

POGLEDI ZATVORENICA NA BUDUĆNOST

FEMALE PRISONERS' LOOKS TO THE FUTURE

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SAŽETAK

Provedba istraživanja sa zatvorenicama općenito je otežana zbog posebnoga položaja i uvjeta u kojima se nalaze, a istraživanja o percepciji njihove budućnosti vrlo je malo. Cilj je ovoga rada ispitati percepciju budućnosti i očekivanja zatvorenica u budućnosti sa svrhom dobivanja uvida i predlaganja nekih specifičnih metoda rada na sebi za vrijeme boravka na izdržavanju kazne. Provedeno je kvalitativno istraživanje u kojemu su se podatci prikupljali putem polustrukturiranih intervjua. U istraživanju je sudjelovalo devet zatvorenica koje su se u trenutku provedbe istraživanja nalazile na izdržavanju kazne zatvora u kaznionici. Podatci su obrađeni putem tematske analize sadržaja. Rezultati su pokazali da zatvorenice svoju budućnost uglavnom vide pozitivno, ali su i svjesne određenih poteškoća i izazova s kojima će se morati suočiti nakon otpusta. Zatvorenice budućnost planiraju provesti u okruženju obitelji i brizi za djecu te se nadaju boljem funkcioniranju obitelji u budućnosti. Izazovom smatraju nadoknadu vremena koje su provele u kaznionici, rješavanje pitanja skrbištva nad maloljetnom djecom i pronalazak posla zbog moguće osude okoline i predrasuda prema bivšim zatvorenicama. Također, za pojedine zatvorenice izazov je i mogućnost recidiva, u čemu će biti ključan rad na sebi i želja za promjenom.

Ključne riječi: zatvorenice, kaznionica, budućnost, očekivanja, izazovi

ABSTRACT

Conducting research among female prison population is generally difficult given the specific position of these women and the accompanying conditions. In addition, very few studies have addressed their perceptions of the future. The aim of this paper is to examine perceptions and expectations of the future among female prisoners to gain insight in the matter and propose specific methods of self-improvement during the execution of prison sentence. Qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews for data collection has been carried out. Nine female prisoners serving prison sentence in a penitentiary took part in the research. The data was processed by using the content analysis. The findings have shown that, in general, female prisoners demonstrated positive outlook for the future, although they were aware of the difficulties and challenges they had to face upon release. Female prisoners were planning to spend time with family members, looking after their children. They also hoped for improved family functioning. In respect of challenges, they referred to the problems of making up for the time spent in the penitentiary, addressing the issue of child custody and finding a job in light of disapproval of former female prisoners and prejudice against them. Furthermore, in case of some female prisoners, the possibility of reoffending represented a challenge. In that sense, self-improvement and desire for change were of crucial importance.

Keywords: female prisoners, penitentiary, future, expectations, challenges

UVOD

Specifičnosti žena kao počiniteljica kaznenih djela

Interes za kriminalitet žena počeo je rasti tek posljednjih nekoliko desetljeća. U literaturi se kao mogući razlog tomu navodi da žene čine neusporedivo manji broj kaznenih djela od muškaraca te da su djela koja čine manje opasna od kaznenih djela koja čine muškarci. Statistike pokazuju da u strukturi ženskog kriminaliteta uglavnom prevladavaju imovinska kaznena djela, a tjelesno nasilje ograničeno je uglavnom na područje intimnih, ljubavnih i obiteljskih odnosa. Osim toga, kaznena djela žena općenito su manje senzacionalna od onih koja počinu muškarci te su iz tog razloga možda i manje zanimljiva za stručne krugove i laičku javnost (Jadrešin i Mustapić, 2014). Tijekom izdržavanja kazne zatvora žene su izložene drukčijim izazovima nego muškarci zbog posebnosti svojih potreba, dužine kazne, strukture obitelji, tipa dominantnog kriminaliteta, itd. (Šućur i Žakman Ban, 2005). No, unatoč tomu tretmansi programi za žene često su se temeljili na podacima o muškom kriminalitetu. Kao najčešći uzrok kriminala kod žena navodi

INTRODUCTION

Specific Characteristics of Female Offenders

Interest for female crime has been on the rise only for the last couple of decades. The literature attributes this to the fact that women commit significantly fewer crimes than men and the fact that the offenses they commit are less dangerous than "male" offenses. Figures indicate that, in terms of offenses, "women's" crime mostly involves thefts. Incidents of physical violence most frequently occur in intimate, love and family relationships. Also, compared with men, crimes committed by women are usually presented in less sensational terms so experts and the general public may find them less intriguing (Jadrešin and Mustapić, 2014). Once incarcerated, women face different challenges than men, given their specific needs, length of sentence, family structure, type of most common offenses etc. (Šućur and Žakman Ban, 2005). Despite this, treatment programs targeting female prisoners have mostly been based on the data on male crimes. Female involvement in crime is most often driven by physical abuse, poverty and substance abuse

se zlostavljanje, siromaštvo i ovisnost (Bloom, 1999, prema Šućur i Žakman Ban, 2005). Istraživanja pokazuju da su zatvorenice vrlo često i same bile zlostavljane, tj. bile u ulozi žrtve te uglavnom imaju više psiholoških i psihijatrijskih problema od muškaraca (Teplin i sur., 1996; Byrne i Howells, 2000, prema Šućur i Žakman Ban, 2005) što upućuje na potrebu za tretmanom koji će ženama pomoći da se pokušaju oporaviti od traumatskog iskustva i koji će biti prilagođen potrebama (Šućur i Žakman Ban, 2005).

U novije vrijeme istraživanja percepcije budućnosti postala su ključno i nezaobilazno pitanje unutar znanosti (Rougemont, 1989, prema Cifrić, 1994), a očekivanja od budućnosti, a osobito planiranje budućnosti i futurološka očekivanja temeljena uglavnom na egzogenim čimbenicima, a manje na endogenim. Na percepciju budućnosti utječe ukupno socijalno iskustvo, sposobnost za utopijsko razmišljanje i maštu, vrijednosni sustavi (kultura) u kojima živimo, povijesna refleksija, ali i individualna obilježja od strahova do nadanja, a sve to, pak, u najvećoj mjeri dio je ukupne socijalizacije pojedinca (Cifrić, 1994). Mogli bismo reći da je percepcija budućnosti žena počiniteljica kaznenih djela iznimno važna za njihovu budućnost i integraciju u okolinu iz koje su izdvojene zbog počinjenoga kaznenog djela. Često su upravo optimistični ili pesimistični pogledi na budućnost ono što će ih i voditi u budućem životu nakon izlaska iz kaznonice. Zato je važno da saznamo i razumijemo kakvi su njihovi pogledi na budućnost da bismo već za vrijeme izdržavanja kazne mogli pozitivno utjecati na njihovu percepciju budućnosti da ona bude zdrava i realna, ali i obilježena osjećajem vlastite kontrole i motivima za pozitivnom promjenom.

(Bloom, 1999, as cited in Šućur and Žakman Ban, 2005). Research suggests that female prisoners were often abused, e.g. they were victims and, on the whole, had more psychological and mental problems than men (Teplin et al., 1996; Byrne and Howells, 2000, as cited in Šućur and Žakman Ban, 2005). This points to the need to provide treatment for these women that would help them recover from the trauma and that would be tailor-made, taking into account their needs (Šućur and Žakman Ban, 2005).

Studies addressing perceptions of future have become of key interest in modern research (Rougemont, 1989, as cited in Cifrić, 1994). Expectations of future, in particular future planning and futuristic expectations have mostly been based on exogenous, rather than endogenous, factors. Perceptions of future are shaped by the overall social experience, ability of utopian thinking and imagination, value systems (culture) that we live in, as well as historical reflection, but also individual traits, ranging from fears to hopes, that amount to the overall socialization of the individual (Cifrić, 1994). One might say that female offenders' perception of the future is extremely important for their future and social integration as they are socially excluded because of the crimes they committed. Optimistic or pessimistic look to the future will shape their future lives once released from the prison. For these reasons, it is important to identify and understand their looks to the future so that we can have a positive impact on their perception of the future even during incarceration so that perceptions have realistic and solid basis. They should also be marked by a sense of personal control and motives for a positive change.

Percepcije budućnosti žena zatvorenica u svjetlu teorije ekoloških sustava i teorija osnaživanja

Većina zatvoreničke populacije je marginalizirana, izolirana, stigmatizirana i opterećena predrasudama društva te je samim time vrlo otežana uspješna integracija u užu i širu socijalnu sredinu. Zato bi socijalni modeli u radu sa ženama u kaznionicama trebali, između ostalog, uključivati i osnaživanje zatvorenica (Morris, 1991; Brisanden, 1986; Urbanc, 2002, 2005; Ergović, 2006, prema Zećirević, 2014).

Osnaživanje je namjerni proces koji uključuje inicijativu i djelovanje osoba u zadobivanju moći, preuzimanju kontrole u vlastitom životu i bolji pristup društvenim resursima sa svrhom ostvarivanja kolektivnih i osobnih ciljeva (Slapels, 1990, prema Kletečki Radović, 2008). Osnaživanje podrazumijeva i uvažavanje perspektive moći te kreativna kapaciteta osobe za razvoj ideja i aktivnosti radi poboljšanja životne situacije (Payne, 2005, prema Zećirević, 2014). U zatvorskom sustavu osnaživanje zatvorenika znači, prije svega, putem zajedničkih koncipiranih programa rehabilitacije sanirati neučinkovite obrasce rješavanja problema na psihosocijalnom planu od razumijevanja i prihvatanja psihičkih problema i opsega socijalnih devijacija da bi se postupno nakon napuštanja institucije mogli integrirati što uspješnije u društvo. Osnaživanje se uglavnom provodi individualnim i grupnim oblicima i radionicama, a radi se na povećanju opće informiranosti, nadoknadi obrazovnih nedostataka, stjecanju samopouzdanja, očuvanju i izgradnji radnih navika, podizanju kulturnih, roditeljskih, bračnih i drugih aspekata života u zajednici i povećanju i učvršćivanju moralnih referencija. Osim toga, radi se i na suočavanju sa životnim problemima i odbacivanju pojedinih oblika ponašanja (npr. kriminal i ovisnosti) koji su osobu zapravo i doveli u penalnu ustanovu te na konstruktivnom prihvatanju i učenju so-

Female Prisoners' Perceptions of Future in Light of Ecological Systems Theory and Empowerment Theory

The majority of prison population is marginalized, isolated, stigmatized and subject to social prejudice which makes their social integration (in terms of their relatives and larger society) rather difficult. Social models of work with female offenders should thus, inter alia, include their empowerment (Morris, 1991; Brisanden, 1986; Urbanc, 2002, 2005; Ergović, 2006, as cited in Zećirević, 2014).

Empowerment is an intentional ongoing process that includes the initiative and individual action in gaining power, taking control over own lives and gaining better access to social resources with the aim of achieving personal and collective goals (Slapels, 1990, as cited in Kletečki Radović, 2008). Empowerment also implies taking into account the power perspective and creative capacity of the individual for development of ideas and activities with the aim of improving life situation (Payne, 2005, as cited in Zećirević, 2014). Within the prison system, prisoners' empowerment means using jointly planned rehabilitation programs to improve ineffective problem-solving techniques in psychological and social aspects of life, from compassion and acceptance of psychological problems and scope of social deviations, in order to achieve the desired degree of social integration postrelease. Empowerment workshops and individual counselling are mostly used in that sense. The aim is to improve general information level, compensate for gaps in education, help prisoners in gaining self-confidence, preserving and maintaining work habits, enhancing cultural, parental, marital and other aspects of social life and raising and preserving ethical principles. Furthermore, empowerment includes coping with problems in life and abandoning certain types of behavior (e.g. crime and addiction) that led to incarceration

cijalnih uloga u kojima će se naći nakon izlaska na slobodu (Zećirević, 2014).

Pri percepciji budućnosti zatvorenica svakako je važno uzeti u obzir i Bronfenbrennerovu teoriju ekosustava (Vasta i Haith, 2005) prema kojoj sve što se događa ovisi o sustavima pa tako i prošlost, ali i budućnost žena, bivših zatvorenica, u različitim sustavima će ovisiti i o tim sustavima (obitelji, radnoj okolini, susjedstvu, društvu). Sav trud i motivacija bivše zatvorenice može oslabjeti ako su sustavi nepodržavajući. Zato je važno da bivše zatvorenice budu pripremljene za vraćanje u uloge u različitim sustavima, ali isto tako i da sustavi budu pripremljeni i podržavajući za prihvaćanje svojih članova.

Boravak zatvorenica u kaznionici prema zakonskoj regulativi

Prema Zakonu o izvršavanju kazne zatvora (NN 18/11, 48/11, 125/11, 56/13, 150/13, 98/19), odmah nakon dolaska zatvorenice u penalnu ustanovu (kaznionicu ili zatvor) započinje i priprema za otpust. Tijekom te pripreme u prvom redu radi se na tome da zatvorenik/ca bude odgovorniji prema drugima i sebi, potiče se odgovorno sudjelovanje u pripremi za otpust u penalnoj ustanovi i izvan nje, a posebna pažnja posvećuje se održavanju odnosa s obitelji i kontaktiranju s tijelima državne vlasti, udrugama i ustanovama koje se bave uključivanjem zatvorenika u život na slobodi (čl. 164. st. 1.). Osim toga, kaznionica ili zatvor najkasnije tri mjeseca prije otpusta zatvorenicu treba uključiti u pojedinačni ili skupni savjetodavni rad koji je u svezi s pripremanjem za otpust (čl. 164. st. 2.). Zatvorenicu s višegodišnjom kaznom zatvora osoblje tretmana ne priprema odmah po dolasku na otpust, nego se ta priprema odnosi na tretmanski rad u sklopu grupnih i individualnih programa. Svrha zatvora u današnje vrijeme je rehabilitacija počinitelja

and constructive recognition and learning of social roles that prisoners will assume after release (Zećirević, 2014).

When analyzing perception of the future among the female prison population, it is very important to bear in mind the Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Vasta and Haith, 2005) according to which everything depends on systems. In that sense, both the past and the future of former female convicts in different systems will depend on these very systems (family, work environment, neighborhood, society). Systems lacking support will undermine all the efforts and motivation of a former female prisoner. It is therefore important to prepare former female prisoners to re-assume their roles in different systems, but also to prepare the systems to accept their members and provide them with the necessary support.

Incarceration of Women in Accordance with Law

Pursuant to the Execution of Prison Sentence Act (OG 18/11, 48/11, 125/11, 56/13, 150/13, 98/19), upon the arrival of female offender in a penal body (state or county prison), prisons shall provide for timely pre-release regime. Prisoners shall be encouraged to assume more responsibility towards themselves and others, as well as to take active part in the preparation for release both inside and outside of the prison system and in particular to maintain relations with the family, keep in touch with authorities, institutions and associations engaged in convicts' social integration upon release (Article 164, Paragraph 1). In addition, at least three months prior to release, a penitentiary or prison shall include female prisoners into individual or group advisory work in connection with the preparation for release (Article 164, Paragraph 2). With respect to female prisoners with long prison terms, treatment staff shall not apply

kaznenih djela, odnosno njihovo uključivanje u društvo (Zakon o izvršavanju kazne zatvora, NN 150/13, prema Lončar, 2016), a uloga tretmana je strukturiranim i organiziranim vođenjem visokoobrazovanih stručnjaka doprijeti do zatvorenika/zatvorenice i do njihova sustava vrijednosti te ga rekonstruirati da bude prihvatljiv njima samima, ali i široj društvenoj zajednici. Isto tako zadatak tretmana je i *izgraditi* socijalno-društvenu funkcionalnu ličnost koja se može samoaktualizirati, a da ne dođe u konflikt s drugim članovima društva (Jukić i Sabljo, 2017). Zaposlenici Odjela tretmana svojim radom nastoje osobe koje su na izvršavanju kazne zatvora upozoriti na potencijalne poteškoće i izazove koji ih čekaju izvan kaznonice na slobodi (Lončar, 2016).

Zatvorenice su skupina osuđenih osoba, počiniteljica kaznenih djela, koje se ipak suočavaju s drukčijim izazovima od muških zatvorenika nakon izlaska na slobodu. Također, svaka osoba ima svoju percepciju budućnosti koja ovisi i o njihovoj trenutačnoj situaciji, njihovu životu prije dolaska u kaznonicu te planovima koje možda imaju za svoju budućnost.

Ono što je također bitno je i poslijepenalna zaštita. Kao i u većini zemalja, u Republici Hrvatskoj poslijepenalna zaštita organizirana je sustavom probacije, a manjim dijelom djelovanjem civilnog sektora, tj. udruga. Udruge su uglavnom orijentirane na tretmanski rad s bivšim zatvorenicima, a sustav probacije više ima za cilj nadzor i usmjeravanje (Lončar, 2016). Probacijski poslovi u sustavu RH određeni su i regulirani Zakonom o probaciji (NN 99/18), a u Zakonu je i navedeno: obavljaju se radi zaštite društvene zajednice od počinitelja kaznenog djela, njegove resocijalizacije i reintegracije u zajednicu utjecanjem na one rizične čimbenike koji su povezani s činjenjem kaznenog djela (Lončar, 2016). Poslijepenalnoj zaštiti u Hrvatskoj pridaje se premalo pozornosti. Postoje brojni

the pre-release regime immediately upon their arrival. Instead, the preparation includes treatment work within group and individual programs. Nowadays, the main purpose of imprisonment is to rehabilitate offenders and include them in the society (Execution of Prison Sentence Act, OG 150/13, as cited in Lončar, 2016). On the other hand, through structured and well-managed processes led by highly educated professionals, treatment serves to reach to prisoners and their value systems and reconstruct them so that they become acceptable both to them and the wider community. Furthermore, treatment is used to “construct” a socially functional personality that may achieve self-realization without getting into conflict with other members of the society (Jukić and Sabljo, 2017). In their work, treatment staff tries to address potential difficulties and challenges prisoners will face once they are let out of the prison system (Lončar, 2016).

Once released, female prisoners represent a group of convicts or offenders who face different challenges than male prisoners. Also, each individual has his or her own perception of future that depends on their current situation, life before imprisonment and plans they might have for the future.

Postrelease support program is yet another important element that has to be considered. Similar to other countries, in Croatia, this type of support program is mostly organized within the probation system and, to a lesser degree, civil society organizations (CSOs). CSOs usually focus on treatment work with former prisoners. The probation system, on the other hand, puts emphasis on supervision and guidance (Lončar, 2016). The Probation Act (OG 99/18) sets down and regulates probation activities in the Croatian system. In accordance with it, these activities are carried out to protect the community against the offender, achieve his/

nedostatci, a najizraženiji su nedovoljna umreženost sustava koji su uključeni u zbrinjavanje zatvorenika i bivših zatvorenika, te nedovoljna razvijenost mogućnosti u određenoj lokalnoj zajednici, kao i nedovoljna uključenost Centra za socijalnu skrb.

Dosadašnje spoznaje o pogledima zatvorenica na budućnost

Istraživanja su pokazala da je većina odraslih bivših zatvorenica vrlo optimistična u pogledu prilagodbe na slobodu nakon izdržane kazne zatvora (Burnett, 1992; Dhimi i sur., 2006; Visher i sur., 2003, prema Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Također, neka od istraživanja utvrdila su da optimistično razmišljanje zatvorenica pomaže odmaknu od kriminala (LeBel i sur., 2008; Maruna, 2001, 2004, prema Cobbina i Bender, 2012), ali relativno malo istraživanja bavilo se tom problematikom što zapravo utječe na takav način razmišljanja kod žena s prijašnjim kaznama zatvora (Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Ipak, jedna studija pokazala je i da većina zatvorenika ima nerealne, nejasne i neizvjesne planove vezane za izlazak i život izvan kaznionice ili zatvora, što dovodi do nerealiziranih očekivanja i neuspjeha (Zamble i Porporinu, 1998, prema Visher, La Vigne i Travis, 2004).

Prema literaturi, izazovi s kojima se zatvorenice najčešće suočavaju nakon izlaska na slobodu pronalazak su smještaja, zapošljavanje, nastavak terapije i uspostavljanje mreže socijalne podrške. Iako se većina osoba nakon izlaska na slobodu suočava sa sličnim izazovima i problemima, kod žena ipak ima i određenih specifičnosti koje su uglavnom vezane za obiteljske obveze (Belknap, 2007; Richie, 2001, prema Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Žene se vrlo često moraju nakon izlaska na slobodu suočiti s problemima vezanim za skrbništvo nad maloljetnom djecom (Belknap, 2007; Cobbina i Bender, 2012), ali velik izazov predstavlja im i pronalazak posla koji osigu-

her resocialization and reintegration in the social community by tackling the risk factors associated with committing a crime (Lončar, 2016). Postrelease support program in Croatia has mostly been overlooked. Numerous gaps have been identified, in particular, insufficient networking of the systems involved in care for prisoners and former prisoners, poor opportunities in the local community and insufficient engagement of social welfare centers.

Present Knowledge about Female Prisoners' Looks to the Future

Research has shown that most incarcerated female adults are optimistic about their re-establishment in society after release (Burnett, 1992; Dhimi et al., 2006; Visher et al., 2003, as cited in Cobbina and Bender, 2012). Also, some studies have found that optimistic views helped female prisoners to desist from crime (LeBel et al., 2008; Maruna, 2001, 2004, as cited in Cobbina and Bender, 2012). Yet, few studies have addressed this problem and it affects this way of thinking among former female convicts (Cobbina and Bender, 2012). However, one study has found that most prisoners had unrealistic, unclear and uncertain plans for postrelease and re-establishment period, which led to unrealized expectations and failure (Zamble and Porporinu, 1998, as cited in Visher, La Vigne and Travis, 2004).

According to the literature, most common challenges in postrelease period for former female prisoners are finding accommodation and employment, continuation of therapy and establishing a social support network. Even though the majority of former convicts face similar challenges and problems on release, women experience specific problems mostly related to family obligations (Belknap, 2007; Richie, 2001, as cited in Cobbina and Bender, 2012). Female offenders with children are often

rava prihode dostatne za njihov život i život djece (Pollock-Byrne, 1990, prema Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Sve to otežava i činjenica da dosta žena koje izađu na slobodu nema dovoljno razvijene određene društvene vještine, praktično znanje o tome kako osigurati resurse koji su potrebni za život, a velikom broju nedostaje i osjećaj nade za boljom budućnosti nakon izlaska iz zatvora (O'Brien, 2001, prema Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Sve navedeno čini za žene izlazak na slobodu vrlo izazovnim, a povećava i vjerojatnost recidivizma (Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Rezultati jednog istraživanja provedenog sa zatvorenicama pokazali su da 77% njih smatra da se neće vratiti ponovno u zatvor, navodeći za to razloge kao što su promjena u razmišljanju, briga za djecu, gubitak volje za činjenjem kaznenih djela te poštovanje uvjetnog otpusta, dok preostalih 23% navodi da nisu sigurne hoće li se u budućnosti ponovno vratiti u zatvor uglavnom zbog mogućih teških životnih okolnosti i ovisnosti o drogama (Beck i Shipley, 1989, prema Cobbina i Bender, 2012).

Većina zatvorenica koje su sudjelovale u istraživanju koje su proveli Cobbina i Bender (2012) navele su kako misle da su promijenile način razmišljanja i svoj mentalitet, te da s više optimizma gledaju na svoju budućnost. Za mnoge od njih, takav način razmišljanja bio je potaknut razmišljanjima i brigom za djecu, a za većinu njih ogroman je stres što određeno vrijeme nisu prisutne u životima svoje djece. Neka istraživanja utvrdila su da upravo djeca mogu imati pozitivan učinak na bivše zatvorenice nakon izlaska na slobodu i olakšati razvoj prosocijalnog ponašanja i viđenja sebe (Giordano i sur., 2007; Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Također, ključan čimbenik u smanjenju recidivizma je i smanjenje želje za činjenjem kaznenih djela te spremnost na promjenu (Cobbina i Bender, 2012). Mnoge bivše zatvorenice smatraju da se u budućnosti neće više baviti kriminalom zbog smanjena zadovoljstva za činjenjem kaznenih

burdened with regaining custody of their children on release (Belknap, 2007; Cobbina and Bender, 2012). Also, finding a job that provides them with sufficient income for decent life of themselves and their children (Pollock-Byrne, 1990, as cited in Cobbina and Bender, 2012) may pose a significant problem. Their situation is further aggravated by the fact that many of them have poor social skills and practical know-how on how to secure the resources they need for life. In addition, most of them lack hope for a better future postrelease (O'Brien, 2001, as cited in Cobbina and Bender, 2012). For women, these factors make release rather challenging and increase the likelihood of reoffending (Cobbina and Bender, 2012). According to the findings of a survey conducted among female offenders, 77% thought they would not return to prison. When indicating the reasons, they referred to change in mindset, concerns about children, losing the desire to persist in crime, and respecting the rules of conditional discharge. Nonetheless, 23% reported not knowing whether they would return to prison due to their life circumstances and drug addiction (Beck and Shipley, 1989, as cited in Cobbina and Bender, 2012).

Most of the respondents from the survey carried out by Cobbina and Bender (2012) stated that they had changed their way of thinking and their mindset and were more optimistic about their future. Many of them had based their points of view on concerns about children and consideration about them. The majority stated that the fact they had not been present in their children's lives generated enormous stress. Some studies demonstrated that children may have a positive impact on women who were incarcerated postrelease. They also may facilitate patterns of prosocial behavior and self-perception (Giordano et al., 2007; Cobbina and Bender, 2012). A crucial factor in decreasing the recidivism rates is losing the

djela, ali i zbog svoje dobi. Osim toga, neke studije pokazale su i da važnost kriminaliteta i sudjelovanja u činjenju kaznenih djela opada starenjem (Shover, 1996).

U Republici Hrvatskoj provedeno je relativno malo istraživanja koja se bave počiniteljicama kaznenih djela. Šućur i Žakman Ban proveli su 2005. istraživanje o značajkama i posebnosti-ta tretmana žena koje se u malom obujmu dotaknulo života zatvorenica nakon izlaska iz Kaznionice Požega, a većina ostalih istraživanja daje informacije o poteškoćama i problemima s kojima se bivši zatvorenici susreću nakon izlaska na slobodu. Iz tog razloga bitno je saznati i viđenje, percepciju i razmišljanja zatvorenica o mogućim izazovima u budućnosti da bi tretmanko osoblje moglo grupno i individualno prilagoditi programe pripreme za otpust te ih što bolje pripremiti i osnažiti za život na slobodi i na suočavanje s problemima, poteškoćama i izazovima života na slobodi.

CILJ ISTRAŽIVANJA

Svrha istraživanja bila je dobiti uvid u korisničku perspektivu zatvorenica u kaznionici vezanu uz poglede na budućnost da bi saznali što bi moglo pridonijeti boljem socijalnom planiranju stručnog rada, odnosno unapređenju tretmanskog rada sa ženama počiniteljicama kaznenih djela koje se nalaze na izdržavanju kazne zatvora.

Cilj istraživanja bio je ispitati percepciju i očekivanja od vlastite budućnosti zatvorenica u kaznionici.

U skladu s ciljem istraživanja postavljena su i dva istraživačka pitanja:

- Kako zatvorenice u kaznionici vide svoju budućnost nakon otpusta iz kaznionice?

desire to persist in crime and willingness for a change (Cobbina and Bender, 2012). Many former female convicts think they will not resort to crime because of diminished pleasure in committing a crime, but also due to their age. Furthermore, some studies have pointed to the fact that significance of crime and involvement in crime decline with age (Shover, 1996).

Few studies on female offenders have been conducted in Croatia up to date. In 2005, Šućur and Žakman Ban carried out research on characteristics and unique nature of treatment for women that slightly touched upon the issue of former female convicts' lives after release from the Požega Penitentiary. The bulk of other research provides information about difficulties and problems that former prisoners face postrelease. It is therefore important to take into consideration female prisoners' looks, perceptions and thoughts about future challenges so that treatment staff could adapt both group and individual programs in light of preparation for release and prepare female convicts for postrelease period and equip them with techniques for coping with problems, difficulties and challenges of life after incarceration.

RESEARCH AIM

The aim of the research is to gain insight into female prisoners' perspective in terms of their future. This will allow us to identify best practice to improve social planning of professional work and enhancement of treatment work with incarcerated female offenders.

The main objective of the research was to examine perceptions and expectations of the future among female prisoners.

In line with this objective, the following research questions were defined:

- Koja očekivanja zatvorenice imaju od budućnosti?

Istraživačka pitanja razrađena su metodom polustrukturiranog intervjua.

METODE RADA

Za realizaciju istraživačkog cilja provedeno je kvalitativno istraživanje kojem su u središtu pozornosti osobna iskustva pojedinaca (Milas, 2005). Za prikupljanje podataka koristilo se metodom polustrukturiranog intervjua koji je proveden licem u lice.

Uzorak

Prilikom odabira sudionica ovog istraživanja koristila se neprobabilistička metoda prigodnog uzorka zbog dostupnosti i jednostavnosti prilikom odabira sudionica koje će sudjelovati u istraživanju (Milas, 2009). Sudionice su birane prema principu dobrovoljnosti i dostupnosti. Uzorak je obuhvaćao devet punoljetnih ženskih osoba koje su u trenutku provođenja istraživanja bile u Kaznionici u Požegi na izdržavanju kazne zatvora najmanje šest mjeseci. Sa svakog odjela (zatvoreni, poluotvoreni i otvoreni) sudjelovale su po tri zatvorenice.

Dob zatvorenica koje su sudjelovale u istraživanju je od 29 do 70 godina. Sudionica koja je u trenutku provođenja istraživanju bila najkraće u kaznionici napunila je šest mjeseci, a najduže je boravila sudionica koja je u kaznionici dvije godine i šest mjeseci. Kaznena djela za koja su osuđene bila su neovlaštena proizvodnja i promet drogama, prijevare u gospodarskom poslovanju, iznuda, organizirani kriminal, krađa, teška krađa i povreda dužnosti uzdržavanja (neplaćanje alimentacije za dijete).

- How did female convicts perceive their future postrelease?
- What expectations of future did they have?

Research questions were addressed by using a semi-structured interview.

WORK METHODS

In order to address the research aim, qualitative research illustrating the experiences of individual (Milas, 2005) was conducted. A semi-structured face-to-face interview was used to obtain the data.

Sample

A non-probability convenience sampling method was employed for sampling purposes, given its availability and simplicity when selecting the respondents (Milas, 2009). Respondents were selected by taking into account their willingness to participate and availability. The sample included nine adult women who were serving prison sentences of at least six months in the Požega Penitentiary at the time when the research was conducted. Three female prisoners from three types of prison wings (high-security, semi-open and open) took part in the research.

All the respondents were in the 29 to 70 age group. In respect of duration of incarceration, it ranged from six months to two and half years. The respondents were convicted for the following criminal offenses: illicit drug production and trafficking, fraud, extortion, organized crime, theft, burglary and criminal offenses related to maintenance obligations (not paying child alimony).

Postupak prikupljanja podataka

Uz suglasnost Ministarstva pravosuđa i Uprave za zatvorski sustav istraživanje se provodilo u Kaznionici za žene u Požegi u svibnju 2019. godine.

Podatci su se prikupljali metodom polustrukturiranog intervjua, s unaprijed pripremljenim i odobrenim pitanjima Ministarstva pravosuđa. Pitanja u intervjuu odnosila su se na dužinu boravka u kaznionici i vrijeme preostalo do otpusta, pitanja o tome kako zatvorenice zamišljaju svoj prvi dan na slobodi, svakodnevicu u budućnosti, obiteljski i socijalni život, osjećajima koji im se javljaju kada razmišljaju o pojedinim aspektima budućnosti te onome što ih možda brine u vezi s njihovom budućnosti. Također, pojedina pitanja odnosila su se i na moguće promjene u svakodnevici, izazove s kojima misle da će se suočiti nakon otpusta, povratku u zajednicu, suradnji s institucijama, budućem zapošljavanju i stambenom pitanju i mogućoj promjeni pojedinih aspekata svojeg života u budućnosti.

Svim sudionicama istraživanja postavljena su ista pitanja prilikom provedbe intervjua, ali je omogućena i fleksibilnost promjenom redoslijeda pitanja ako je sudionik odgovorio na više pitanja u jednom ili postavljanjem potpitanja. Prilikom provedbe intervjua vođene su strukturirane bilješke.

Etički aspekti

Prilikom pripreme istraživanja, prikupljanja i obrade podataka posebna pozornost posvećena je etičkim aspektima s obzirom na vrstu institucije u kojoj se istraživanje provodilo. Sudjelovanje u istraživanju bilo je dobrovoljno, a svakoj sudionici prije intervjua objašnjena je svrha istraživanja te je svaka zatvorenica prije provođenja intervjua vlastoručno potpisala prethodno pripremljenu Izjavu o suglasnosti.

Data Collection Procedure

The survey research was carried out in the Požega Penitentiary for female offenders in May 2019 with the approval of the Ministry of Justice and Prison System Directorate.

A semi-structured interview was used to collect the data. The data was pre-prepared and approved by the Ministry of Justice. The interview questions addressed the duration of incarceration and time left before the release, but also perceptions of their first day outside of prison, everyday life in the future, family and social life, feelings they experienced when thinking about certain aspects of future and potential worries about future. Furthermore, certain questions addressed potential changes to their everyday lives, challenges they think they might face postrelease, return to the community, cooperation with institutions, future employment, housing solutions and potential changes to certain aspects of their future lives.

All respondents were asked the same questions during the interview. However, a degree of flexibility was allowed by changing the question order if the respondent gave more than one answer to the question or asked sub-questions. Structured notes were used during the interview.

Ethical Considerations

Given the type of institution in which the research was carried out, special attention was given to ethical considerations. Participation was voluntary and each respondent was explained the research aim. Each respondent had signed the informed consent prior to the interview. Respondents were not asked personal data that could lead to direct identification. On the other hand, they did have to provide some basic personal information, such as age, time spent in prison and sentence length. Prior to the interview, respondents were told that they

Zatvorenice se nije pitalo za identifikacijske podatke, ali su im postavljena neka osobna pitanja kao što su dob, koliko dugo su do sada u kaznionici i duljina trajanja kazne. Zatvorenicama je prije intervjua naglašeno da u svakom trenutku mogu odustati od sudjelovanja u istraživanju te da ne moraju odgovoriti na pitanja na koja ne žele. Osim toga, zatvorenice su prije intervjua upoznate i s činjenicom da se njihovi odgovori moraju bilježiti pomoću papira i olovke s obzirom da Ministarstvo pravosuđa nije odobrilo korištenje diktafonom za pohranu podataka.

Intervjui su se provodili u prostorijama kaznionice, točnije u uredu voditelja Odjela osiguranja zbog ograničenih prostornih kapaciteta. Tijekom razgovora sa zatvorenicama, nitko od službenog osoblja nije bio prisutan, a zatvorenice su dolazile i odlazile u pratnji i prema uputama pravosudne policajke. Intervjue je provela studentica V. godine Studijskog centra socijalnog rada u svrhu prikupljanja podataka za izradu diplomskog rada. Studentica je tijekom petogodišnjeg studiranja odslušala relevantne kolegije koji joj omogućavaju provođenje intervjua s takvom specifičnom skupinom sudionica. Isto tako, studentica je od mentorice dobila naputke vezane uz provedbu intervjua. Intervjui su u prosjeku trajali oko 25 minuta. Najdulji intervju trajao je oko 50 minuta, a najkraći oko 20 minuta.

Obrada podataka

Prikupljeni podatci u ovom istraživanju obrađivani su pomoću tematske analize sadržaja (TCA). U literaturi se navodi da je tematska analiza sadržaja zapravo deskriptivna prezentacija kvalitativnih podataka koji su prikupljeni i koji imaju formu tekstualnog transkripta ili drugog tekstualnog oblika (Anderson, 2007). Dobiveni podatci oblikovani su u transkript, a izjave sudionica su kodirane. Izjave sudionica

could withdraw from the survey at any point and refuse to answer the questions they did not want to answer. In addition, prior to the interview, they were informed that their answers had to be registered by using the pen-and-paper method because the Ministry of Justice did not allow the use of sound recording devices for data collection.

The interviews were conducted in the premises of the penitentiary, i.e. in the office of the Head of the Security Department due to limited space. No one from the staff was present during the interview with female convicts. The respondents came and went accompanied by the female judicial police officer and acted in accordance with her instructions. The interviews were conducted by a female student in the fifth year of study at the Social Work Study Centre who was collecting the data in preparation for her thesis. During her studies, she had attended the relevant courses that allowed her to carry out interviews with this, rather specific, group of respondents. Furthermore, she was given instructions for interview structure from her mentor. On average, the interviews were 25 minutes long. The longest one took approximately 50 minutes, the shortest one some 20 minutes.

Data Processing

The collected data was processed by applying the thematic content analysis (TCA). According to the literature, TCA is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data that take the form of interview transcripts collected from research participants or other identified texts (Anderson 2007). A transcript was created on the basis of the obtained data and the respondents' statements were coded. Respondents' statements important for the research aim and questions were grouped in codes based on similarity. In the next step, if they were similar and if they

koje su bitne za cilj i istraživačka pitanja po sličnosti grupirani su u manje jedinice, kodove. Kodovi su zatim po sličnosti i pripadanju istim područjima međusobno povezani u veće jedinice, kategorije. Na kraju su iz kategorija razlučene teme.

REZULTATI I RASPRAVA

Percepcija vlastite budućnosti

Svaka osoba ima različitu percepciju i viđenje svoje budućnosti. Sudionice ovog istraživanja opisujući viđenje svoje budućnosti nakon izlaska iz kaznionice istaknule su sljedeća područja:

- skladan obiteljski život
- sudjelovanje na tržištu rada
- integracija u društvo
- promjena životne sredine
- povratak u rutinu
- rad na sebi
- neizvjesna budućnost.

Skladan obiteljski život

Na aktualnu obiteljsku klimu svakako utječu i akutne životne krize i stresovi (Wagner Jakab, 2008), a boravak člana obitelji u zatvoru svakako je jedan od njih. Sve sudionice prilikom razgovora dotaknule su se teme obitelji i spomenule pojedine članove svoje obitelji.

Većina sudionica istraživanja navodi da **nakon izlaska iz kaznionice planira više vremena provoditi s članovima svoje obitelji**, a posebno s djecom („Budem više vremena provodila s obitelji“), te da se **nakon izlaska iz kaznionice žele brinuti za svoju djecu i druge članove obitelji** („...gledat ću prvenstveno na sebe i svoju obitelj.“ (7)).

belonged to the same area, the codes were linked into larger units - categories. Finally, topics were extracted from the categories.

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Perceptions of Own Future

Each individual will have a different perception and view of his or her future. When describing their views of future after release, respondents pointed to these areas:

- harmonious family life,
- integration in the labor market,
- social integration,
- change of social environment,
- getting back into a routine,
- self-improvement,
- uncertain future.

Harmonious Family Life

The family environment at any given moment is affected by current life crises and stress (Wagner Jakab, 2008). Undoubtedly, imprisonment of a family member represents such a situation. During the interviews, all respondents made a reference to their families and mentioned their family members.

The majority of respondents stated that, **upon release, they planned to spend more time with their family members**, and their children in particular (“I’ll spend more time with my family.”) and **look after their children and other family members** (“... I will put priority on myself and my family.” (7)).

Several respondents stressed that they wanted to have better family ties in the future and after their release, i.e. they wanted **their families to function in a better way** (“...and yes... I

Nekoliko sudionica istaknulo je želju da im odnosi unutar obitelji u budućnosti i nakon njihova izlaska iz kaznionice budu bolji, tj. **da obitelj bolje funkcionira** („...i da ... želim da sa partnerom, tj. suprugom budemo normalna obitelj i da sve funkcionira najnormalnije.” (4)).

Za odnose s članovima obitelji nakon otpusta vrlo važno je i kakva je komunikacija i odnos dok je član obitelji na izdržavanju kazne zatvora. Rezultati istraživanja Šućur i Žakman Ban (2005) provedenog u Kaznionici Požega na uzorku od 30 žena, pokazali su da čak 90% ispitanica odnose sa članovima obitelji opisuju dobrima, dok nijedna ispitanica odnose nije opisala lošima. Također, 96,7% ispitanica navelo je da očekuje da će nakon izlaska iz zatvora živjeti s članovima svoje obitelji. Ipak, pojedina istraživanja pokazala su da žene nakon dolaska kući imaju više konflikata s članovima obitelji od muškaraca, a posebno s intimnim partnerima (La Vigne, Brooks i Shollenberger, 2009). Nakon izlaska iz kaznionice ženama je svakako potrebna pomoć i podrška društva da na neki način očuvaju svoje obitelji (Bašić, 2014). Osim toga, vrlo često su majke zatvorenice suočene i s iskustvom traume, ovisnosti, zlostavljanja, psihičkih poremećaja, društvenom isključenosti i s narušenim obiteljskim i partnerskim odnosima što svakako utječe i na adekvatno ispunjavanje roditeljske uloge i skrbi za djecu (Garcia Coll i sur., 1998, prema Bašić, 2014).

Sudjelovanje na tržištu rada

Važan preduvjet uspješne reintegracije u društvenu zajednicu predstavlja zapošljavanje. Pronalaskom posla i ostvarivanjem vlastitih prihoda bivši zatvorenici i na drugim područjima života mogu ostvarivati uspjehe, stječu radno iskustvo, postaju punopravni članovi zajednice, ali i stječu naviku odgovornosti prema radnom mjestu (Maloić i sur., 2012; Mataija, 2014, prema Lončar, 2016).

want us to be a normal family, together with my partner / husband and I would like everything to function in a normal way.” (4)).

To maintain healthy family ties, communication and approach are extremely important if one family member is imprisoned. Findings of the research carried out by Šućur and Žakman Ban (2005) in the Požega Penitentiary on a sample of 30 women indicated that as many as 90% of respondents described their family ties as good, whereas not a single respondent indicated that they were poor. In addition, 96.7% of respondents said they expected to live with their family members postrelease. However, some research suggests that, compared with men, women returning home from prison are more likely to enter into conflict with other family members, and their intimate partners in particular. Women leaving prison definitely need help and social support to keep their families (Bašić, 2014). Also, imprisoned mothers often have experiences of trauma, addiction, abuse, mental disorders, social exclusion and damaged family and partner relationships and these factors have a huge impact on their ability to fulfil parental roles and take care of their children (Garcia Coll et al., 1998, as cited in Bašić, 2014).

Integration in the Labor Market

Employment is an important precondition of successful re-integration into wider social community. Finding a job and earning their own income means that former convicts can have success, acquire work experience, become fully involved in the community and gain work responsibility (Maloić et al., 2012; Mataija, 2014, as cited in Lončar, 2016).

Almost all respondents stated that they planned to **find a job postrelease** (“*Well, I hope I’ll find a job of some sort once I’m out...*” (1)). Be-

Skoro sve zatvorenice izjavile su da svoju budućnost nakon izlaska zamišljaju i tako što planiraju **pronalazak zaposlenja** („*Pa naći ću valjda neki posao kada izađem...*“ (1)). Osim toga, neke zatvorenice naglasile su da **planiraju otvoriti same svoj obrt i na taj način se zapravo same zaposliti** („*...otvorit ću ja taj lokal sigurno.*“ (2)) ili se **planiraju vratiti poslovima koje su radile** („*Bavit ću se svojim poslom kojim sam se bavila i prije.*“ (4)).

Iz izjava zatvorenica može se zaključiti da skoro sve planiraju nakon izlaska naći zaposlenje i na taj način riješiti brigu za vlastitu egzistenciju, ali samim time i egzistenciju svoje obitelji i bližnjih. Zatvorenice su istaknule da su im **poslovi na kojima rade tijekom izdržavanja kazne zatvora korisni** („*...par puta je ona spomenula da bi imala trafikku, ja ovdje radim u kantini. Sad mislim da bi i nju mogla potaknuti.*“ (2)). Pronalazak zaposlenja nakon otpusta iz zatvora, a samim time i pronalazak stabilnog i adekvatnog izvora primanja važan je čimbenik uspješne resocijalizacije u zajednici i prevencija recidivizma (Gendreau i sur., 1998, prema Jukić i Sabljo, 2017). Pojedina istraživanja pokazala su da su zaposlenje i dostatna primanja povezana s nižim stopama recidiva, dok nedovoljna primanja vode do češćih ilegalnih načina zarade (Travis, Solomon i Waul, 2001).

Neka od istraživanja (La Vigne i sur., 2009). pokazala su i da cilj pronalaženja i zadržavanja posla tijekom prvih par mjeseci nakon izlaska za većinu žena ostaje nedostižan. Teži pronalazak zaposlenja u kombinaciji s manjom financijskom potporom članova obitelji može ženama znatno otežavati ispunjavanje svakodnevnih financijskih potreba (La Vigne i sur., 2009). Izloženost radnim obvezama pomaže u procesu prilagodbe na zatvorsku kaznu, ali bi trebao pomoći i u lakšem i bržem pronalasku zaposlenja nakon izlaska (Hamlyni i Lewis, 2000, prema Jukić i Sabljo, 2017). Korisnost radnih

sides, some of them said they were planning to **start up their own business and thus become self-employed** (“*I’ll open that bar for sure.*“ (2)), or else they were **planning return to previous work** (“*I’ll do the same thing I did before prison.*“ (4)).

These statements indicate that nearly all respondents were planning to gain employment after release and thus show that they care for meeting their day-to-day needs and, by the same token, needs of their family members. Female prisoners emphasized that **they found useful the tasks they had been assigned during the period of incarceration** (“*...she mentioned several times that she would like to open a kiosk, I work at the dining area here. I think I can encourage her.*“ (2)). Finding a job and thus finding adequate and stable source of income postrelease represents an important factor of successful re-socialization into the community and reduces the risk of re-offending (Gendreau et al., 1998, as cited in Jukić and Sabljo, 2017). Some research has shown that employment and sufficient income correlate with low reoffending rates. On the other hand, insufficient income may, more frequently, result in illegal practices of making money (Travis, Solomon and Waul, 2001).

Also, selected research (La Vigne et al., 2009) has demonstrated that, for the majority of women, finding and keeping a job in the first couple of months after release remains an unattainable goal. Difficulties in finding a job, coupled with poor financial support from other family members, may pose substantial problems for women in making their ends meet (La Vigne et al., 2009). Responsibilities at work may facilitate adaptation to imprisonment, but they should also increase former prisoners’ chances of finding a job more easily and soon after getting out of the prison (Hamlyni and Lewis, 2000, as cited in Jukić and Sabljo, 2017). Bene-

programa tijekom izdržavanja kazne zatvora potvrđuje i istraživanje (Marilyn i sur., 2007, prema Jukić i Sabljo, 2017) na više od 600 zatvorenika koje je pokazalo da su se zatvorenici koji su sudjelovali u programu *Prison Industry Enhancement Certification Program* puno rjeđe vraćali kriminalu te su uglavnom brže pronašli posao nakon izlaska iz zatvora.

Integracija u društvo

Većina zatvorenica prilikom razgovora izjavila je da nakon izlaska iz zatvora želi prestati s druženjem sa starim društvom jer je na neki način društvo bilo i čimbenik koji je dodatno poticao njihov kriminalitet, stoga žele **promijeniti svoju društvenu okolinu** („*Maknuti se lošeg društva. Loše društvo je meni i smjestilo zatvor.*“ (1)).

Također, većina zatvorenica spomenula je i to da će u budućnosti, nakon izlaska **suradivati s određenim institucijama** („*Centar za prevenciju ovisnosti, CZSS, probacija...to su sigurno koje ću tražit'...*“ (7)). Iako su pojedine zatvorenice tijekom razgovora istaknule da su imale negativna iskustva s pojedinim institucijama, a najviše sa Centrom za socijalnu skrb svejedno se planiraju nakon izlaska javiti institucijama za koje smatraju da im mogu pomoći te onim institucijama kojima se moraju javljati.

Za uspješnu integraciju u društvo ključna je i želja za promjenom. Skoro sve zatvorenice izjavile su da u budućnosti planiraju promijeniti neke aspekte svog života te da definitivno žele neku promjenu („*...neću raditi ove probleme koje sam radila. Ma, stabilizirat ću život.*“ (1)).

Upravo resocijalizacija ima za cilj omogućiti zatvoreniku nakon izdržane kazne ponovnu integraciju u širu društvenu zajednicu i učiniti ga funkcionalnim pojedincem unutar raznih socijalnih struktura i grupa kao što su obitelj, prijatelji i posao. U posljednje vrijeme u litera-

fits of the employment-program for prisoners have been backed by the research (Marilyn et al., 2007, as cited in Jukić and Sabljo, 2017) carried out on a sample of over 600 prisoners that has shown that re-offending rates among prisoners covered by the *Prison Industry Enhancement Certification Program* (PIECP) were significantly lower compared with the other group. Plus, in general, they found jobs after release more quickly than their counterparts.

Social integration

Most of the respondents stated that they intended to stop spending time with the old company after leaving prison, that company being in some way a factor that further encouraged their criminal behavior, so they wanted to **change their social environment** (“*Move away from bad company. It was bad company that landed me in prison.*“ (1)).

Additionally, most respondents also mentioned that in the future, after release, they would **cooperate with certain institutions** („*Addiction Prevention Center, Social Welfare Center, Probation... these institutions I will definitely contact...*“ (7)). While some prisoners pointed out that, while they had had negative experiences with some institutions, mostly with the Social Welfare Center, they still planned to address the institutions they think can help them, and those institutions to which they have to report to postrelease.

A **desire for change** is also crucial for successful integration into society. Almost all female prisoners stated that they planned to change some aspects of their lives in the future and that they definitely wanted some change (“*...I'm not going to make the same old problems. I'm going to stabilize my life.*“ (1)).

Precisely resocialization aims to enable prisoners to reintegrate into the wider community upon

turi može se naći sve više istraživanja koja su usmjerena na proučavanje djelovanja kazne zatvora, ali ipak nema potpunog slaganja u spoznajama o načinima rada (Bonta i Gendreau, 1990, prema Jukić i Sabljo, 2017). Ipak, danas se humanistički koncept smatra jednim od temeljnih načela rada sa štićenicima bilo koje totalne institucije (Ogrizović, 1956; Coyle, 1994, Knežević, 2007, prema Jukić i Sabljo, 2017).

Stručno djelovanje ostvaruje se i različitim programima tijekom izdržavanja kazne zatvora koji bi trebali biti individualizirani, sadržajno prilagođeni počinitelju/ici kaznenog djela jer je svaka osoba i specifičan biopsihosocijalni sustav (Mejovšek, 2002, prema Farkaš i Žakman Ban, 2006). Da bi se resocijalizacija i socijalna integracija uspješno provele, potrebno je fokus staviti i na konstruktivne aktivnosti, na održavanje i ostvarivanje redovitih kontakata s vanjskim svijetom, ali i na pomoć i podršku tijekom pripreme i nakon izlaska na slobodu (Maloić, Ricijaš i Rajić, 2015).

Promjena životne sredine

Neke od zatvorenica u budućnosti planiraju promijeniti životnu sredinu i nakon izlaska **napustiti Republiku Hrvatsku** („... žao mi je što ću to sada reći, ali što dalje od Hrvatske...” (4)), a neke su istaknule da nakon izlaska iz zatvora žele živjeti u miru, u mirnijoj okolini nego prije („Bila bi u nekom miru. Hoću tamo gdje je strogi mir, gdje nema halabuke.” (8)).

Povratak u rutinu

Većina zatvorenica koje su sudjelovale u istraživanju navodi da misle da će nakon izlaska, u budućnosti **nastaviti život kakav je bio i prije dolaska u kaznionicu** te da se ništa posebno neće promijeniti („Nastavit ću i dalje kako je bilo, nastaviti ću neki normalan život. Ne bih ja ništa drugo mijenjala.” (1)). Neke zatvorenice

release and make them functional individuals within various social structures and groups such as family, friends and work. Recently, more research in the literature is focused on studying the effects of imprisonment, but there is still no complete agreement in the knowledge about methods of work (Bonta and Gendreau, 1990, as cited in Jukić and Sabljo, 2017). Nevertheless, the humanistic concept is considered today to be one of the fundamental principles of working with inmates of any total institution (Ogrizović, 1956; Coyle, 1994, Knežević, 2007, as cited in Jukić and Sabljo, 2017).

Professional assistance is also provided through various programs during incarceration, which should be individualized and their content adjusted to the perpetrator because each person is a specific biopsychosocial system (Mejovšek, 2002, as cited in Farkaš and Žakman Ban, 2006). In order for resocialization and social integration to be successful, it is necessary to focus on constructive activities, maintaining and establishing regular contacts with the outside world, but also on help and support during the preparation for and after release (Maloić, Ricijaš and Rajić, 2015).

Change of Social Environment

Some female prisoners plan to change their environment in the future and **leave the Republic of Croatia** after release (“...I'm sorry to be saying this, but as far away from Croatia as possible...” (4)), while some pointed out that, upon release, they wanted to **live in peace, in a more peaceful environment than before** (“I want to live in peace. Some place where there is utter peace, where there is no fuss.” (8)).

Getting Back into a Routine

Most of the prisoners who took part in the research believe that in the future, after release,

žele što prije **zaboraviti iskustvo boravka u kaznionici** („*Nadam se da ću čim prije zaboravit' ovaj dio života, boravka u ovoj instituciji.*“ (4)). S obzirom da je za većinu zatvorenika iskustvo boravka u zatvoru vrlo stresan period u životu, razumljivo je da žele taj dio svojeg života što prije zaboraviti nakon izlaska.

Rad na sebi

Nekoliko zatvorenica izjasnilo se prilikom intervjua da se u budućnosti žele **brinuti za svoje zdravlje** („*da sam ja zdrava i da me mozak služi u skladu s godinama...*“ (6)). Briga za zdravlje, sportske aktivnosti i hobije, svakako pridonosi smanjenju stresa, ali je i konstruktivan način provođenja slobodnog vremena što svakako može biti i jedan od čimbenika za smanjenje mogućnosti recidivizma.

Neke zatvorenice navele su da će u budućnosti o nečemu imati **drukčije mišljenje** („*Neću biti naivna i povjerljiva, to će se drastično promijeniti.*“ (4)).

Neke planiraju raditi i na **razvijanju samopouzdanja** („*...definitivno ću radit' na sebi da se ne dovedem u tu situaciju, radit malo i na samopouzdanju i to...*“ (6)).

Neizvjesna budućnost

Gotovo sve zatvorenice **iščekuju izlazak iz kaznionice** („*Uzbuđena, samo jedva čekam da čim prije izađem.*“ (3)). Zatvorenice su navodile i da im se javlja **osjećaj nesigurnosti** kada pomišljaju na svoju budućnost nakon izlaska („*Nisam euforična moram priznati, onoliko koliko se radujem, toliko se i bojim, nesigurno je sve...*“ (5)). S obzirom da nam je budućnost nepoznata i da nepoznato uglavnom izaziva osjećaj nesigurnosti i neugode (Cifrić, 1994), sasvim je i razumljivo da sudionice istraživanja izražavaju osjećaj nesigurnosti. Ipak, njihovoj

they will **continue their lives as they had been before their arrival in prison** and that nothing special will change (“*I will go on with life as it was, continue a normal life. I would not change anything else.*“ (1)). Some female prisoners want to **forget the experience of imprisonment** as soon as possible. (“*I hope to forget this part of my life, staying in this institution, as soon as possible.*“ (4)). Given that for most prisoners the experience of being in prison is a very stressful period, it is understandable that they want to forget that part of their life as soon as possible postrelease.

Self-Improvement

Several respondents stated that, in the future, they wanted to **care about their health** (“*being healthy and having my brain serve me as it should at my age...*“ (6)). Caring about health through hobbies and sports activities certainly contributes to combating stress, while also representing a constructive way of spending free time, which can certainly be one of the factors for reducing the possibility of recidivism.

Some female prisoners noted that they would have a **different opinion** about some things in the future (“*I will not be naive and gullible any more, that will change drastically.*“ (4)).

Some also plan to work on **developing self-confidence** (“*...I will definitely work on myself to avoid getting into this situation, work on self-confidence a little...*“ (6)).

Uncertain Future

Nearly all female prisoners **await being released** (“*I'm so excited, I just can't wait to get out as soon as possible.*“ (3)). The respondents also mentioned the **feeling of insecurity** when thinking about their future after release (“*I'm not euphoric, I must admit. As much as I look*

nesigurnosti zasigurno su uzroci brojni izazovi i problemi koje su navele u drugim odgovorima te svakako i sama činjenica izlaska na slobodu što predstavlja dodatan stres.

Osim toga, navode i da **ne mogu ili pak ne žele unaprijed planirati budućnost** („*Ne planiram ja unaprijed jer od toga niš'...*” (3)). Iskustvo boravka u zatvoru i njihova prošlost zasigurno su neki od čimbenika zbog kojih ne žele preterano planirati jer time riskiraju neostvarene planove koji bi mogli dovesti do razočaranja.

Očekivanja i izazovi nakon otpusta

Izlazak iz penalne ustanove izazov je za zatvorenika/zatvorenicu, ali i za zajednicu u koju dolazi živjeti. Nakon izlaska, brojni su izazovi s kojima se zatvorenici moraju suočiti te je iznimno bitno saznati njihovu perspektivu i razmišljanja o mogućim izazovima. Ta saznanja mogu biti korisna za unapređenje i bolju prilagodbu programa za otpust potrebama zatvorenika i zatvorenica koji izlaze na slobodu.

Sudionice ovog istraživanja navele su izazove u nekoliko područja s kojima će se nakon izlaska iz kaznionice suočiti:

- financijski problemi
- stigmatizacija
- socijalno okruženje
- mogućnost recidiva
- povratak u rutinu.

Financijski problemi

Razmišljajući o mogućim izazovima, većina zatvorenica navodi da se brine i izazov im predstavlja **pronalazak zaposlenja** („*Čak i u poslovnom smislu ima teškoća, tko će te zaposliti? Tko će bivšeg robijaša kak' se veli?*” (4)). Nadalje, izazov im predstavlja i njihova **financijska si-**

forward to it, I am also afraid, everything is so uncertain...” (5)). Considering that we cannot know the future, and that the unknown mainly causes a feeling of insecurity and discomfort (Cifrić, 1994), it is quite understandable that the respondents express a feeling of uncertainty. However, their insecurity is certainly caused by numerous challenges and problems that they mentioned in other responses, as well as by the very fact of their release, representing an additional stress.

In addition, they state that they **cannot or do not want to plan for the future in advance** (“*I don't plan ahead because that never matters...*” (3)). The experience of incarceration and their past are certainly among the factors that make them unwilling to over-plan thus risking unfulfilled plans, which can lead to disappointment.

Expectations and Challenges after Release

Release is a challenge not only for the prisoner, but also for the community in which he/she comes to live. Once out of prison, a number of challenges arises and prisoners have to face them. It is thus extremely important to find out their perspectives and thoughts on possible challenges. That knowledge can be useful in improving and better adapting release programs to the needs of prisoners to be released.

The respondents listed the challenges in several areas they will face after leaving prison:

- financial problems,
- stigmatization,
- social environment,
- possibility of reoffending,
- getting back into a routine.

tuacija („Pa prvo s financijskom stvarnošću što se meni i dogodilo na prethodnoj kazni.” (6)).

Iz ovakvih odgovora može se zaključiti da su sudionice svjesne da im njihov dosje može predstavljati poteškoću pri pronalasku posla, što je povezano sa stigmatizacijom bivših zatvorenika i zatvorenica. Upravo stigmatizacija dodatno otežava pronalazak posla, a rezultati jedne studije (Holzer i sur., 2001; Visher i sur., 2004, prema Lončar, 2016) provedene na 3000 poslodavaca pokazali su da više od polovice uključenih poslodavaca ne bi zaposlilo kandidata s kriminalnim dosjeom, da jedna trećina poslodavaca provjerava kriminalnu povijest nedavno zaposlenih (Holzer i sur., 2001; Travis i sur., 2001, prema Lončar, 2016).

Stigmatizacija

Upravo su stigmatizaciju sudionice istraživanja navele kao još jedan izazov s kojim će se morati suočiti u budućnosti kao bivše zatvorenice. Navele su da se brinu i ujedno im izazov predstavlja **osuda okoline** („Osuda okoline najviše. Gle, ona bila u zatvoru. Posebno kad si u malom mjestu.” (4)).

Također, navode i da su svjesne predrasuda **koje postoje o ženama koje su bile na izdržavanju kazne zatvora** („Sigurno da ima ljudi s predrasudama i da će mnogi okrenut' glavu jel ima puno predrasuda prema ženama koje izađu, uvijek je ženama manje dopušteno, oni nekako sve mogu i više im se tolerira.” (5)).

Žene koje su bile na izdržavanju kazne zatvora nakon izlaska vrlo često suočavaju se s predrasudama jer se kriminalitet žena u većini kriminaloloških radova promatra samo usputno, ali i zbog činjenice da su tijekom cijele povijesti u činjenju kaznenih djela zapravo dominirali muškarci (Lange, 1970; Singer, 1994:166, prema Belušić, 2003). Osim toga, muškarci i žene razlikuju se i po tradicionalnim rodnim očeki-

Financial Problems

Thinking about possible challenges, most female prisoners point out that they are concerned about the challenge of **finding a job** (“Even when it comes to work, there are difficulties, I mean, who will hire you? Who wants a former convict, as they call us?” (4)). Furthermore, their **financial situation** poses another challenge. (“Well, let’s start with the financial reality, which is what happened to me after I was released last time.” (6)).

Such responses lead to a conclusion that the participants are aware that their file may make it difficult for them to find a job, which is associated with stigmatization of former prisoners, both male and female. It is stigmatization that makes it even more difficult for them to find a job, and the results of a study (Holzer et al., 2001; Visher et al., 2004, as cited in Lončar, 2016) conducted on 3000 employers indicated that more than half of the employers involved would not hire a candidate with a criminal record, and that one third of the employers checked the criminal history of recent employees (Holzer et al., 2001; Travis et al., 2001, as cited in Lončar, 2016).

Stigmatization

It is stigmatization that the respondents cited as another challenge they would have to face in the future as former convicts. They said they were concerned and also challenged by the **condemnation of the environment**. (“Condemnation of the environment the most. Look at her, she was in prison. Especially when you live in a small town.” (4)).

They also state that they are aware of the prejudices **that exist about women who have served prison sentences** (“Certainly there are people with prejudices and many will turn their heads as there is a lot of prejudice against wom-

vanjima pa se žene s kriminalnom poviješću različito percipira od muškaraca koji su počinili kazneno djelo (Garcia Coll i sur., 1998, prema Bašić, 2014). Upravo zbog te različitosti trebalo bi svakako primjenjivati različite modele rehabilitacije i intervencije te specificirati odnos prema ženama i muškarcima na izdržavanju kazne zatvora kao prema dvjema odvojenim skupinama (Bašić, 2014).

Socijalno okruženje

Socijalno okruženje može biti izvor podrške, ali ujedno predstavljati i još jedan izazov s kojim se zatvorenice moraju suočiti nakon izlaska na slobodu.

Zatvorenice navode kao izazov **odnose s članovima obitelji** (*„...a i brine me kako će biti kada izađem sve to s njima...”* (1)), a neke od zatvorenica posebno su naglasile da će im veliki izazov biti provođenje više vremena s obitelji, tj. **nadoknada vremena koje su provele u kaznionici** (*„S djecom moram nadoknaditi vrijeme, to je duplo teže sada...morala bi nadoknaditi tri godine...”* (4)).

Istraživanje provedeno s roditeljima zatvorenicima i njihovom djecom (Davies i sur., 2008) pokazalo je da majčino izdržavanje kazne zatvora za dijete predstavlja veću traumu u odnosu kada je na izdržavanju kazne otac. Tome je uzrok činjenica da su u takvim slučajevima uglavnom majke bile djetetovi primarni skrbnici i imale su veću ulogu u brizi i njezi djeteta prije dolaska u zatvor te zbog toga njihovo izdržavanje kazne zatvora ostavlja veći trag i u većoj mjeri restrukturira obiteljski život.

Jačanje socijalnih i obiteljskih veza svakako pomaže i kod osobnog rasta i razvoja, ali i usvajanja prihvatljivih obrazaca ponašanja i života na slobodi u skladu s normama društva i aktualnim zakonima (Maloić i sur., 2012; Mataija, 2014, prema Lončar, 2016). Pri tome, svakako

en who come out of prison. Women are always allowed less, men can somehow do anything and are tolerated more.” (5)).

Women who have served prison sentences very often face prejudice on release because criminality of women in most criminological works is observed only incidentally, but also due to the fact that throughout history crime was actually dominated by men (Lange, 1970; Singer, 1994:166, as cited in Belušić, 2003). Besides, men and women also differ in traditional gender expectations, so women with a criminal history are perceived differently from men who have committed a crime (Garcia Coll et al., 1998, as cited in Bašić, 2014). Because of this difference, different models of rehabilitation and intervention should certainly be applied and the treatment of women and men serving prison sentences should be specified as the treatment of two separate groups (Bašić, 2014).

Social Environment

The social environment can be a source of support, but can also present another challenge that female prisoners have to face upon release.

Female prisoners cite **relationships with family members** as a challenge (*“...I’m also worried about what things will be like with them when I get out...”* (1)), with some emphasizing that spending more time with family, i.e. **making up for the time they spent in prison**, will pose a big challenge for them (*“I’ll have to make up for lost time with my children, it is twice as difficult now... I should make up for three years...”* (4)).

A study conducted with prisoners who are parents and their children (Davies et al., 2008) showed that the mother’s imprisonment represents a greater trauma for the child compared to the father serving a sentence. This is due to the fact that, in such cases, the mothers normally were the children’s primary caregivers

je bitno više pažnje i podrške pružiti i bliskim osobama zatvorenica koje su na slobodi jer većina programa koji postoje namijenjeni su i usredotočeni na osobu koja je u zatvoru pri čemu se često ne uzimaju potrebe bliskih osoba na slobodi. Dosadašnja istraživanja pokazala su da su zatvorenici koji su tijekom izdržavanja kazne održavali bliske odnose s obitelji bili uspješniji nakon izdržavanja kazne i izlaska na slobodu (Clements, 1986; Hairston, 1987, prema Parke i Clarke Stewart, 2002).

Stigmatizaciju dodatno može pogoršavati i život u maloj sredini što su zatvorenice prilikom intervjua i spomenule („*Bit će jako teško to sve s njima jer živim u maloj sredini...*” (7)). Zatvorenice su navele i da žele **nastaviti školovanje**, što je svakako jedan osobni izazov („*Želim završiti četvrti stupanj. Završila sam tri godine trgovačke, a htjela sam četverogodišnju. Ne znam kako, al' valjda hoću...*” (7)) pri čemu je upravo podrška socijalne okoline bitna, ali i resursi zajednice u koju će se vratiti.

Neke navode da će **im biti vrlo lako prilagoditi se** životu nakon izlaska, životu u svom socijalnom okruženju i životu na slobodi općenito („*Mislim da ću se jako brzo prilagoditi na sve kada izađem.*” (2)). Unatoč tomu što je mogućnost prilagodbe naslijeđeno svojstvo, izražavanje prilagodbe ovisi o mnogim doživljajima u životu pojedinca, a stresne reakcije upućuju na mehanizam prilagodbe kojima se pojedinac koristi da bi održao ili pak ponovno uspostavio stanje ravnoteže (Farkaš i Žakman Ban, 2006). Boravak u zatvoru svakako predstavlja stres za pojedinca, ali i izlazak na slobodu.

and had a bigger role in providing care and looking after the children prior to their arrival in prison, and, as a result, their imprisonment leaves a greater mark and restructures family life to a larger extent.

Strengthening social and family ties certainly helps with personal growth and development, as well as with adopting acceptable patterns of behavior and life upon release in accordance with social norms and laws (Maloić et al., 2012; Mataija, 2014, as cited in Lončar, 2016). At the same time, it is certainly important to provide more attention and support to female prisoners' close persons outside of prison, as most of the existing programs are intended and focused on the person in prison, often not taking into account the needs of close persons outside of prison. Previous research has shown that prisoners who maintained close relationships with their families while serving their sentences were more successful after being released (Clements, 1986; Hairston, 1987, as cited in Parke and Clarke Stewart, 2002).

Stigmatization can be further exacerbated by **life in a small community**, which the respondents pointed out during the interviews, („*It will be very difficult, all that with them, because I live in a small community...*” (7)). The prisoners also stated that they wanted to **continue their education**, which is certainly a personal challenge („*I want to finish the fourth grade. I finished three years of trade school, although I wanted four years. I don't know how, but I guess I'll manage somehow...*” (7)), where support of the social environment is important, as well as the resources of the community to which they will return.

Some respondents believe that it **will be very easy for them to adjust to life upon release**, living in their social environment and in freedom in general. („*I think I will adapt very quickly to everything when I come out.*” (2)). Despite the

Mogućnost recidiva

Još jedan veliki izazov s kojim će se pojedine zatvorenice morati suočiti je i mogućnost recidiva, tj. ponovno činjenje kaznenog djela.

Neke od njih navode da će im veliki izazov i borba biti **donošenje odluke što dalje**, hoće li nastaviti s onim što su radile prije dolaska u zatvor i što ih je zapravo dovelo tu ili pak neka druga opcija, što su neke od njih i naglasile više puta tijekom razgovora („*Vidim to na način da ću se morat' svojski potruditi i uložiti brigu da ne napravim kazneno djelo. Ne smijem smetnut' s uma posljedice koje nosi ukoliko želim ostat' na slobodi.*” (6)). Također, neke od sudionica istraživanja navele su i da ih pri tome očekuje i povratak u okolinu te pri tome i **kontakti sa starim društvom**, ljudima s kojima su se družile („*Znam samo ljude koji su u tome... Kada ih počnem izbjegavat', prijateljstvo će puknut' ja mislim.*” (7)).

Prekidanje prijateljskih veza vrlo često nije jednostavno i nije lako, a pogotovo ako su te osobe bile jedine s kojima se osoba družila prije dolaska u kaznionicu. Vrlo važno je da se tijekom izdržavanja kazne zatvorenicama tretmanom ukaže da društvo i okolina imaju iznimno velik utjecaj na mogućnost ponovnog recidiva, što se prema navedenim izjavama ovih zatvorenica vjerojatno i učinilo tijekom dosadašnjeg izdržavanja kazne i uključenosti u tretman.

Jedan od izazova za pojedine zatvorenice je i **apstinencija od određenih sredstava ovisnosti** („*Ja ću se morat' suočit' s konzumacijom kokaina, morat' ću se suočit'... to je generalno bio moj problem.*” (6)). Upravo je ovisnost vrlo često jedan od velikih izazova s kojima se bivše zatvorenice moraju suočiti nakon izlaska. Podatci jednog istraživanja pokazali su da su zatvorenice vrlo često svjesne činjenice da im ovisnost o drogama može biti jedan od razloga

fact that the capacity for adaptation is an inherited trait, the expression of adaptation depends on many experiences in an individual's life, and stress reactions indicate the mechanism of adaptation used by an individual to maintain or restore balance (Farkaš and Žakman Ban, 2006). Imprisonment certainly represents a stress for an individual, and so does release.

Possibility of Reoffending

Another major challenge that some female prisoners will have to face is the possibility of recidivism, i.e. reoffending.

Some state that their big challenge and struggle will be **deciding on how to go on**, whether to continue with what they did before coming to prison and what actually brought them there or some other option, which some of them emphasized several times during the interview („*As I see it, I'll have to do my best and make sure I don't commit another crime. I mustn't forget the consequences if I want to stay free.*” (6)). In addition, some of the respondents stated that what awaited them was a return to the environment and **contacts with the old company**, the people they hung out with („*I only know the people who are in it... When I start avoiding them, the friendships will break up, I think.*” (7)).

Breaking up with friends is often not simple and easy, especially if those people were the only ones the person spent time with before incarceration. It is very important that prisoners are shown through treatment that society and the environment have an extremely big impact on the possibility of recidivism, which, according to the statements made by the participating female prisoners, was probably done during the imprisonment and involvement in treatment.

One of the challenges for some female prisoners is **abstinence from certain addictive substances** („*I'll have to deal with my cocaine*

zbog kojeg će se vratiti opet u zatvor (Cobbina i Bender, 2012).

Povratak u rutinu

Zatvorenice su navele su da će im prilagodba predstavljati još jedan izazov, s naglaskom na **prilagodbu na slobodu** („*Mislim da se većina žena mora prilagoditi na vanjske probleme na slobodi. Možda ću se i ja morati.*” (2)).

Također, pojedine zatvorenice naglasile su i da će im izazov svakako predstavljati i **rješavanje određenih problema koje moraju riješiti na slobodi** („*Pa ima jedna gospođa kod koje su moja djeca, to je moja svekrva... sada... to me brine, to je taj mali problem eto koji ja imam. Mislim, s tom gospođom se ja moram suočiti.*” (3)). Istraživanja su i pokazala da majke nakon izlaska iz zatvora očekuju da će odmah nastaviti sa svojom ulogom majke te često ne shvaćaju da se dijete možda i promijenilo nakon njihova odlaska i postalo odraslije. Upravo želja i motiviranost za traženjem skrbištva nakon izlaska vrlo često je posljedica toga da se majke koje su u zatvorskom sustavu snažno povezuju s ulogom majke, ali to ipak nije dovoljno. Potrebno je svakako prije otpusta ukazati im na poteškoće i moguće prepreke s kojima će se morati suočiti i koje mogu doživjeti nakon izlaska, a povezane su s ulogom roditelja (Baker i Carson, 1999, prema Kennon i sur., 2009).

Jedan od izazova za zatvorenice svakako je i **privikavanje na svakodnevni život izvan Kaznionice** u kojem nema strogog poštovanja pravila i rasporeda. Zatvorenice su se osvrnule na to tijekom razgovora navodeći da će im biti neobično živjeti bez stroge organiziranosti i rasporeda prema kojem život unutar Kaznionice funkcionira i na koji su se već naviknule („*Ovdje je ono, obroci kak' ti se daju, svaka minuta isplanirana, a doma opet ono...imaš u*

addiction, I'll have to deal with that... that was generally my problem.” (6)). Addiction is very often one of the great challenges that ex-prisoners have to face after their release. Data from a study show that female prisoners are often aware of the fact that their drug addiction may be one of the reasons they will return to prison (Cobbina and Bender, 2012).

Getting Back into a Routine

The respondents stated that adjustment would create another challenge for them, with an emphasis on **adjustment to freedom** (“*I think most women need to adjust to external problems in freedom. Maybe I will have to, as well.*” (2)).

Moreover, some female prisoners emphasized that **solving certain problems they need to solve in freedom** would pose another challenge (“*Well, there is a lady my children are living with, that's my mother-in-law... that fact worries me. That's the little problem I have. I mean, I have to deal with that lady.*” (3)). Research has shown that mothers expect to resume their role as mother immediately upon release, and often do not realize that the children may have changed after their departure and become more grown-up. The desire and motivation to seek custody upon release very often results from mothers in the prison system strongly associating with the role of mother, but this is still not enough. It is necessary to inform them prior to release about the difficulties and possible obstacles they will have to face and may experience after release, and which are related to the role of a parent (Baker and Carson, 1999, as cited in Kennon et al., 2009).

One of the challenges for female prisoners is certainly **getting used to everyday life outside prison**, where there is no strict adherence to rules and regulations. The respondents commented on this during the interviews, stating

loncu, uzmeš si kad hoćeš, kad ti se jede...ovdje nema...nije tako baš, sve nam je određeno." (4)).

I konačno izazov će im predstavljati i **usklađivanje postojećih obveza** koje imaju na slobodi („Teško će mi biti i uhvatiti taj ritam prije odlaska: kuća – posao, plus obveze još. Teško će mi bit' ući u taj ritam opet, u štos...biti na laptopu, kompu i mobu istovremeno, ući u taj radni dio jel." (4)).

OGRANIČENJA ISTRAŽIVANJA

Prilikom provedbe ovog istraživanja pojavile su se određene poteškoće koje je potrebno naglasiti zbog mogućih istraživanja slične tematike u budućnosti. Za provedbu istraživanja potrebno je bilo ishoditi odobrenje Ministarstva pravosuđa u kojemu je navedeno da snimanje pomoću diktafona nije dopušteno. S obzirom na populaciju koja je obuhvaćena ovim istraživanjem, takva odluka je sasvim razumljiva i u skladu sa zakonima, ali je predstavljala jednu od glavnih poteškoća za provedbu istraživanja. Naime, tijekom intervjua odgovori zatvorenica morali su se bilježiti ručno, pomoću papira i olovke što je provedbu otežavalo iz više razloga. Također, ovakvim načinom bilježenja odgovora, razgovor i komunikacija sa sudionicama bili su otežani jer pozornost onoga koji je vodio intervju nije bila usmjerena samo na verbalnu i neverbalnu komunikaciju sa sudionicama, nego i na bilježenje njihovih odgovora. Zbog toga, možda pojedini dijelovi neverbalne komunikacije nisu primijećeni.

Osim toga, prilikom provedbe istraživanja dodatna poteškoća bila je i ta što je Ministarstvo pravosuđa odobrilo jedan nacrt istraživanja s točno određenim pitanjima u intervjuu. Prije provedbe, naglašeno je bilo da se zatvorenicama mogu postavljati isključivo pitanja navedena u nacrtu te ništa osim onoga što je odobreno.

that it would be strange for them to live without the strict organization and schedule according to which life within the penitentiary works and to which they are accustomed (*"Here it's like, you get your meals, every single minute is planned, and then again... when you're back home, it's there, in your own pot, you eat it when you want it... unlike here, where everything is so much organized"* (4)).

Finally, it will be a challenge for them to **harmonize their obligations in freedom** (*"It will be difficult for me to catch up with that rhythm on release: home-work, plus more obligations. It will be tough for me to get into that rhythm again... laptop, computer and mobile at the same time, get into that work part."* (4)).

RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

In carrying out this survey, some difficulties arose that need to be highlighted due to possible research on a similar topic in the future. In order to carry out the survey, approval was required from the Ministry of Justice, which stated that recordings using sound recording devices were not permitted. Given the population covered, such a decision is perfectly understandable and in accordance with the law, but represented a major difficulty in carrying out the survey. Indeed, during the interviews, the prisoners' responses had to be noted by hand, using pen and paper, which made conducting them difficult for a number of reasons. That way of recording responses made talking and communicating with female prisoners difficult, as the interviewer's attention focused not only on verbal and non-verbal communication, but also on taking notes of the respondents' answers. As a result, some parts of non-verbal communication may not have been observed.

Problem je predstavljalo to što je kod nekih sudionica zbog nerazumijevanja pitanja bilo potrebno preformulirati.

Ograničenje istraživanja predstavlja i način odabira sudionica u uzorak jer su birane prema principu dobrovoljnosti i dostupnosti kao i činjenica da se prikazani rezultati ne mogu poopćavati na populaciju zatvorenica u Republici Hrvatskoj s obzirom da uzorak nije reprezentativan, ali i da se radi o kvalitativnom istraživanju koje ispituje pojedinačna iskustva pojedinaca. Ipak, prikazom rezultata ovog istraživanja nastojalo se pružiti barem djelomičan uvid u percepciju vlastite budućnosti zatvorenica u Republici Hrvatskoj, a posebno u izazove s kojima misle da će se suočiti nakon izlaska na slobodu.

ZAKLJUČNA RAZMATRANJA

Nakon prikupljanja i obrade podataka mogu se izvesti određeni zaključci o percepciji vlastite budućnosti zatvorenica koje su sudjelovale u ovom istraživanju. Prilikom pripreme nacrt istraživanja, postavljena su dva istraživačka pitanja na koje se željelo dobiti odgovor. Rezultati koje smo dobili u skladu su sa znanstvenim polazištima ekološke teorije sustava i teorije osnaživanja, kao i ranijih rezultata istraživanja provedenih na uzorku sudionica zatvorenica. Prema odgovorima sudionica može se zaključiti da su odgovori na dva postavljena istraživačka pitanja skoro pa identični i međusobno povezani. Naime, ono što je zatvorenicama percepcija budućnosti i kako zamišljaju svoju budućnosti ujedno im predstavlja i izazov s kojim smatraju da će se morati suočiti u budućnosti. Skoro sve zatvorenice navele su da u budućnosti žele provoditi više vremena s obitelji, a posebno s djecom te žele da im obitelj bolje funkcionira u budućnosti, ali to im ujedno predstavlja i izazov jer određeno vrijeme nisu boravile u

Another difficulty in carrying out the study was the fact that the Ministry of Justice approved a single draft survey with specific questions in the interview. Before the survey, it was specifically stressed that female prisoners could only be asked the questions set out in the draft and nothing else other than what had been approved. The problem was that some respondents could not understand some of the questions so they had to be reformulated.

Another limitation of the survey is the manner of sampling its participants as they were selected according to the principles of voluntariness and availability, as well as the fact that the results presented cannot be generalized to the population of female prisoners in the Republic of Croatia, the sample being unrepresentative, but also due to the fact that this is a qualitative study examining individual experiences. Still, presenting the results of this study sought to provide at least partial insights into female prisoners' perception of their own future in the Republic of Croatia, and in particular the challenges they think they will face upon release.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

After data has been collected and processed, some conclusions can be drawn about the perceptions of their own future by female prisoners who participated in this survey. When preparing the draft survey, two research questions were defined which were to be answered. The results we obtained are in line with the scientific starting points of the ecological system and empowerment theories, as well as the findings of previous research carried out on female prisoner samples. Looking at the respondents' answers, it can be concluded that the answers to the two research questions are almost identical and interlinked. Indeed, what female prisoners perceive as their future and

zajednici i u svojoj obitelji te se javlja osjećaj nesigurnosti i zabrinutosti kako će se ti odnosi nakon izlaska dalje razvijati.

Također, zatvorenice koje nemaju osigurano radno mjesto ili nisu u mirovini, nakon izlaska iz penalne institucije svakako planiraju tražiti zaposlenje ili same pokrenuti posao, ali svjesne su činjenice da osobe koje su bile na izdržavanju kazne zatvora teže pronalaze zaposlenje i smatraju to još jednim od izazova kao i osiguravanje dovoljno materijalnih sredstava za život nakon izlaska. Teži pronalazak zaposlenja povezan je s brojnim predrasudama i stigmatizacijom bivših zatvorenika te zatvorenice i to navode kao jedan od velikih izazova. Neke od zatvorenica posebno su istaknule veću stigmatizaciju žena koje su bile na izdržavanju kazne zatvora te smatraju da se žene moraju suočiti s više izazova, osudom okoline, a to se posebno ističe u manjim sredinama. Stoga neke od njih u budućnosti planiraju preseljenje izvan države. Preseljenje je svakako velika promjena kojom se okreće nova stranica u životu, a nekoliko zatvorenica navodi da što prije želi zaboraviti iskustvo boravka u zatvoru i što prije se vratiti u svoju rutinu. Povratak u rutinu žele skoro sve zatvorenice te navode da budućnost zamišljaju na način da se vrate životu kakav je bio prije dolaska u kaznionicu, ali smatraju to i izazovom zbog povratka svakodnevnim obvezama koje moraju usklađivati. Zatvorenice su napomenule kako će im biti teško naviknuti se na svakodnevni život bez strogih pravila i rasporeda kojega se moraju držati u kaznionici.

Ono što su skoro sve zatvorenice istaknule je da definitivno žele promjenu u svojoj budućnosti te da će se truditi da se više ne vrate u zatvor, a pomoć im svakako može biti i suradnja s institucijama nakon izlaska te promjena društvenog okruženja. Upravo promjenu društva zatvorenice koje apstinenciju od droga navode kao izazov smatraju ključnim, ali i rad na sebi.

how they envisage future also presents them with a challenge they think they will have to face in the future. Nearly all female prisoners indicated that they wanted to spend more time with family in the future, especially with their children, and wanted their family to function better in the future, which also presents a challenge as they have been absent from the community and family for some time, and there is a feeling of insecurity and concerns about how these postrelease relations will develop.

Similarly, female prisoners who do not have a job or are not retired are certainly planning to seek employment or start a business themselves after leaving the penitentiary, while being aware of the fact that it is more difficult for former prisoners to find employment and consider this to be another challenge, as well as ensuring the means of subsistence upon release. The struggle to find employment is linked to numerous prejudices and the stigmatization of former convicts, so the female prisoners cite that as one of the major challenges. Some female prisoners in particular highlighted the increased stigmatization of former female prisoners, stressing that women had to face more challenges, including condemnation by the environment, which is particularly present in smaller communities. As a result, some are planning to leave Croatia in the future. Moving out certainly presents a major change and turning a new page in life, with several female prisoners saying that they want to forget their prison experience and return to their routine as soon as possible. Almost all prisoners want to return to their routines, stating that they envisage the future as returning to life as it had been before arriving in prison, while considering it a challenge to return to everyday responsibilities they will have to coordinate. The prisoners noted that it would be difficult for them to get accustomed to their daily lives

Naime, svjesne su činjenice da će im to nakon izlaska predstavljati veliki izazov djelomično i zbog prijašnjeg iskustva izlaska na slobodu. Osim toga, rezultati su pokazali i da zatvorenice navode kao izazove određene probleme koje smatraju da trebaju riješiti nakon izlaska na slobodu, a među njima najviše se ističe pitanje skrbnštva nad djecom. Iako skoro sve zatvorenice jedva iščekuju izlazak, većina njih navodi osjećaj nesigurnosti te nekima od njih izazov predstavlja donošenje odluke što i kako dalje? kada izađu, tj. hoće li se vratiti starom načinu života. Također, iako skoro sve navode želju za promjenom ipak većina tih istih zatvorenica smatra da će nakon izlaska živjeti kao i prije te da se ništa neće mijenjati što je svakako u kontradikciji te potiče na daljnja razjašnjenja.

Kao jedan od izazova u rezultatima javlja se i općenito prilagodba, a posebno prilagodba na slobodu. Unatoč tome, neke od zatvorenica navele su da smatraju da će se one dobro i brzo prilagoditi na slobodu.

Ono što je vrlo bitno i što se pokazalo rezultatima ovog istraživanja je da skoro sve zatvorenice imaju pozitivnu sliku o svojoj budućnosti i smatraju da će sve biti dobro („*Promijenit će se puno toga i bit će bolje sve...*“ (1), „*Nikakvih problema ne bu bilo.*“ (2), „*Pa nadam se da bude bolje nego kak' je bilo.*“ (3), „*Puno bolje nego prije. Prije je sve bilo crno. Ako ja želim bolje, vidim da i ima nade za napredak i da stvarno bude bolje.*“ (7), „*Pa mislim ja da će sve biti uredi. Ne vidim zašto ne bi bilo sve dobro kada izađem.*“ (8), „*Puno bolje nego sada...*“ (9), „*Ma bit će bolje, proći će to sve...*“ (9)). Razmišljanje na taj način o budućnosti svakako je dobar temelj za rad na uspješnijoj i boljoj budućnosti i što boljoj reintegraciji u društvenu zajednicu. Analizom dobivenih rezultata utvrđeno je da u odgovorima zatvorenica nije bilo velikih razlika ili sličnosti i pravilnosti s obzirom na odjel na kojem borave ili pak na vrstu kazne zbog koje su na izdržava-

without strict rules and schedules, which they must adhere to in prison.

Almost all female prisoners pointed out that they were definitely looking for change in their future, and that they will endeavor not to return to prison anymore, which can certainly be helped by cooperation with the institutions postrelease, as well as by changes in the social environment. It is the change of environment that female prisoners who see drug abstinence as a challenge consider important, as well as self-development. They are aware of the fact that this will be a major challenge for them, partly due to the previous experience of release. In addition, the findings indicate that the female prisoners point out certain issues that they think need to be solved once they have been released, the issue of child custody being the most prominent. Although almost all female prisoners can hardly wait to be released, most of them cite a feeling of insecurity, with some seeing a challenge in deciding “what to do and how to go on?” after they have been released, i.e. whether they will return to the old ways. Also, while nearly all of them indicate a desire for change, most of those same female prisoners believe that they will live as before upon release and that nothing will change, which is certainly contradictory and calls for further clarification.

Another challenge identified in the findings is adaptation in general, and adaptation to freedom in particular. Nevertheless, some prisoners believed that they would be able to adapt to freedom well and quickly.

A very important finding of this study is that almost all female prisoners have a positive outlook about their future and believe that everything will be good (“*A lot of things will change and everything will be better...*“ (1), “*There will be no problems.*“ (2), “*Well, I hope it will be better than it was.*“ (3), “*Much better than before. Everything*

nju kazne zatvora. Prije nekoliko godina unutar kaznionice oformljena je zajednica UZOR koja se sastoji od zatvorenica koje su pokazale visok stupanj motivacije za pozitivnom promjenom te im je iz toga razloga omogućeno da unutar svoje grupe imaju određeni stupanj slobode i mogućnosti participacije u kreiranju svojeg boravka u kaznionici. Rezultati ovog istraživanja pokazuju da zatvorenice koje su u zajednici UZOR više spominju želju za promjenom i pri tome odlučnost da se više ne vrate u zatvor, dok su one zatvorenice sa zatvorenog odjela više naglašavale neodlučnost o pitanju svoje budućnosti nakon izlaska na slobodu. Također, zatvorenice koje su u kaznionici na supstitucijskoj / zamjenskoj terapiji (zbog problema s ovisnošću) kao izazov više su naglašavale mogućnost recidivizma.

U budućnosti bi svakako trebalo više pozornosti posvetiti istraživanjima prilagodbe zatvorenica na život nakon izlaska, njihovim razmišljanjima i percepciji budućnosti i individualnoj situaciji. Osim toga, ovo istraživanje možda će zajedno s prijašnjima potaknuti neka druga, veća istraživanja ove tematike kojima bi se mogla učiniti i barem minijaturna promjena u osvještavanju problema i izazova s kojima se žene zatvorenice nakon izdržavanja kazne zatvora moraju suočiti. Suradnja i dijalog stručnjaka državnog i civilnog sektora koji su uključeni u rad s ovom populacijom ključna je pri uspješnoj reintegraciji u zajednicu te što boljem i uspješnijem svladavanju izazova s kojima se moraju suočiti nakon izlaska na slobodu. Svakako bi trebalo u tijeku pripreme za otpust više raditi na osnaživanju zatvorenica edukacijskim sadržajima o roditeljstvu, pomoć apstinenciji, nenasilno rješavanje sukoba treba u programe i radio-nice uključiti i teme koje im mogu praktično pomoći u traženju posla (pisanje životopisa, komunikacijske vještine), programe rada na pozitivnoj i zdravoj slici o sebi. Da bi se proces osnaživanja što uspješnije proveo od velikog

was dark before. If I want to improve my life, I see there is hope for progress and it will really be better." (7), *"Well, I think everything will be fine. I don't see why things wouldn't be all right when I get out."* (8), *"Much better than now..."* (9), *"It will be better, it will all pass."* (9)). Thinking about the future in this way certainly creates a good basis for working towards a better and more successful future and reintegration into the social community. Analysis of the findings obtained showed that there were no major differences or similarities and regularities in the female prisoners' responses with regard to the ward where they are accommodated or the type of sentence for which they are imprisoned. Several years ago, a community called "UZOR" (English: "ideal") was formed within the penitentiary composed of female prisoners who showed a high level of motivation for a positive change, allowing them to enjoy a certain degree of freedom and participation within the group in terms of organizing their time in the penitentiary. The findings of this survey show that prisoners who are involved in this community mention a desire for change more, along with determination not to return to prison anymore, while prisoners from the closed ward expressed more hesitancy about their future after release. In addition, the prisoners on substitution/replacement therapy in the penitentiary (due to addiction problems) highlighted the possibility of reoffending more as a challenge.

In the future, more attention should definitely be paid to researching the adaptation of female prisoners to postrelease life, their thoughts and perceptions of the future and their personal situation. In addition, this study may, together with previous ones in the field, encourage some other, greater research on this topic that could make at least a minimal shift in raising awareness of the problems and challenges that female prisoners face upon release. Co-

značaja su osobine stručnjaka, stručnjakovo poznavanje teorije osnaživanja, spremnost za vođenje dijaloga, empatičnost, sposobnost za timski rad, fleksibilnost, kreativnost, sposobnost vođenja individualnog i grupnog tretmana, spremnost na podjelu moći, uvažavanje korisničke perspektive, sposobnost artikuliranja i provedbe socijalnog modela u penalnim uvjetima te vještine za motiviranje osobe.

operation and dialogue among public and civil sector experts involved in working with this population is crucial for their successful reintegration into the community and addressing the challenges they have to face after leaving prison as effectively as possible. In preparation for release, more work should be done on empowering female prisoners through educational content focusing on parenthood, help during abstinence, and non-violent conflict resolution. Programs and workshops should also include topics that can help them in a practical way to find work (CV writing, communication skills), as well as working on a positive and healthy self-image. In order to carry out the empowerment process as successfully as possible, the characteristics of experts are crucial, as well as their knowledge of empowerment theory, readiness for dialogue, empathy, ability to work in a team, flexibility, creativity, ability to lead individual and group treatment, willingness to share authority, respect for user perspectives, ability to articulate and implement a social model in prison conditions, and the skills to motivate other people.

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