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Opinions of prisoners and penitentiary educators on performance of work by persons deprived of liberty

Abstract: Work, given its many benefits, is one of the most important human activities. This is why efforts are made to enable persons deprived of their liberty to take up a job or to continue working while remaining in isolation. Nevertheless, when arranging effective measures of influence related to the employment of the convicted persons, it is useful to know their opinions on the matter. A one-sided image of the phenomenon can be distorted, therefore it was decided to find out the opinions of penitentiary educators and their charges on the performance of work by persons deprived of liberty.

The research conducted in late 2018 and early 2019 used the method of a diagnostic survey. The tools used were original questionnaires: for prisoners (N=396) and for educators employed while serving a sentence of imprisonment (N=326).

The statistical analyses carried out revealed many statistically significant differences between the opinions of the compared groups of respondents, especially related to: the motives and effects of the performance of work by persons deprived of liberty and their commitment to it. **Key words:** work, prisoner, penitentiary educators.

Introduction

Work is a factor that is inextricably linked with human activity. For some it is a value in itself, for others it is often something unattainable or difficult to achieve,

and for others – a coercion. Work contributes to human and social development. Its lack causes: uncertainty and frustration, decreases sense of security and self-efficacy (Jaworska 2016, pp. 81–82). Additionally, work has several important functions: the economic function (creation of new values, production of goods and services, increase in social well-being), the income function (opportunity to obtain goods necessary for daily functioning) and the social function (means of satisfying life goals, social and spiritual needs) (Galicki 2008, p. 640).

Work has a significant role in the life of every human being, and in the case of prisoners it is also one of the basic ways of activating them in the process of social readaptation. It is the main element of serving a sentence of imprisonment: Work and the possibility of performing it allows for the proper functioning of individuals in society. Engaging in professional activity fosters the development of psychosocial and professional competencies in the convicts, has a positive impact on their personality and social attitudes. It also helps to break with their stigmatized image in society (Głowania 2016, pp. 132-133). Employment serves a number of important functions. The most important include the possibility of: earning income, meeting basic needs, self-realization and repayment of obligations (Szymczak, Gawrycka 2015, pp. 277-278; Cook, Lukersmith, 2010, p. 391). In the case of people deprived of liberty, it helps them to strengthen certain habits and adapt to the requirements imposed on them by society, and also contributes to changes in their attitudes. In this sense, work has a social rehabilitation and readaptation function. Performance of certain activities is also helpful in learning respect and perseverance in overcoming the obstacles that arise in life (Kapruszenko 2017, p. 186).

In the penitentiary space, where the process of social rehabilitation of convicts takes place, one of the most important functions of work is the one related to their correction. In the context of the corrective function, prisoners develop the skills that are necessary to perform professional tasks after their release from prison (Łuczak 2014, p. 11). Professional activation programs carried out in penitentiary units enable persons deprived of liberty to consolidate the knowledge and improve the skills necessary to look for and take up employment in conditions of freedom (Doszyń, Kozłowski 2009, p. 77). In this aspect, the prisoners' job is an important element of their social rehabilitation and readaptation, facilitating the correctional staff to achieve their pedagogical goals. Even though prisoners take up a job for financial reasons, just like all other people, some of them also recognize the social rehabilitation value of professional development and employment (Lewicka-Zelent 2020, p. 57). Moreover, as the inmates themselves emphasize, the possibility of working while serving a prison sentence gives them a number of benefits. Among them are: "improving one's qualifications", "acquiring a new profession", "possibility to find a job after leaving the prison", "getting out of the cell", "earning money for the family", or "good use of free time" (Lewicka-Zelent 2020, p. 38).

In the Polish legal system, according to Article 121 of the Penal Code, convicts are provided with paid or unpaid work, as far as possible. Depending on the type of prison and the system of imprisonment, they can work within or outside the penitentiary unit. Therefore, in order to increase the professional capabilities and the employment rate among convicts, the "Work for Prisoners" Program, which includes construction of prison production halls, increasing the indicators regarding unpaid work performed by prisoners for local governments and obtaining concessions by entrepreneurs, has been launched in 2016¹. The statistical data provided by the Central Board of Prison Service (CZSW) show that in 2019 55.7% of convicts and detainees were employed (in comparison, in 2018 – 54.3%, in 2017 – 50.7%, in 2016 – 40.3%). Prior to the launch of the government program "Work for Prisoners", in the years 2010–2015, the average percentage of employed convicts was between 30.1% and 35.5%². The above data indicate a clear increase in the employment of convicts detained in prisons in recent years, which is why it is worth to constantly monitor this phenomenon.

Prisons and detention centers, due to the specificity of their functioning as a closed institution, and the situation of detainees attract the interest of many researchers from various scientific disciplines (Wysocka-Pleczyk et al. 2020, p. 298). Conducting research in prisons is not easy. It is often accompanied by many difficulties. The risk factors inherent in prisoners include, among others, the inability to: read with comprehension, write, verbalize one's own thoughts, as well as deliberate, conscious "falsification" of certain information or the use of various manipulative techniques. Moreover, a prison is a closed, isolated place with a specific atmosphere. Therefore, only becoming somewhat familiar with the rules and regulations existing there, as well as barriers and limitations of various nature, can make the process of conducting research easier (Szczepanik 2013, pp. 190-191). These problems translate into a small number of studies of an empirical nature, as well as those dealing with issues related to taking up and performing work by persons serving sentences of imprisonment. Unfortunately, these deficiencies cannot be filled by the plethora of theoretical publications that discuss the employment of detainees.

Methodological assumptions of own research

The main objective of the research was to find out the opinions of penitentiary educators and their charges about work performed by persons deprived of liberty.

 $^{^{\}rm 1}\,$ https://www.sw.gov.pl/strona/ministerialny-program-pracy-wiezniow (accessed on: September 16, 2020).

 $^{^2}$ https://www.sw.gov.pl/strona/statystyka-roczna. Data for the years 2010–2019 (accessed on: September 16, 2020).

In order to achieve the research objective, the following specific questions were formulated:

- 1. What are the motives for taking up employment by persons deprived of liberty in the opinion of the respondents?
- 2. How do penitentiary educators and prisoners evaluate the commitment to work of persons deprived of liberty?
- 3. What changes do the respondents notice in the inmates who are working?
- 4. Are there any differences in the opinions of penitentiary educators and convicts on the work performed by persons deprived of liberty, and if so, what are they?

Own research employed the method of diagnostic survey. The tools used were original questionnaires; for prisoners and for educators employed in prisons. The participants in the study assessed: the reasons why convicts take up jobs, their commitment to the work they do, and changes resulting from their employment. The survey questionnaire for detainees consisted of 8 closed-ended questions and a personal details section. The questions concerned: the reasons why the inmates took up a job, their commitment to it, the compatibility of the job with professional skills, evaluation of skills, experience, and satisfaction in their current job. In addition, the respondents have the opportunity to indicate the destination of the money they earned and the benefits associated with performing this work while serving a sentence of imprisonment.

The second research tool used was the original survey questionnaire addressed to penitentiary educators. It consisted of 5 closed-ended questions and a personal details section. The questions regarding the detainees' reasons for taking up a job, their commitment, their satisfaction with their activities, how they spent the money they earned, and the benefits of working while serving a prison sentence were the same as the questions for the detainees. The respondents rate each question on a 5-point scale (1–5).

The research was conducted in seven randomly selected penitentiary units located throughout Poland in late 2018 and early 2019. It was preceded by determination of a representative number of prisoners (N=396) and penitentiary educators (N=326). The researchers conducted the research in person. The survey questionnaires were distributed to the educators, who randomly selected the detainees to participate in the research (the place and type of work performed was not relevant to the researchers). Next, each educator was asked to fill out as many questionnaires as the number of detainees from their unit who participated in the survey. Each educator was asked to mark, with any mark or symbol, the questionnaire filled out by a prisoner and the one filled out by the educator. This procedure was meant to link each inmate's questionnaire to that of their educator.

Characteristics of the respondents

The survey covered 452 men living in prison isolation. They were aged between 21 and 70 years (the average age was 36 years), which means that most of them were of working age. Most of them had vocational education (41.6%) and primary education (33.6%). One in five convicts had finished high school (19.9%), and 3.5% of the men were university graduates. The obtained data confirm those from the CZSW, according to which almost half of the convicts have primary or lower secondary education, which contributes to their marginalization on the labor market³. This means that the greater part of the survey participants do not have a trained profession, which may be one of the main problems for them in finding a job and keeping it outside the prison. Five of the seven penitentiary units where the research was conducted have prison schools, so prisoners have the opportunity to receive education – gain knowledge and improve their skills. The aim of school education as well as training and courses organized in prisons is to prepare detainees for work and increase their chances for employment after serving a prison sentence, which is why these forms of education place the greatest emphasis on acquiring practical skills4.

More than one-third of the men surveyed (38.3%) had an unpaid job while serving their prison sentence, and slightly fewer (34.5%) received remuneration for their work in the penitentiary unit. Less than one in four respondents had the opportunity to work for pay. The remaining persons had an unpaid job outside the prison (2.2%). Thus, nearly ¾ of the men participating in the survey were permanently in isolation, having no opportunity to learn, work, or develop the skills necessary for daily life in conditions of freedom in which they will have to function after serving their sentences. The report of A. Lewicka-Zelent (2020, p. 81) shows that there are differences between paid and unpaid detainees. The prisoners who do not receive remuneration for their work are more likely to participate in additional training and courses to improve their qualifications. In their case, engaging in professional activity is also more often associated with the need to fill leisure time and learn the skills necessary to find a job after leaving prison.

Most of the convicts performed housekeeping work on the prison premises (18.8%) and other physical work, inside and outside the penitentiary unit (15%). Men also took up jobs in construction (6.8%) and processing (3.3%) industries.

³ https://sw.gov.pl/aktualnosc/okregowy-inspektorat-sluzby-wieziennej-w-lodzi-podnoszenie-kwalifi-kacji-zawodowych-osadzonych (accessed on: August 31, 2020).

⁴ https://sw.gov.pl/strona/centralny-zarzad-sluzby-wieziennej-nauczanie-skazanych-w-zakladach-karnych-i-aresztach-sledczych (accessed on: January 22, 2021).

A few of them worked as a locksmith, upholsterer, tailor, plumber or car mechanic. Unfortunately, 54% of the prisoners did not provide information on the work they performed while serving their prison sentence, which may have been due, among other things, to the fear of the questionnaires they filled out being identified.

The statistical data of the Central Board of Prison Service shows that in 2019 about 11% of convicts did not work during their imprisonment. The most common reasons for their unemployment were: inability to work, participation in another proceeding, and being off prison grounds (e.g., on furlough)⁵. According to the statistics of the Central Board of Prison Service, 55.7% of inmates worked in 20196.

The research involved 430 penitentiary educators whose average age was 34 years. The youngest person was 24, the oldest - 45 years old. Men accounted for 79.3% of the total. The statistical data of the Central Board of Prison Service confirm that women working in penitentiary units constitute a minority of the employees there $(23.5\%)^7$.

All the educators were university graduates. In accordance with the Regulation of the Minister of Justice of 16 January 2003 on educational and professional qualification requirements to be met by Prison Service officers – a person in the position of an educator should have a master's degree in humanities⁸. The mean tenure of the participants in the research was 8 years and 6 months. This group was dominated by persons employed in the Prison Service for one and 12 years (14.4% each). The smallest number of educators worked with convicts for 15 years and longer (3.2%).

Analysis of own research results

Statistical analyses of the results of own research were carried out using the IBM SPSS software.

First of all, it was decided to investigate what were the motives of the convicts taking up a job and what were the opinions of their educators on this matter. For this purpose, the respondents rated 8 potential reasons for taking up employment for persons deprived of liberty on a 5-point Likert scale, where 1 meant that they were not driven by these motives and 5 meant that it was a very important reason for taking up employment (Table 1).

⁵ https://sw.gov.pl/strona/statystyka-roczna Table 49. Reasons for non-employment of convicted and sentenced prisoners. Data as of December 2019, (accessed on: August 27, 2020).

⁶ https://sw.gov.pl/strona/statystyka-roczna Table 46. Employment of detainees. Data as of December 2019, (accessed on: January 22, 2021).

https://sw.gov.pl/strona/statystyka--biezaca Data a of 30.06.2019 (accessed on: September 16, 2020).

⁸ Regulation of the Minister of Justice of 16 January 2003 on educational and professional qualification requirements to be met by Prison Service officers, Journal of Laws No. 14, item 142, Table 3.

Table 1. Reasons for taking up employment by persons deprived of liberty

Reasons	Group	Mean	Standard de- viation	t-distribution	р
Earning income	detainees	3.75	1.55	-0.16	0.98
	educators	3.76	1.49	-0.10	
Breaking boredom	detainees	3.63	1.46	-4.58	0.001
	educators	4.02	1.02	-4.56	
Educator's encouragement	detainees	2.61	1.43	-8.28	0.001
	educators	3.32	1.08	-0.20	
Strong intrinsic motivation of detainees to work	detainees	3.95	1.34	2.97	0.003
	educators	3.70	1.13	2.97	
Change of environment	detainees	3.45	1.56	-0.81	0.41
	educators	3.53	1.17	-0.61	
Helping others	detainees	2.86	1.56	4 45	0.001
	educators	2.44	1.20	4,45	
Influence of fellow inmates	detainees	1.81	1.18	-4.00	0.001
	educators	2.13	1.17	-4.00	
Expectation of benefits and privileges in prison	detainees	3.26	1.57	-4.52	0.001
	educators	3.71	1.30	- 4 .32	0.001

Explanations: t-distribution – test for independent samples, p – level of statistical significance.

Source: author's own study.

Statistical analysis using Student's t-test confirmed the existence of statistically significant differences between the opinions of penitentiary educators and their charges on the reasons for taking up employment by persons deprived of liberty.

According to the educators, the prisoners are far more strongly motivated to work by the desire to break the routine of isolation, their encouragement and that of other inmates, as well as the possibility of getting benefits from them, e.g. in the form of a positive entry in the documentation kept by the psychologist (p<0.001). In contrast, the convicted men valued significantly more such motivational factors as strong intrinsic motivation to work (p<0.01) and the possibility to help others (p<0.001). This means that individuals in the compared groups rated the opportunity to earn income and the change in environment equally high as reasons for taking up employment for persons in prison isolation.

The respondents identified the following as important to prisoners taking up a job: earning income, breaking boredom, desire/need to work, and change of environment. According to the educators, their opinion in which they include information about employment during imprisonment is equally important. Of little importance, on the other hand, they consider the influence of fellow inmates and the need to help other people, including family members. Other reasons identified by the convicts were: "coercion", "being used to work", "obtaining a furlough", and "obtaining a conditional early release". In contrast, the penitentiary educators surveyed indicated that additional reasons for taking up employment for their charges were: "payment of debts", "supporting the family" and "obtaining a furlough".

The opportunity to work while serving a prison sentence and the benefits that come with it contribute to the better functioning of convicts in conditions of freedom (Kojadyńska, Gałędek 2017, p. 88, William et al. 2015, p. 2). One of such benefits is undoubtedly learning how to manage the money earned. Therefore, it was studied what the convicted men spend their earned money on and what are the views of their penitentiary educators on this matter. They assessed five potential ways of disposing of money on a 5-point Likert scale (1 – never, 2 – rarely, 3 – sometimes, 4 – often, 5 – very often) (Table 2).

Table 2. Spending of the money earned by persons deprived of liberty

Spending	Group	Mean	Standard deviation	t-distribution	р
Saves money for the future	detainees	1.91	1.42	-1.78	0.07
	educators	2.07	1.24	-1./0	
Pays off debts	detainees	2.04	1.49	-0.28	0.78
	educators	2.07	1.20	-0.20	
Gives money to his family	detainees	1.69	1.30	-2.28	0.02
	educators	1.88	1.13	-2.20	
Spends money on himself	detainees	2.50	1.59	-0.97	0.33
	educators	2.59	1.29	-0.97	
Spends money on stimulants	detainees	1.85	1.45	0.07	0.32
	educators	2.23	1.85	-0.97	

Source: author's own study.

There was a statistically significant difference (p<0.05) between the mean scores for giving the money earned to family members among the prisoners and their educators. The persons deprived of liberty claimed that they support their families financially much less frequently than in the opinion of the educators. Respondents from the compared groups unanimously admitted that they sometimes spend the money on their needs and rarely save it, pay off debts, buy stimulants, or give it to their families. The convicted men also claimed that they use the money they earn "to buy hygiene products."

In order to answer the second specific question, the research participants were asked to rate the commitment of the convicts to their work (1– insufficient,

2 – average, 3 – sufficient, 4 – very strong). The data obtained were statistically analyzed using the Chi-squared test (Table 3).

Table 3. Commitment of the convicted persons to the work performed during their imprisonment

Citt	Detainees		Educators		Chi-squared test	р
Commitment	N	%	N	%		
Insufficient	14	3.1	11	2.6		0.001
Average	49	10.8	112	26.0	16.825	
Sufficient	219	42.4	239	55.6	10.025	
Very strong	170	37.6	68	15.8		
Total	452	100.0	430	100.0		

Source: author's own study.

The obtained data indicate that there are differences in the assessment of commitment to the work performed by persons serving prison sentences between penitentiary educators and their charges (p<0.001). 37.6% of the convicts indicated very strong commitment, and 42.4% – sufficient commitment. Slightly more than half of the educators (55.6%) considered that the working prisoners were sufficiently committed to their job responsibilities. Several respondents from the compared groups considered that persons deprived of their liberty are insufficiently committed to their work duties. This means that the convicts definitely more often evaluated their commitment to work higher than their penitentiary educators.

Similarly, as in the case of the assessment of the commitment to one's professional duties and the motives for taking up employment, statistically significant differences emerged in the opinions of the educators and detainees on the changes experienced by persons deprived of their liberty while working. To this end, they assessed 14 potential effects of employment on a 5-point Likert scale (Table 4).

Respondents from the compared groups agreed that working while serving a prison sentence can make it somewhat easier for the convicts to find a job in freedom. However, the data obtained suggest that the educators see more benefits of working by their charges than they do themselves. There were 13 statistically significant differences between the mean scores regarding the educators' and the convicts' opinions on the effects of work. Significantly higher mean values were observed for: more frequent visits; improvement of relationships with fellow inmates (p<0,01), with family and with prison staff; greater self-confidence, greater motivation to work and job satisfaction, improvement of mood among the convicts, their ability to cope with isolation, and a positive change in their behavior (p<0.001).

Table 4. Changes experienced by working prisoners as perceived by respondents

Changes	Group	Mean	Standard deviation	t-distribu- tion	р
AA (detainees	2.33	1.01	-3.04	0.002
More frequent visits	educators	2.53	0.93	-3.04	
Improvement of family relation- ships	detainees	2.38	0.91	F F2	0.001
	educators	2.72	0.90	-5.52	
Improvement of relationships with	detainees	2.33	1.61	-6.04	0.001
prison staff	educators	2.85	0.74	-0.04	0.001
Improvement of relationships with	detainees	2.56	0.80	0.57	0.01
fellow inmates	educators	2.70	0.82	-2.56	
C . 16 C1	detainees	2.31	0.87	111	0.001
Greater self-confidence	educators	2.94	0.80	-11.1	
	detainees	2.17	0.92	10.4	0.001
Greater motivation to work	educators	2.89	0.78	12.4	
	detainees	1.90	0.87	-22.0	0.001
Mood improvement	educators	3.10	0.71		
It is easier to spend time in isola-	detainees	1.95	0.94	21.0	0.001
tion	educators	3.16	0.74	-21.0	
	detainees	2.09	0.89	147	0.001
Job satisfaction	educators	2.95	0.84	-14.6	
Working while in prison helps to	detainees	2.48	1.01		0.14
find a job after being released	educators	2.58	0.99	-1.47	
	detainees	2.18	0.88		0.001
Change of behavior for the better	educators	2.82	0.84	-11.0	
More competition with fellow	detainees	3.10	0.73	10.2	0.001
inmates	educators	2.46	1.07	10.3	
Increased expectations of benefits and rewards	detainees	2.46	0.88	6.67	0.001
	educators	2.88	0.94	-0.0/	
Lask of money management -1:11-	detainees	3.00	0.85	6.78	0.001
Lack of money management skills	educators	2.52	1.22	0.76	

Source: author's own study.

In addition, the convicted men who took up employment felt increased competition with their fellow inmates. In their opinion, taking a job is less likely to increase the level of expectations of benefits and rewards from the penitentiary staff. They became more aware of their deficits in terms of their management of the money they earned (p<0.001). It is worth noting, however, that according to the penitentiary educators, positive changes concerning the functioning of the convicts who took up a job while serving their prison sentence occurred to an average degree. In contrast, in the opinion of the convicts, there were no significant changes that affected them (other than: improved relationships with fellow inmates and more competition with them, belief in finding a job after serving a prison sentence, increased expectations of receiving benefits and rewards, and lack of money management skills – moderate changes).

Summary

The obtained results indicate little agreement between the opinions of penitentiary educators and convicts on the performance of work by inmates while serving their sentences. The compared groups of respondents differed in their opinions concerning the motives of persons deprived of liberty to take up employment. Similar opinions were expressed only with regard to the desire to change the environment and earn an income. Penitentiary educators pointed to more selfish reasons of taking up a job by convicts. The latter, in turn, stressed the motivation to work and the opportunity to help others. The findings indicate the need to shape and strengthen the convicts' intrinsic motivation to work (Mazur 2013, p. 157; Gagné, Deci 2005, p. 331).

To a large extent, however, penitentiary educators and convicts were in agreement as to the spending of the money earned by the persons working while serving their prison sentence. According to the educators, the convicted men more often give the money they earn to their families, which is not consistent with the opinion of the convicts themselves. This indicates the need to work on communication within the family, the role of a father, husband/partner and building a sense of responsibility for oneself and for others. An employed convict is entitled to remuneration, which is subject to obligatory deductions: social insurance contribution, the Victims and Post-release Assistance Fund (10%), the Fund for Professional Activation of Prisoners and Development of Prison Workplaces (25%). The personal income tax contribution is also deducted. Up to 40% of the remuneration may be deducted for the purpose of payment of debts (e.g. alimony). Up to 4% of the average monthly remuneration is deposited into the convict's "account". This money is paid to him when he leaves prison9. This means that the remaining money available to the prisoner does not allow them to meet their own needs and the needs of their family.

 $^{^9\,}$ https://www.sw.gov.pl/aktualnosc/Wynagrodzenie-wiezniow-za-prace (accessed on: September 10, 2020).

The convicted men assess their commitment to their duties as strong or very strong, while the penitentiary educators describe it as sufficient. The obtained result is satisfactory, although it is worth stressing the importance of praise and rewards in the process of motivating them to professional activity. It is important for the educators to be aware that the convicted men can expect to receive them because they believe that they put a great deal of effort into their work. Praise and appreciation of the effort put in will result in their greater motivation to take on professional tasks. The lack of positive reinforcement, in turn, may result in their reluctance to work (Souders 2020)¹⁰, and it has been proven that benefits received from employment positively affect motivation (Heathfield 2020)¹¹. Moreover, A. Lewicka-Zelent, in her report, argues that those performing paid work show more commitment to their job than the prisoners who are not paid (Lewicka-Zelent 2020, p. 20).

The penitentiary educators see more positive aspects resulting from taking up a job by persons deprived of liberty than the convicted persons themselves. On the one hand, those who work have the possibility to earn money, but on the other hand they admit that they do not know how to manage it. Therefore, it is important to develop their ability to manage their own money. Building a sense of independence in relation to work can contribute to minimizing a demanding attitude. There is also more rivalry between fellow inmates, but it is often of positive nature, as it motivates them to work and engage in activities. This positive influence can be used in working with convicts who have no desire to be professionally active. Working convicts learn through observation and following each other's example. Nevertheless, it is important to control the influence of individuals on fellow inmates (Sokołowska 2015, p. 186; Bosma et al. 2020 p. 451; Nowacki 2013, p. 188).

The results of studies carried out by other authors confirm that the employed convicts cope better with being in isolation and are less prone to aggressive behavior. There is also a noticeable increase in their sense of responsibility and diligence in performing tasks. In addition, the prisoners who work while in isolation intend to remain professionally active after leaving prison (Głowania 2016, p. 146). Work and the opportunity to perform it is a value in itself. It contributes to building self-esteem (Nowacki 2019, p. 151). Work experience, acquisition of new skills and qualifications helps to lower recidivism rates and facilitates social readaptation for former convicts (Mosses, Smith 2007, p. 32, Ames 2019, p. 1). That is why it is worthwhile to continue scientific research, both quantitative and qualitative, in the future, as a kind of monitoring of the effectiveness of employment of persons deprived of liberty.

¹⁰ https://positivepsychology.com/improving-motivation-at-work/ (accessed on: September 16, 2020).

https://www.thebalancecareers.com/what-people-want-from-work-motivation-1919051 (accessed on: September 16, 2020).

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