

Walking a new beginning: A study on the Chronicles of Terminated Probationers in surpassing the challenges of life after probation

Josh Nathaniel I. Ganzon*

Davao del Sur State College (DSSC)
Digos City, Philippines
Email: joshnathanielinsoy1013@gmail.com

Roel Jr. D. Apas, MPA

Davao del Sur State College (DSSC)
Digos City, Philippines

ABSTRACT

The study aimed to uncover the experiences of terminated probationers reintegrating into society in Digos City, Davao del Sur. Using a phenomenological approach with qualitative design and purposive sampling of eight (8) participants endorsed by the City Parole and Probation Administration, data was analyzed through familiarization, initial coding, thematic analysis, and report generation. Findings highlighted that while imprisonment led to self-discovery and second chances, reintegration was hindered by social exclusion, job discrimination, and legal hurdles. Over time, terminated probationers developed positive outlooks influenced by external factors shaping their identity and self-worth. Family support, practical assistance, emotional well-being, and legal recommends that the City Government of Digos, Davao del Sur purpose policies protect terminated probationers from discrimination, simplify legal procedures, and host job fairs promoting inclusive hiring. Moreover, enhancing family- oriented support programs and providing vocational training and livelihood support through the City Parole Probation Administration are essential steps for improving terminated probationers' transition back into society.

Keywords: reintegration, Terminated Probationers, discrimination, self- worth, self-discovery, support, inclusivity.

Date Submitted: September 16, 2025

Date Accepted: October 19, 2025

Date Published: November 10, 2025

INTRODUCTION

The famous Filipino expression, “Ang Diyos nga nagpapatawad, ako pa kaya?” depicts how Filipinos value the concept of forgiveness. It is a culture that is instilled in the minds and

*Corresponding author

DOI: <http://doi.org/10.69651/PIJHSS0404562>

Recommended citation:

Ganzon, J. N. I., & Apas, R. D., Jr. (2025). Walking a new beginning: A study on the Chronicles of Terminated Probationers in surpassing the challenges of life after probation. *Pantao (The International Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences)* 4 (4), 6103-6112. <http://doi.org/10.69651/PIJHSS0404562>

hearts of the people. However, this expression seems selective for those who have never violated any law of the state. Although those who are granted probation are spared from spending time in jail, forgiveness remains challenging for terminated probationers, who are prone to stigma and have lesser employability. This makes it harder for them to start a new life after probation.

Forgiveness seems like a dying word for those who committed mistakes in the past, but hope is not. Due to sudden changes of environment, researchers and criminal justice practitioners explore terminated probationer's coping strategies and the importance of rehabilitative probation. In the study of Boone et al. (2024), establishing an effective probation system and encouraging community-based sentences is an intelligent way of handling offenders for some reasons such as reducing the jail population, promoting rehabilitation, and reducing reoffending. Consequently, this results in higher employment rates and earnings, while also acting as a deterrent to engaging in criminal activities.

The Philippines is struggling with severe jail and prison overcrowding, impacting both inmates and society. Prolonged pretrial detention and court delays worsen this issue, increasing the risk of offenders becoming more entrenched in criminal behavior (Narag, 2017). While liberation may seem positive, it raises questions about the successful re-entry of these individuals into society. This requires further study to know how terminated probationers cope up challenges they face upon returning to the community after the process of probation. Moreover, it is crucial for the government to modernize the Parole and Probation System for better rehabilitation and reintegration of offenders.

In Digos City, the only study available in relation to Probation is the profiling study conducted by Culião et. al (2018) as basis for the formulation of community re-entry program for ex-convicts. It was found that the common profile of the participants were convinced with personal violence, high school graduates, and primarily engaged in farming.

Although many researchers have examined various aspects of probation in the country, there is a lack of studies focusing on offenders who have completed their probation period. This study aimed to address a gap in local research by examining offenders after they have completed their rehabilitation or probation. Recognizing that rehabilitation programs are merely temporary solutions, the researcher focused on exploring the personal experiences of individuals who have successfully completed probation and how they navigate life's challenges afterward.

Statement of the problem

The purpose of this Qualitative study was to comprehensively explore and analyze the chronicles of terminated probationers in surpassing challenges living after probation. To be more precise, this study sought to shed light on the following questions:

1. What are the lived experiences of terminated probationers after their probation?
2. How do terminated probationers construct their sense of identity and self-worth during the process of probation, and how do these constructions evolve over time?
3. What are the support systems that contribute to the successful reintegration of terminated probationers?

METHODOLOGY

This study employed a qualitative research design to explore the lived experiences of terminated probationers as they reintegrated into society. Anchored in a phenomenological approach, the study sought to understand and describe the essence of the participants' experiences following their release and completion of probation. Phenomenology is particularly suited to inquiries of this nature, as it allows the researcher to capture the depth, complexity, and meaning of individual experiences, thereby generating a rich understanding of the phenomena under study (Creswell & Creswell, 2018). Guided by this design, the inquiry focused on identifying the core structures of the participants' narratives through textual and structural descriptions, integrating direct quotations, clusters of meaning, and thematic patterns to surface the essence of their reintegration journeys.

Purposive sampling was utilized to select participants who suitably met the criteria required for the research objectives. As a non-random sampling technique, purposive sampling allows for the deliberate selection of individuals who possess the specific characteristics or experiences relevant to the study (Nikolopoulou, 2023). Eight terminated probationers residing in Digos City were chosen based on the following qualifications: they were between 25 and 50 years old, bona fide residents of Digos City at the time of their probation, had no history of physical abuse cases, and self-identified as having encountered challenges upon reintegration. Permission to obtain the names and contact information of potential participants was secured from the Digos City Parole and Probation Administration, after which the researcher coordinated interviews with those willing to participate.

The study was conducted in Digos City, the capital of Davao del Sur, a second-class component city with a population of 188,376. Despite its thriving agricultural economy and commercial growth, the city continues to confront social concerns linked to crime and incarceration, evidenced by the 800 inmates housed in the Digos City Jail and the limited number granted release or probation. Reintegration challenges, including stereotyping and social stigma, are well-documented among formerly incarcerated individuals (Ben, 2019; Yin et al., 2022), underscoring the relevance of the study's inquiry into the experiences of terminated probationers from this locality. Data collection took place between March and April 2023.

Data were gathered through in-depth, face-to-face interviews, which allowed the researcher to elicit genuine, detailed accounts of the participants' experiences. In-depth interviews, as described by Taylor and Bogdan (2015), are open-ended conversations designed to capture life narratives, insights, and perspectives directly from informants. Prior to data collection, the interview guide—constructed in a semi-structured format—was validated by experts to ensure its clarity and appropriateness. After securing formal permission from the Parole and Probation Administration, the researcher contacted participants individually to schedule interviews at times and locations convenient to them. Interviews were conducted in quiet, private spaces to minimize distractions, and rapport building was prioritized to ensure participant comfort. With consent, the interviews were audio-recorded, and field notes were taken to document contextual details. Transcription followed immediately after each interview, and participants received copies of their transcribed accounts. Tokens of appreciation were provided as a gesture of gratitude for their voluntary participation.

Thematic analysis was employed to examine the data generated from the interviews. Following the five-phase process outlined by Braun and Clarke, as cited in Tanuj et al. (2021), the

researcher began with data familiarization through transcription and initial note-taking. Relevant excerpts were highlighted and categorized according to emerging insights aligned with the research objectives. Initial codes were generated systematically using NVivo software to organize significant statements and meanings. These codes were then clustered into broader themes that reflected recurring patterns in the participants' narratives. Themes were reviewed, refined, and validated by cross-checking the coded data to ensure coherence and alignment with the research questions. Finally, a thematic map was developed to illustrate the relationships among themes, and the researcher synthesized the findings into a structured analytical narrative.

Throughout the study, the researcher played a central role as the primary instrument of data collection and analysis. This involved conducting interviews, recording and transcribing participant responses, and employing qualitative procedures to interpret the data accurately. The researcher also assumed responsibility for ensuring the rigor and trustworthiness of the study. Drawing on Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria, credibility was established through accurate representation of participant narratives and adherence to ethical and methodological protocols. Dependability was maintained by documenting research procedures thoroughly, allowing for potential replication. Transferability was addressed by providing rich descriptions of the context and participant experiences, enabling readers to assess the applicability of findings to similar settings. Conformability was enhanced through expert validations, consultation of related literature, and systematic analysis grounded in the actual data provided by participants.

Ethical considerations guided every stage of the research process. Informed consent was obtained from all participants, ensuring that their involvement was voluntary and based on clear understanding of the study's purpose and procedures (Bryman & Bell, 2007). Participants were allowed to withdraw at any time without consequence. Anonymity was safeguarded by excluding identifiable personal information and allowing participants to choose pseudonyms. Respect for autonomy was upheld by refraining from asking intrusive or unrelated questions, allowing participants control over the information they shared. Beneficence and non-maleficence were observed by prioritizing the participants' well-being and avoiding any form of psychological harm. Justice and confidentiality were maintained by ensuring that all responses remained secure and were accessible only to the research team unless otherwise permitted by participants.

Through these carefully designed methodological procedures, the study ensured a systematic, ethical, and rigorous exploration of the lived experiences of terminated probationers, ultimately contributing meaningful insights into their reintegration journeys and the challenges they face in society.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Drawing from the phenomenological approach employed in this study, the narratives of the eight terminated probationers selected through purposive sampling provided rich, nuanced accounts of their reintegration experiences after release from Digos City District Jail. Through in-depth interviews, themes emerged that reflected how these individuals navigated social stigma, emotional burden, legal barriers, and personal transformation. The data revealed not only the challenges that shaped their reintegration journeys but also the support systems that anchored their recovery and motivated change. The findings are presented below, integrating participant

testimonies, thematic analysis, and theoretical lenses that illuminate the structural and personal dimensions of their lived experiences.

Enhanced psychological resilience

A prominent theme that surfaced from the participants' accounts was their enhanced psychological resilience, which became a central factor in their ability to reintegrate into society. Despite the sadness and loneliness they initially felt, many expressed that they had no choice but to become stronger. Their narratives consistently pointed to the encouragement they received from co-inmates, police officers, jail staff, and eventually from family members—support systems that helped them believe they were not alone in their struggles. One participant shared that the encouragement he received inspired him to “keep going even when it's difficult,” while another expressed genuine gratitude for the acceptance shown to him despite his past mistakes, which strengthened his resolve to avoid future illegal activities. These accounts illustrate that social support helped lessen their sadness and worries, with one participant noting that such acceptance made him “not feel down” because he knew people continued to support him.

The participants' reflections emphasize the profound psychological impact of feeling accepted and supported. Social ties allowed them to rebuild their confidence and reduce negative emotional states, which in turn promoted personal growth. These results highlight how resilience develops not in isolation but through the presence of meaningful encouragement. In line with Lisa Kort-Butler's Social Support Theory, emotional and interpersonal support functioned as protective factors, reinforcing their motivation to change and helping them navigate the uncertainties of life after incarceration. This echoes Sirdifield and Owen's (2016) findings that mental health support and access to services significantly strengthen probationers' coping abilities. Thus, improved psychological resilience among terminated probationers is directly tied to the emotional scaffolding provided by people who believe in their capacity to reform.

Emotional as preferred support

Although financial support played an important role in meeting their basic needs, the participants overwhelmingly preferred emotional support as the primary resource that helped them reintegrate successfully. Several emphasized that financial matters can be managed through work, but emotional encouragement—especially acceptance, advice, and reassurances—was what truly sustained them. One participant explained that advice and emotional acceptance “makes me more motivated to change and continue with life,” while another noted that emotional support was more effective because of the immediate comfort it provided upon his release. This support acted as a shield against stress, negativity, and societal judgment, helping them maintain their dignity and sense of hope.

These insights reveal that emotional support promotes deeper transformation by strengthening self-efficacy and internal motivation. Participants indicated that a sense of belonging brought by sincere emotional gestures was more meaningful than material help, because it affirmed their worth as individuals capable of change. The results align with Social Support Theory, which recognizes emotional support as a vital element in shaping resilience and reducing the psychological risks associated with reintegration. Consistent with the findings of Addai-Boateng (2015), emotional and administrative support are key to rehabilitation and post-incarceration

stability. In this study, emotional support enabled probationers to ignore negative social perceptions and focus on building a better life, indicating that reintegration programs must intentionally prioritize emotional counseling and family engagement.

Legal administrative assistance

Beyond emotional and psychological support, the participants' reintegration was significantly strengthened by legal and administrative assistance provided by their families. Processing bail, securing release documents, and obtaining clearances were difficult tasks for the probationers themselves, often hindered by bureaucratic delays or uncleared records. Family members stepped in to manage these complex requirements, with testimonies describing daughters-in-law who helped process bail documents, spouses who waited in long lines for paper processing, and children who skipped work to secure necessary legal clearances. These acts of support not only expedited their release but also relieved them of stress associated with navigating government procedures.

This theme highlights the indispensable role families play in overcoming systemic barriers. Legal administrative assistance ensured that probationers could transition smoothly back to their communities without being further burdened by red tape. Their narratives reveal tremendous sacrifice on the part of family members—sacrifice that strengthened the probationers' motivation to change and to value the support they received. When viewed through the lens of Social Support Theory, this administrative help functions as instrumental support, enabling individuals to focus on rebuilding their lives rather than being overwhelmed by bureaucratic complications. These findings echo Cohen et al.'s (2022) observation that probationers often face structural barriers in accessing formal legal assistance, making the support of family members essential in ensuring timely compliance with legal requirements.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this qualitative phenomenological inquiry demonstrate that the reintegration of terminated probationers in Digos City is a complex and deeply personal process shaped by their lived experiences, internal reflections, social interactions, and the structural conditions surrounding their return to community life. The narratives of the eight participants revealed that their past violations, while initially sources of stigma and hardship, ultimately became catalysts for self-actualization as they confronted the consequences of their actions and recognized the importance of change. This transformative realization was accompanied by varied emotional struggles, particularly as the probationers navigated widespread social exclusion and workforce discrimination, which continually hindered their reintegration efforts. Reinforcing these challenges were bureaucratic barriers, including delayed access to legal documents and procedural inconsistencies, which restricted their ability to secure employment, obtain clearances, and re-establish their status as law-abiding citizens. These obstacles underscored the systemic nature of reintegration difficulties that extend beyond individual effort.

The study further revealed that the reconstruction of the probationers' sense of identity and self-worth followed a gradual process beginning with profound self-perceived negativities. Participants initially grappled with feelings of shame, abandonment, and self-doubt, often

internalizing the negative judgments they anticipated from the community. However, as time passed and as they engaged with supportive individuals and environments, they began to develop a more positive outlook in life. Acceptance of their circumstances, realization of personal responsibility, and the emergence of hope for a better future collectively contributed to rebuilding their self-esteem. Through this process, their identities shifted from internalized stigma toward empowered visions of transformation and resilience.

Integral to these positive changes were the diverse support systems that facilitated the participants' successful reintegration. Family and friends emerged as the strongest pillars of support, providing emotional reassurance, financial assistance, and practical help with daily needs. Community members, including neighbors, local officials, and peers, also played an essential role by offering advice, encouragement, and a sense of belonging. Likewise, support in the form of basic needs fulfillment, livelihood assistance, and legal administrative help contributed significantly to stabilizing their post-incarceration lives. The availability of emotional support proved especially valuable, as many participants emphasized that acceptance and encouragement mattered more deeply than material aid, reinforcing their motivation to avoid reoffending and to rebuild their lives with dignity. These findings affirm that reintegration is not solely an individual endeavor but a collective one that thrives when social structures and interpersonal networks work in harmony.

Taken together, the findings point to several actionable implications. There is a clear need for streamlined legal processes within the City Government of Digos to ensure that terminated probationers can obtain the necessary documents without delays that impede employment and progression. Inclusive job opportunities, employer partnerships, and job fairs tailored for probationers would further reduce workforce discrimination and open pathways to sustainable livelihood. The City Parole and Probation Administration is encouraged to expand access to technical and vocational training, livelihood programs, and financial support to help probationers build stable futures and reduce the risk of recidivism. Terminated probationers themselves are encouraged to uphold the rules and regulations of the Parole and Probation Administration, using the insights of this study as motivation to maintain compliance and avoid disqualification from community-based rehabilitation programs. Public administration students are urged to strengthen their understanding of the importance of social support in the reintegration process and to cultivate compassion toward reintegrated individuals to help reduce discrimination within academic and community settings. Finally, future researchers are encouraged to expand this line of inquiry by exploring the experiences of probationers during the probation period and the challenges faced by probation officers, thereby addressing existing gaps and enriching the body of knowledge on community-based corrections.

In sum, the reintegration of terminated probationers is shaped by the dynamic interplay of personal resilience, social perception, support systems, and structural barriers. A coordinated and compassionate response from families, communities, institutions, and policymakers is essential in ensuring that probationers are not merely released but are genuinely welcomed back into society with opportunities to rebuild, contribute, and thrive.

REFERENCES

Addai-Boateng, C. N. (2015). Assessment of emotional and administrative support services in the reformation and rehabilitation of prison inmates: A case study of the Sunyani Central Prisons

Walking a new beginning: A study on the Chronicles of Terminated Probationers in surpassing the challenges of life after probation by Josh Nathaniel I. Ganzon and Roel Jr. D. Apas

[Master's thesis, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology]. Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology Digital Space. <https://ir.knust.edu.gh/server/api/core/bitstreams/b0834cf4-cf21-4328-bbe0-b927c7c88301/content>

Ahmed, A. M. (2015). Social discrimination as a predictor of criminal recidivism: A study of ex-prisoners in metropolitan Kano-Nigeria. *Journal of Social and Development Sciences*, 6(3), 58–68. <https://doi.org/10.22610/jsds.v6i3.853>

Bersamina, D. R., & Tolio, W. R. (2022). Work environment of probationers in Ilocos Sur. *Asian Journal of Education and Human Development*, 3(1), 34–42. <https://ajehd.unp.edu.ph/index.php/ajehd/article/download/39/33>

Boone, M., Bosker, J., & Doekhie, J. (2024). Probation supervision in the Netherlands. In I. Durnescu, J. M. Byrne, B. J. Mackey, & F. S. Taxman (Eds.), *The Routledge handbook on global community corrections* (21st ed., pp. 195–214). Routledge. <https://www.taylorfrancis.com/chapters/edit/10.4324/9781003305149-15/probation-supervision-netherlands-miranda-boone-jacqueline-bosker-jennifer-doekhie>

Bosket, J., Tigges, L., & Henskens, R. (2021). Probation: Why and how. United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders. https://www.unafei.or.jp/publications/pdf/J_RS_No1/No1_7_EN.pdf

Brand, S. (2016). Lived experiences of reintegration: A study of how former prisoners experienced reintegration in a local context [Doctoral dissertation, Technological University Dublin]. Arrow Technological University Dublin. <https://doi.org/10.21427/D7JS6C>

Bryant, D. D. (2021). The diminishing-self: African American men on academic probation and the intersection of stereotype threat and self-concept. *Journal of African American Males in Education*, 12(1), 1–15. <https://jaamejournal.scholasticahq.com/article/22060-the-diminishing-self-african-american-men-on-academic-probation-and-the-intersection-of-stereotype-threat-and-self-concept>

Butorac, K., Gracin, D., & Stanić, N. (2017). The challenges in reducing criminal recidivism. *Public Security and Public Order*, 18, 115–131. http://bib.irb.hr/datoteka/912525.Butorac_et_al.pdf

Capece, J. (2022). Community supervision and employment. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 701(1), 61–75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00027162221112565>

Cohen, A., Vakharia, S. P., Netherland, J., & Frederique, K. (2022). How the war on drugs impacts social determinants of health beyond the criminal legal system. *Annals of Medicine*, 54(1), 2024–2038.

Culiao, P. E., Emperio, G. M., & Japzon, J. R. G. (2018). *Granted profile of parole and probation cases in Digos City: Basis for the formulation of community re-entry program for ex-convicts* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Mindanao]. University of Mindanao Institutional Repository. <https://repository.umindanao.edu.ph/handle/20.500.14045/819>

Cuevas, J. F. (2020). The paradox of being a probationer: Tales of joy and sorrow. *International Journal of Innovative Science and Research Technology*, 5(9), 697–706. <https://ijisrt.com/assets/upload/files/IJISRT20SEP432.pdf>

Diendo, M. P., Decenorio, N. M., & Ilagan, R. G. T. (2022). Effectiveness of reintegration program utilizing feminist-phenomenological approach in improving self-esteem among female probationers: A mixed method research. *Res Militaris*, 12(6), 2434–2452. <https://resmilitaris.net/uploads/paper/f95d8b45d0080b24ab3304bd71faeea5.pdf>

Dioses, G., Mariano, J., Daniels, J., & Dellosa, R. (2019). The life experiences of probationers under therapeutic community in Quirino Province, Philippines. *International Journal of Scientific & Technology Research*, 8(10), 2783–2789. <https://www.ijstr.org/final-print/oct2019/The-Life-Experiences-Of-Probationers-Under-Therapeutic-Community-In-Quirino-Province-Philippines.pdf>

Doherty, F. (2015). Obey all laws and be good: Probation and the meaning of recidivism. *The Georgetown Law Journal*, 104(2), 291–354. https://law.yale.edu/sites/default/files/documents/pdf/Faculty/obeyalllawsandbegood_-_georgetown_lj.pdf

Doxat-Pratt, S., Schliehe, A., & Laursen, J. (2022). Thank you for having me: The experiences and meanings of release from prison in Norway and England & Wales. *Incarceration*, 3(2), 1–19. <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/26326663221104996>

Evans, D. N., & Porter, J. R. (2015). Criminal history and landlord rental decisions: A New York quasi-experimental study. *Journal of Experimental Criminology*, 11, 21–42. <https://doi.org/10.1007/S11292-014-9217-4>

Gunnison, E., & Helfgott, J. B. (2017). Critical keys to successful offender reentry: Getting a handle on substance abuse and mental health problems. *The Qualitative Report*, 22(8), 2152–2172. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2017.3260>

Harding, D. J., Wyse, J. J. B., Dobson, C., & Morenoff, J. D. (2014). Making ends meet after prison. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 33(2), 440–470. <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.21741>

Harper, A., Ginapp, C. M., Bardelli, T., Grimshaw, A., Justen, M., Mohamedali, A., Thomas, I., & Puglisi, L. B. (2020). Debt, incarceration, and reentry: A scoping review. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 46(2), 250–278. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-020-09559-9>

Walking a new beginning: A study on the Chronicles of Terminated Probationers in surpassing the challenges of life after probation by Josh Nathaniel I. Ganzon and Roel Jr. D. Apas

Heath, C., Sommerfield, A., & Ungern-Sternberg, B. (2020). Resilience strategies to manage psychological distress among healthcare workers during the COVID-19 pandemic: A narrative review. *Anaesthesia*, 75, 1364–1371. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anae.15180>

Ike, T. J., Jidong, D. E., Ike, M. L., & Ayobi, E. E. (2023). Public perceptions and attitudes towards ex-offenders and their reintegration in Nigeria: A mixed-method study. *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, 1–23. <https://doi.org/10.1177/17488958231181987>

Kamran, M. (2019). A solution to reduce re-offending through entrepreneurship: A case study of Punjab province of Pakistan. *International Journal of Entrepreneurship Management Innovation and Development*, 3(1), 1–18. <http://emidjournals.co.uk/2019-volume-3-issue-1>

Khan, Z. (2023). The challenges of re-entry for men and women under probation supervision. *Probation Journal*, 70(4), 350–366. <https://doi.org/10.1177/02645505231178306>

Khokbar, J. K., Arshad, M., & Afzal, A. (2023). Perceived effectiveness of probation system under criminal justice administration: Evidence from the Punjab, Pakistan. *Qlantic Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, 4(3), 108–115. <https://doi.org/10.55737/qjssh.573685100>

Liu, L., & Visher, C. A. (2021). Decomposition of the role of family in reentry: Family support, tension, gender, and reentry outcomes. *Crime & Delinquency*, 67(6–7), 970–996. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011128720987195>

Mowen, T. J., Stansfield, R., & Boman IV, J. H. (2019). Family matters: Moving beyond if family support matters to why family support matters during reentry from prison. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 56(4), 483–523. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022427818820902>