

A question of fairness – 2023

Research into employers asking about criminal records at
application stage

November 2023



About Unlock

Unlock is a national independent advocacy charity that supports, speaks up and campaigns for people facing stigma, prejudice and discrimination because of their criminal record.

Our mission is to advocate for people with criminal records to be able to move on positively in their lives. We:

- Support people with criminal records to navigate their way through challenging times
- Research and raise awareness of the systemic issues that people are facing
- Campaign for changes to legislation, policies and practices of government, employers and others.

Unlock's confidential peer-led helpline provides information, advice and support to anyone in England and Wales with a criminal record. Last year our helpline received over 8,000 enquiries about issues ranging from employment to housing, education and travel.

As well as helping people to overcome the barriers they face, the helpline provides vital evidence, informing our work with employers, government and higher education institutions to whom we provide expert advice, consultation and training.

Background

Over 12 million people in the UK have criminal records. The majority have never been to prison and will only ever be cautioned or convicted once. 80% of sentences handed down in 2022 were fines.

Through our helpline and research, Unlock recognises the long-term impact that these criminal records can have. The impact of a criminal record doesn't necessarily correlate with the seriousness of the original offence. Access to housing, travel, financial services, employment and education can all be affected by minor and irrelevant records from years ago.

Finding employment can be a particular challenge; questions about criminal records are commonplace in recruitment processes in the UK. There is widespread misunderstanding about what it means to have a criminal record, and what relevance this has (or, most often, doesn't have) to someone's suitability for a role.

Unlock believes that everyone should have access to stable and fulfilling employment, if they want it. It's important that we understand how employers are approaching criminal records, to inform our expert advice, and how we advocate for change. We wanted to explore whether or how employer approaches have changed since we last conducted this survey in 2018. Our earlier report is available [here](#).

The Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974

All of the roles we surveyed are covered by the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 (ROA). This means employers are only legally entitled to ask about unspent convictions and/or carry out a basic Disclosure and Barring Service (DBS) check. The ROA gives each sentence a 'rehabilitation period'. During this period, a conviction is considered 'unspent'. This means that an applicant will need to disclose it, if asked. Once this period has passed and a person receives no further convictions then it will become 'spent' and no longer disclosable for roles covered by the ROA.

The ROA applies to job applicants answering questions during recruitment ('self-disclosure') and to official criminal record checks via the DBS. There is no law that requires employers to ask candidates about their criminal record at application stage for any of the jobs we surveyed (there are only a small number of specific roles for which there is a requirement to do so).

The ROA is particularly relevant when employers are asking questions that are unclear, misleading or directly requesting information they are not entitled to. Questions of these kinds may lead to applicants disclosing more than they need to, and an employer therefore collecting information it has no legal basis for collecting (some of the examples below illustrate how this can happen). The protections in the ROA that are intended to support people to move forward are rarely enforced.

Data protection

The General Data Protection Regulations and the Data Protection Act 2018 apply to the processing of all personal data. Criminal records data (including convictions, cautions and allegations) is a distinct category of data – "[criminal offence data](#)". This confers specific obligations on anyone processing criminal offence data (distinct from other types of special category data). These include having a specific policy in place and processes for deletion of data. Crucially, these obligations apply whether a criminal record is disclosed or not.

Employers should only collect criminal record data if they can demonstrate that it is a **necessary** part of the recruitment process. Asking all applicants to disclose at application stage is unlikely to meet the necessity test. This is because it is neither a specific nor targeted means of collecting criminal records data, because:

- there are usually many more applications than there are positions – unsuccessful applicants will have unnecessarily had to disclose their criminal record.
- most legitimate interests in collecting this data could be met by collecting less data – for example, by only asking the applicant offered the role

The survey in this report looked at online application systems, many of which are hosted by third parties on behalf of the employer or bought off the shelf. The employer is the data controller and is legally responsible for demonstrating compliance. So where an employer contracts a third party or uses software to host application portals the employer is responsible for ensuring only necessary information is collected.

Aim of research

This report explores whether, when and how criminal records questions are asked in online job applications. This research serves a number of purposes:

1. Learning what current practices are for requesting criminal record data from applicants, to inform Unlock's advice to individuals and to employers.
2. To compare the results of this research with our findings of five years ago and identify changes in practice
3. An opportunity to identify and challenge poor (or unlawful) practice, as well as to celebrate and promote positive practice

What we did

We completed job applications for 80 employers across England and Wales. We used the same list of employers as was used in the 2018 report, in order for the research to be comparable. The original list was selected through an in-house poll of common high street employers. These covered a range of sectors; retail, construction, distribution, hospitality, communications and car manufacturing.

Since our previous report some companies have merged, ceased to exist, or are not currently advertising any vacancies. In these cases, we selected a different employer to survey, as close in sector and role as possible. We could only survey those employers who had an online application form, so we also chose substitute employers where this was not the case.

We completed an online application form for each employer identified. We selected 'yes' wherever a criminal record question was asked in order to identify any automatic rejections on this basis.

We recorded:

- The name of the role and the employer
- Whether a criminal record question was asked
- If it was asked, what phrasing was used
- If the 'applicant' selected 'yes' to the question, did it automatically stop the application from proceeding?
- If a question was asked, was there any guidance available? This could include guidance alongside the question itself, or guidance elsewhere on the employer's site.
- Whether each employer had a publicly available policy relating to criminal records.

Findings

- **60% (48 employers)** asked about criminal records on their online application form. There was a decrease in the percentage of employers who asked about this in the application stage (from 70% to 60%). A heartening 16 employers had stopped asking about criminal records since our first report, while 3 employers had started asking where they had not previously.
- **83% of employers** who asked a question about criminal records provided no guidance to applicants about how to answer this – either on the application form or in their wider information.
- **14%** of employers had phrased the question about criminal records in a way that was either potentially **unlawful** or **misleading**. This showed a decrease since the last report (from 22%)
- Only **one** employer had a policy available that described their process for criminal record checks
- **None** of the online application forms automatically stopped a candidate proceeding after selecting 'yes' to a criminal record question. Our earlier report indicated that some platforms did this.

Overall, a majority of employers continue to ask criminal record questions at application stage. This is unsurprising, but disappointing nonetheless.

However, there has been some welcome improvement since our last report. Fewer employers were asking about criminal records in the initial stages of the application process. This correlates with other recent research in the sector, which suggests that attitudes are becoming more positive towards recruitment of people with criminal records¹.

There is nonetheless a long way to go to encourage employers to improve their practice. The findings of this survey demonstrate that many applicants can still expect to be sifted from recruitment simply on the basis of having a criminal record. There is no other reason to collect criminal record data at the first stage of recruitment for these types of roles.

What are employers asking?

Where criminal records questions were asked, there was a wide range of phrasing and tone. It is clear that there is no standard approach. The roles that we surveyed would all only be eligible for a basic DBS check. This means that the employers are only legally permitted to collect data about unspent criminal records (earlier in this report the legality of asking *every* applicant about their criminal record was explored).

Criminal record disclosure legislation is complex and can be confusing – for applicants and employers alike. So it's important for employers to be clear about what they can ask in order to comply with the law, make recruitment fair and to gather the information they are seeking.

An unclear, inaccurate or confusing question about criminal records can mean that:

- Applicants are deterred – not being able to interpret what is being asked can lead some people to stop an application, rather than risk getting it wrong.
- An employer is acting unlawfully - an unclear question may lead to an employer unintentionally gathering data they are not legally entitled to obtain. Some employers may be directly (intentionally) requesting information they are not entitled to.
- Where an applicant declares more information than they need to, this can also put them at disadvantage in the recruitment process. Though employers should not be making decisions on the basis of information they are not entitled to, we know that this does happen.
- Employers who have determined a clear and legitimate reason for collecting criminal records data may not obtain the information they seek or need.

On the following pages we provide examples of the questions that were asked by employers, to illustrate the variety and the problems we identified.

Employer 1 – [Warehouse Operative]

Subject to the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974:
Do you have any cautions, convictions or pending cases against you?

Though the ROA is referenced prior to asking this question, it is not at all clear that applicants should only be disclosing unspent cautions or convictions.

The preamble states that 'any offer of employment is subject to you providing a basic disclosure document' – confirming that this is a role covered by the ROA for which the employer can only be collecting unspent criminal record data.

Employer 2 – [Store Assistant]

Any relevant unspent criminal convictions will be taken into account during the recruitment process. Failure to reveal information relating to any relevant unspent convictions could lead to withdrawal of an offer of employment. Please select to indicate 'I do not have any unspent convictions, cautions, reprimands or final warnings'. Or, if this does not apply to you, enter details of any unspent convictions, cautions, reprimands or warnings below. *

In examples such as the above, questions were long and confusing. This starts negatively, suggesting that people with criminal records are likely to be dishonest. Additionally, reprimands and final warnings are spent immediately and therefore would not need disclosing in this context. Requesting this information is therefore in breach of the ROA.

Further, there is no guidance as to what the term 'relevant' means here. The first part of the question indicates consequences for not declaring *relevant* unspent records. The later part of the question asks for *any* unspent convictions. There is no guidance available as to which of these questions an applicant is expected to answer.

Employer 3 – [Store Supervisor]

Have you ever been convicted of any criminal offence? (spent convictions in accordance with Rehabilitations and Convictions Act do not need to be disclosed) *

Asking an applicant whether they have *ever* been convicted of *any* offence suggests that all convictions – spent or unspent – need disclosing. The bracketed note regarding spent convictions is unclear and contradictory and refers mistakenly to a 'Rehabilitations and Convictions Act' rather than the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act.

Employer 4 – [Housekeeper]

Under the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 you are required to share with us information related to any unspent criminal convictions. Do you have any unspent criminal convictions?*

In this example, the ROA is incorrectly invoked. The ROA does not 'require' a person to share information about their criminal record, though it does mean that a person must disclose if asked.

The way that this question is phrased implies that the employer is obliged to ask about criminal records for this role. This is not true – for most roles, including this (a housekeeping post) it is an employers' decision whether or not to request criminal record data.

Employer 5 – [Team Member]

Do you have any unspent criminal convictions under the rehabilitation of offenders act 1974?

This is a succinct and clear question. Elsewhere on the recruitment site (under FAQ's), prospective applicants are directed to the gov.uk guidance on criminal records. This is positive practice. It could be made better by providing this link for information alongside the question itself. It would be even better to see some information as to how this specific employer treats criminal records (rather than generic government advice).

These questions can deter applicants

Asking questions about criminal records in the early stages of recruitment deters prospective applicants. Over half of prospective applicants with a criminal record report reluctance to apply for a role if there is a criminal record question on the application form².

By asking these questions early in recruitment, employers convey that an applicant's criminal record will form an important part of how they are assessed, rather than on their professional experience, aptitude or character.

We know that many applicants will choose not to apply rather than be judged on this basis, creating a 'chilling effect'. This is not only unfair for prospective applicants, but means that employers may miss out on great candidates simply because they have a criminal record. Most records will be for a minor offence and not relevant to the role at hand.

In addition to asking questions early in the process, this chilling effect can be created or exacerbated by:

- A lack of guidance available when questions are asked online. This can mean that applicants are uncertain how they are expected to answer, or whether their criminal record needs to be disclosed. Without guidance, it is also impossible to know how a criminal record will be viewed and how it might impact a recruitment decision.
- The language used by employers. Inclusive language can be an encouraging indicator for applicants that they are going to be treated fairly. Language that focuses exclusively on perceived risk, or assumes dishonesty, is off-putting. Take the following two examples, for comparison:

Employer A – [Warehouse Operative]

The offence of deliberately falsifying an application form is considered to be an attempt to gain pecuniary advantage as per section 16 (1) of the Theft Act 1968 which relates to any attempt to gain service by deception. The gaining of employment is classed as service under the above section and may lead to prosecution. Any offer of employment is subject to you supplying a basic disclosure document. Subject to the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974: Do you have any cautions, convictions or pending cases against you?

This wording is intimidating and suggests that the employer assumes that people with criminal records are likely to be dishonest. It warns applicants that they might be punished for not disclosing accurately, but does not help them to understand what they are being asked. The question is unclear and is likely to deter applicants from continuing with their application.

Employer B, C, D [Barista, Sales Assistant, Mechanical Support]

We ask anyone who wants to join our team if they have any unspent criminal convictions. This doesn't mean we won't consider your application, but we need to assess the relevance against the nature of the role and whether the conviction(s) mean the role isn't suitable...
Have you been convicted of any criminal offence(s) which are not spent under the rehabilitation act 1974.

In contrast to the language used by Employer A, the question above offers reassurance to candidates that they won't be automatically rejected if they disclose a criminal record. The way that this question is phrased gives a little information about why the employer is collecting criminal record data, helping applicants to understand the purpose of disclosing.

Although the Rehabilitation of Offenders Act is not referenced correctly here, the question is nonetheless clear in that it does not require disclosure of spent records.

Interestingly, we saw this question duplicated across three different employers' online application portals.

Does this mean that employers should Ban the Box?

The examples above are illustrative of the variable and often poorly considered questions about criminal records that we encountered in our research. Sifting based on criminal records is unfair and disadvantages both employers and candidates; employers miss out on great candidates and skilled prospective candidates miss out on opportunities.

The questions we found in this survey leave very little room for contextualisation of a criminal record. The questions were generally posed in a yes/no format. Some then ask applicants to 'provide further details'. It is not clear what kind of details are being requested in these free text fields. Our Fair Chance Recruitment principles (see page 13) ask that employers ensure they consider the context of any criminal record that they are assessing.

The [Ban the Box campaign](#), led by Business in the Community, also encourages employers to do so. The Ban the Box campaign was launched in 2013 and asks that employers :

- Remove any tick box from job application forms that ask about criminal records.
- Consider applicants' skills, experience and ability to do the job before asking about criminal records.
- Review their employment processes to ensure that when a candidate discloses a criminal conviction they are given a full opportunity to explain the situation [behind their record]
- Ensure that the circumstances of any conviction are fairly assessed against their relevance to and risk within the role before a decision is made.

Campaigns such as Ban the Box can go some way to encourage employers to consider their approach to criminal records in recruitment. It is important that employers who ban the box develop clear, accessible recruitment policies and processes to ensure that the spirit of ban the box is truly and sustainably embedded in their organisations. There is no single measure that an employer can take to make recruitment truly inclusive.

Purpose of criminal records data

The number of employers who are asking questions about criminal records suggests a misunderstanding about how relevant or useful criminal records data is.

There is a widespread assumption that asking about criminal records is standard practice and therefore should continue. Unlock hears regularly from employers who think that because they are legally permitted to collect this data it must be worthwhile to collect. However, much of the information collected is of no, or very limited, use in recruitment of the kind included in this survey.

None of the roles surveyed involved work with people who are at risk. None were subject to a legal requirement to check an applicant's criminal record (these roles are rare).

Effective risk management and safeguarding can only be achieved by comprehensive, considered approaches that account for the individual nature of specific businesses. Many organisations will already have these measures in place, including for staff conduct. These measures are likely to be far more protective against risk than an arbitrary tick-box on an application form.

Who does this put at disadvantage in the labour market?

There is no general protection against discrimination on the basis of an unspent criminal record, as for certain kinds of protected characteristics.

Yet we know that criminal records disproportionately affect people with certain characteristics or backgrounds. This can be the result of over-policing leading to higher arrests and resultant criminal records. It can also be due to greater likelihoods of negative outcomes at other stages of the criminal justice process (eg in courts).

These effects mean that employers who sift applicants on the basis of a criminal record may be filtering out those more likely to have a criminal record due to existing unfairness and discrimination in the UK. The following are just a few examples of disproportionality in the criminal justice system that follows through to disadvantage in employment:

People who are racialised - There is extensive research evidencing that people who are racialised face disproportionately negative outcomes at all stages of the criminal justice system. To give just a few examples: David Lammy's review of racial disparity in the criminal justice system found that 'the odds of receiving a prison sentence were around 240% higher for BAME offenders, compared to White offenders'³. While total numbers of children imprisoned has decreased in the last decade, the proportion of black children who are imprisoned has increased. Two thirds (66%) of children arrested in London in 2020/1 were from minority ethnic groups⁴.

People with experience of statutory care - An estimated 24% of people in prison have been in statutory care at some point in their lives, compared to 1% of the general population⁵.

People who are neurodivergent - In 2021, an estimated 50% of those in prison in England and Wales were neurodivergent⁶. There can be a lack of understanding of neurodivergence in statutory services, increasing the risk of a person's behaviours not being recognised as a manifestation of their condition⁷. This potentially increases the chance of arrest or decreases the likelihood of diversion away from the criminal justice system.

People from Gypsy, Irish Traveller and Roma backgrounds - 6-7% of people in prison in 2020/21 were from gypsy or Irish traveller communities, despite only constituting an estimated 1% of the general population. Evidence suggests that people from Romany gypsy and Irish traveller communities receive more custodial sentences due to a misconception that they are more likely to abscond⁸.

Class - Class and socioeconomic status influence who receives a criminal record in the UK; suggesting a criminalisation of poverty⁹. Begging and rough-sleeping are routinely criminalised in England and Wales. Almost 70% of young people handed a custodial sentence had received free school meals in the past¹⁰.

Gender - Gender can also play a role. For example, the most common criminal record received by women in England and Wales is for non-payment of a TV licence, accounting for 30% of all convictions for women¹¹. Unlock's research also demonstrates that women are subject to a disproportionate number of enhanced DBS checks, creating additional barriers to accessing employment¹².

So, fair approaches to criminal record checks should be considered a vital part of inclusive recruitment. Any organisation wishing to provide equal opportunities and increase the diversity of its teams must recognise the intersectional nature of the barriers that can be posed by criminal records.

Conclusion & Recommendations

Overall, whilst there has been some positive movement, this report shows that people with criminal records continue to be at disadvantage in the UK labour market. The prevalence of questions about criminal records at the initial stage in a recruitment process suggests that employers still use these to sift prospective candidates.

It is misguided and unfair for applicants to be judged on the basis of criminal records, often for minor offences and irrelevant to the role in question. It is essential that employers recognise the intersectional disadvantage that can be faced by those with criminal records. Making recruitment fairer for those with criminal records may improve employment outcomes for people who face discrimination of other kinds.

By continuing to make judgements on the basis of criminal records, employers are missing out on skilled and capable candidates. At a time when 41% of employers in the UK report hard-to-fill vacancies, practice needs to change¹³. In fact, 86% of employers who have (knowingly) recruited someone with a criminal record report a positive experience¹. And 81% of people think that businesses who recruit people with criminal records are making a positive contribution to society¹⁴.

Our findings also suggest that many employers do not understand their legal obligations in relation to criminal records, and that people with criminal records cannot rely on their legal rights being observed when seeking employment. If employers applied the law as they are obliged to, people with criminal records could expect to receive fairer treatment.

Focused effort is needed to ensure fair treatment of people with criminal records in the UK labour market. We recommend that employers adopt Unlock's Fair Chance Recruitment Principles – set out below. These principles have been designed in collaboration with business leaders to ensure they are useful, relevant and applicable to any organisation. The principles apply regardless of the sector in which the employer operates (including sectors that attract higher levels of criminal record check).

1. Consider the need to ask

Many employers ask questions about criminal records out of habit. Much of this information serves no purpose, and is not managed appropriately or in accordance with the law. Most of the employers surveyed could stop asking questions about criminal records with no negative effect on their business. Indeed, it would increase the number of available applicants.

2. Follow rehabilitation & data protection legislation

There are legal obligations relating to criminal records data, outlined in brief earlier in this report. Employers must ensure they understand what these are and how to comply. It is obvious from our survey that many do not. The Information Commissioner's Office provides comprehensive guidance on the management of criminal records data, available [here](#).

3. Consider the right time to ask

Where an employer determines that they can and will ask about criminal records, timing is important. This report outlines the problems with asking questions early in an application process. There are a small number of roles for which legal requirements regarding criminal records mean that a question should be asked at the beginning of recruitment (e.g. roles for which it would be an offence to recruit a person on a barred list). This does not apply to any of the roles we researched.

Employers should wait until a conditional offer is made before asking questions about criminal records. They should ensure that applicants are informed of this process before applying, in the advertisement for the role. If the role does not involve asking about criminal records at any point, applicants should be informed that this is the case.

4. Ask clear questions and provide guidance

The examples in this report show that many questions about criminal records are unclear, and there is very little guidance available for applicants. Employers should review any questions they are currently asking and ensure that applicants are either directed to expert guidance or given advice on that specific employers' process. Find guidance [here](#) on how to word questions appropriately.

5. Have a clear and accessible policy

Employers should establish their approach to criminal records and set this out in a clear policy. This is protective for business and ensures consistent practice. If shared publicly, an accessible policy can also help applicants to know how they will be treated and therefore minimise the chilling effect. Only one employer that we surveyed had a publicly accessible policy of this kind. Unlock offers a step-by-step guide to developing a policy [here](#).

6. Consider context and relevance

The questions identified in this research offered no opportunity for applicants to explain the circumstances behind their criminal record. People receive criminal records for a wide range of offences and in a wide range of personal and social contexts. Offering applicants an opportunity to contextualise their criminal record supports recruiters to understand an individual better, rather than making presumptive judgements about what it means to have a criminal record.

Anyone making decisions on the basis of a criminal record must consider the relevance of that specific record to the role being recruited for. The checking of criminal records should not be performed as a general pass/fail exercise.

7. Document decision-making

Employers should keep a record of the process they go through when making recruitment decisions that involve consideration of criminal records. This enables employers to explain their decision-making, make confident recruitment decisions and demonstrate that they are complying with the law. Doing so can also help employers identify any improvements needed to their process or policy.

8. Be confident in process practice

Finally, it's important that employers are confident in the way that they handle criminal records. This report highlights that a lack of guidance and information for applicants can be a deterrent. Employers can only provide relevant and useful guidance for applicants if they have a comprehensive understanding of both the relevant law and their organisation's approach to people with a criminal record.

How we can help

Unlock's expert advice to employers is free and available by contacting recruit@unlock.org.uk. We support employers every day with specific advice regarding criminal records and employment. Unlock also offers more comprehensive consultancy for employers looking to make systemic change within their organisations.

We provide tailored, expert in-house training for organisations of all kinds, and also have publicly available training sessions available [here](#).

Our [Recruit!](#) website is full of useful templates and step-by-step guidance that employers can use to make their processes fairer.

Unlock's peer-led, confidential helpline offers expert support and advice for those with criminal records. The helpline can be contacted via telephone, email or whatsapp. Find further information [here](#).

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- ¹ Working Chance (2023) *Progress and Prejudice*, available at: https://workingchance.ams3.cdn.digitaloceanspaces.com/media/documents/Progress_Prejudice_Shifts_in_UK_employer_attitudes_to_hiring_people_with_convictions.pdf
- ² Business in the Community (2015) *Finding work after prison*
- ³ Lammy, D (2017) – The Lammy Review, available at: <https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/5a82009040f0b62305b91f49/lammy-review-final-report.pdf>
- ⁴ Ministry of Justice (2020) *Ethnicity and the Criminal Justice System*, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/statistics/ethnicity-and-the-criminal-justice-system-statistics-2020/ethnicity-and-the-criminal-justice-system-2020>
- ⁵ Williams, K, Papadopoulou, V, Booth, N (2012) *Prisoners' childhood and family backgrounds*, available at: https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/278837/prisoners-childhood-family-backgrounds.pdf
- ⁶ Justice Inspectorates (2021) *Neurodiversity in the criminal justice system*, available at: <https://www.justiceinspectorates.gov.uk/cji/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2021/07/Neurodiversity-evidence-review-web-2021.pdf>
- ⁷ User Voice (2021) *Neurodiversity in the criminal justice system*, available at: <https://www.uservoice.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/07/Neurodiversity-in-the-Criminal-Justice-System.pdf>
- ⁸ The Traveller Movement (2023) *Available but not accessible*, available at: https://wp-main.travellermovement.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/TTM-Available-but-not-Accessible_web-1.pdf
- ⁹ *Is it a Crime to be Poor? – Ending the criminalisation of poverty and debt.*
- ¹⁰ Commission on Young Lives (2022) *Hidden in plain sight*, available at: <https://thecommissiononyounglives.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/COYL-FINAL-REPORT-FINAL-VERSION.pdf>
- ¹¹ Appeal – *Poverty is not a crime*, available at: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5537d8c5e4b095f8b43098ff/t/6242b23a2bdf7b715fe57d38/1648538172676/2022_03_29+TVL+Briefing.pdf
- ¹² Unlock (2023) *Women and DBS checks*, available at: <https://unlock.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2023/06/Women-and-DBS-checks-2023.pdf>
- ¹³ CIPD (2023) *Labour Market Outlook 2023*, available at: <https://www.cipd.org/globalassets/media/knowledge/knowledge-hub/reports/2023-pdfs/2023-labour-market-outlook-autumn-2023-8503.pdf>
- ¹⁴ Ministry of Justice (2023) *Employing prisoners and ex offenders*, available at: <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/unlock-opportunity-employer-information-pack-and-case-studies/employing-prisoners-and-ex-offenders>