 2010). Incarceration is clearly related to family income. Study has shown that

girls from poorest families (10 percent in the bottom) are 17 times more likely to end up in jail compared to girls from families in the top 10 percent (Looney and Turner, 2018). 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 (Ramirez, 2010).

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 (Gorbanescu, 2013). 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 (Schnappauf and DiDonato, 2017).

11. Female offenders in the labor 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 (National Resource Center on Justice Involved Women, 2016). Six out of ten women in jail did not have full-time employment prior to their arrest. One third received public assistance (Swavola et al., 2016). 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 (Erbe, 2004).

Hamlyn and Lewis (2000) 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 work 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 (Hamlyn and Lewis, 2000).

Life problems are 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.

12. 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 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 (Piacentini et al., 2018). Women are often employed to cook, clean and repair prison uniforms. Such duties are not usually part of an organised rehabilitation program but they support the running of the prison (PRI, 2019), whereas education, employment and treatment programs must be culturally and gender sensitive (Botello, 2017).

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 profiles, who often have little to no professional work experience, employment during the sentence can be a turning point in their life course (Strickland, 2018).

Hamlyn and Lewis (2000) notice that few women (16%) have had a job which involved recognised vocational training (most common kitchen work, machinist work and hairdressing). 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 (Hamlyn and Lewis, 2000).

13. 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 (2000) who analyzed the type of work, income and the amount of time it took to find a job after release. Other studies also show employment as a way to obtain legal income, 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 (Huebner et al., 2010). They 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 (Ortiz, 2014).

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 (Hamlyn and Lewis, 2000). The same study 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 (Ortiz, 2014).

In general, shorter-term prisoners had greater success in the labour market than those serving sentences of more than a year. Other, more recent studies show that women are inadequately prepared for release from prison. Only 8.5% of women leave prison with secured employment (Women's Breakout, 2017). Formerly incarcerated people suffer from unemployment rates five times the rate of the general public (Couloute and Kopf, 2018).

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 fact, they did make significantly less per hour of work than men (Visher et al., 2004). Additionally, more than half of women employed after prison are working less than full-time. Consequently, they earn even less (Ortiz, 2014).

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 (Huebner et al., 2010). Much more can be done to tackle employer prejudice and reluctance to employ former offenders (Working it out, 2015). 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 (Ramirez, 2010). Female ex-prisoners are often heads of the household, and claim a dependent child after incarceration (Looney and Turner, 2018).

14. 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. (Piacentini et al., 2018).

The previous surveys 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 labor 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 than men receive welfare assistance - 30% female vs. less than 8% male (Spjeldnes and Goodkind, 2009).

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The experiences of women and men on the labor market are different at each analyzed stage. Moreover, the social background affecting their labor 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 labor 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 (Spjeldnes and Goodkind, 2009). 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 (Covington, 2002).

15. Indications for further research

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 ALMP 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 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 labor 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 – he has never worked, never graduated from school, which means he has no profession or experience. The situation of those inmates on the labor 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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