

**UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE
DOCTORAL SCHOOL OF LAW ENFORCEMENT**

AUTHOR'S SUMMARY OF THE DOCTORAL (PhD) DISSERTATION

ZSÓFIA IVANICS

**THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PRISON LABOUR IN THE PRISON SYSTEM AND IN
THE WIDER NET OF SOCIAL STRUCTURE**

Supervisor:

Prof. Dr. Klára Kerecsi

BUDAPEST, 2022

Table of Contents

The subject and objectives of the dissertation	3
Research questions and hypotheses	3
Theoretical and methodological framework of the research	4
Structure of the thesis	6
New scientific findings and main conclusions of the thesis	8
Possible directions for practical use, recommendations	17
Publications of the candidate published on the research topic	19
Scientific-professional biography of the candidate	21

The subject and objectives of the dissertation

My doctoral research focuses on the historical and contemporary analysis of the role and objectives of prison labour schemes in the Hungarian prison system.

The questions and dilemmas related to the aims and operation of prison labour schemes have been raised since the emergence of the modern prison, but the answers and solutions still present challenges for practitioners and academics alike. Indeed, the employment of prisoners in prisons is typically based on two aspects that are difficult to reconcile in practice: on the one hand, the promotion of the reintegration of prisoners into society and on the other hand, the economic use of prisoners' labour. Historical examples show that the role of prison labour has been characterised by different emphases on the objectives in different periods, and that the objectives have very often conflicted with each other. Productivity, profitability or even economic innovation may not at first glance appear to be among the main characteristics and organising principles of prison labour schemes in a classical sense (i.e. within the state-managed framework), but the Hungarian prison service has transformed its employment structure over the last five years in such a way that, in addition to organising prisoner employment on an increasing scale, it can now also claim significant economic successes compared to its previous achievements. The net turnover of its state-owned prison companies has more than doubled in the last 10 years, while the proportion of prisoners in employment has also increased significantly.

In my doctoral research, I sought to answer the question of how, in the history and current structure of prison labour in Hungary, the two functions of prison labour, namely economic profit and economic efficiency, as well as the reintegration objective, which are typically considered to be difficult to reconcile, can work together. The central objective of this thesis is – by using theoretical and empirical study of the functioning and objectives of prison labour – to examine the field under investigation together with its social embeddedness thus providing perspectives for future analysis of prison labour systems and, not least, for rethinking possible policy directions.

Research questions and hypotheses

The following research questions and related hypotheses have guided the main lines of inquiry and the focus and structure of the thesis:

Research Question 1: How can we grasp the role of prison labour in the history and current structure of the prison system in Hungary? How do the two functions of prison labour, which are typically considered to be difficult to reconcile, relate to each other: the objective of running prisons as economically as possible and the objective of facilitating the return of prisoners to society?

- a. What does work in prison mean and represent from the point of view of the company, the institution and, above all, the prisoner?
- b. Who are the actors involved in the operation and management of the labour system? What are the interests of the different actors and how do they prevail?

Hypothesis 1: The history and current structure of the prison system in Hungary is essentially characterised by a conflict of objectives of prison labour where dilemmas and conflicts of interest that are usually identified as organisational issues have structural roots.

Research question 2: What is behind the economic success of the current system of prison labour, and to what extent can the organisational concept of the current form of operation be considered innovative?

Hypothesis 2: In the history of the Hungarian prison system, the concept of the current organisational system of prison labour can be considered a novel solution, which is above all linked to the strong state interventions.

Theoretical and methodological framework of the research

In this thesis, I interpreted prison labour primarily through the role of the prison in social control, drawing primarily on structuralist approaches in the critical criminological tradition that by examining the social function of prison direct our attention to the broader socio-economic context of the development and functioning of the prison labour system. The starting point for several works in penal studies is the basic idea that imprisonment as a punishment is not inherently the result of the humanisation of criminal law or indeed of penal practice, neither an institution responding to the changing volume and structure of crime, but rather an element of social control associated with a capitalist mode of production. These explanations of punitive practices focus on the structural links between socio-economic systems and punitive practices, i.e. they argue that punitive forms should be viewed through a historical and social scientific

reflection. The theoretical approach of the thesis is therefore based on the idea that the explanation of the goals of labour regimes in a given period, and of the relationship these between goals, should be understood not only in terms of policies and institutional movements at the organisational level, but also in the light of economic cycles, structural opportunities, constraints, and different public policies. The objectives and functioning of prison labour can hardly be understood without considering the wider economic and social context, including economic policy, criminal policy and employment policy. Building on the line of thought of these approaches, I have examined prison labour fundamentally from a historical perspective, discussing the issues of its aims and structural dilemmas from the beginning of the entanglement between incarceration and compulsory labour within an institutional framework in the 16th century.

In terms of methodology, my doctoral research relied mainly on qualitative methods, including source and document analysis and interviews-based methodology, in order to study prison labour.

The historical analysis in this thesis covers four key periods in the history of the Hungarian prison system. On the one hand, it deals with the decades preceding the establishment of the modern penitentiary system, and on the other hand, it examines the system of prison labour in three key periods, each of which is framed by a major structural transformation in the history of the modern Hungarian prison system. In each period under study, I have made it a priority to reconstruct the contemporary professional discourse on prison labour, and to analyse the actual functioning of the prison labour system, based on data, legislation and decision-preparatory materials. For the period between 1867 and 1941, I organised the literature sources on prison labour available in library collections and online databases into a database, and in the framework of qualitative document analysis I examined the details of the parliamentary records of the period that concerned prison labour. Concerning the examination of the system of prison labour in the state socialist era and the period of regime change, in order to get to know the professional discourse of the time, I prepared a complete repository of the *Prison Review* and its predecessor *Methodological Notes*, collecting studies on prison labour published between 1982 and 2020 in a separate database. In addition, I evaluated and processed the resources of the Library of the National Headquarters of the Prison Service (BVoP) related to the research topic. The most important result of mapping of the BVoP library collection was the discovery of a number of sources that were originally intended for internal use only and are not available in other collections. The scope of the sources processed in the historical analysis is summarised in the table below, broken down by period:

HISTORICAL EMPIRICAL SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH			
1796-1843	1867-1905	1918-1941	1978-1994
contemporary literature on prisons	contemporary literature on prisons	contemporary literature on prisons	contemporary literature on prisons
legislation/drafts	legislation	legislation	legislation
historical sources collected by Károly Vajna (1906)	parliamentary records	parliamentary records	policy papers, background documents
	historical sources collected by István Megyeri (1905)	state budgets, final accounts	yearbooks of the prison service

In addition to the relevant studies and reports of the previously mentioned repository of the *Prison Review*, I have based my analysis of the post-regime change prison labour system on the yearbooks and other publicly available publications of the prison service, and the analysis of the post-2010 prison labour system on the analysis of semi-structured interviews with staff and focus groups with prisoners. In total, I analysed 67 individual expert interviews with staff and 21 focus group interviews with prisoners. The range of sources processed in the analysis is summarised in the table below:

CONTEMPORARY EMPIRICAL SOURCES OF THE RESEARCH
2010-2022
literature on prisons and the prison system
legislation
yearbooks of the prison service
other publications of the prison service
annual reports of prison companies
semi-structured interviews

Structure of the thesis

In Chapter I of the thesis, in addition to presenting the objectives, research questions and hypotheses of the research, I presented the interdisciplinary (police science, criminology,

penology and criminal policy) connection points of the research. After the introduction, I summarised the theoretical and conceptual framework of the thesis in Chapter II. In a brief overview, I outlined the main trends and reference points in the literature on prison labour, followed by a detailed discussion of the theories that provide the analytical framework for the thesis. Chapter II starts from the historical roots of the custodial sentences and draws primarily on critical criminological approaches to unfold the role of prison in social control, including the significance, objectives, and structural dilemmas of prison labour.

In Chapter III, I present the methodological approach of the thesis and the sources used in the empirical research, as well as the process and main aspects of source collection and processing. In the first part of Chapter III, I briefly discuss the classical difficulties and limitations of prison research, raising the challenges I have encountered in my own research. In the remainder of the chapter, I present the sources for the historical and contemporary analysis (Chapters V and VI), as well as its process and background.

Chapter IV aims to provide some insights into the regulatory framework and the contemporary practices of the organisation and operation of prison labour, thus providing sufficient background information for a subsequent analysis of its system in Hungary. In the framework of this overview, I will discuss the fundamental rights aspects of prison labour in the light of the relevant international conventions and recommendations, and I will also examine European practices of prison labour in terms of the most important operational and organisational characteristics.

Chapters V and VI examine the domestic systems of prison labour. Chapter V covers four historical periods in Hungarian prison history. On the one hand, in line with the analytical approach of the theoretical chapter, it deals with the developments in the decades preceding the establishment of modern prisons and the early practices of prisoner employment, and on the other hand, it examines the situation of prisoner employment in the history of modern Hungarian prisons in three further periods: the post-Compromise period (1867-1905), the inter-war period (1918-1941), and the decades preceding and following the change of regime (1978-1994). Chapter VI focuses on the post-2010 regime of prison labour. The common denominator of the periods selected for the analysis of the Hungarian systems of prison labour is that each of the periods examined in Chapters V to VI is marked by a major structural transformation in prison labour:

- The post-Compromise period (1867-1905): the objective and partial implementation of state administration;

- The period between the two world wars (1918-1941): the post-war reorganisation and restructuring of the prison service;
- In the decades preceding and following the change of regime (1978-1994): the search for a way forward for state-owned enterprises from the planned economy to market conditions;
- The post-2010 period (2010-2022): the establishment of a centralised care system and full employment as a guiding principle.

The chapters dealing with each era follow a similar structure. The first part of the chapters summarises developments of the prison sector in the years or decades between the selected eras, also describing aspects of prison labour when it applies. The second part of the chapters presents the operational framework and specificities of prison labour for the period under study, while the third part presents the structural dilemmas of prison labour systems of the period in question, along the lines of the economic objectives classically associated with employment and the objectives of promoting the reintegration of prisoners into society.

The paper concludes with a summary chapter. Chapter VII presents the main findings and conclusions of the research, and this chapter summarises the new scientific findings of the thesis, as well as providing feedback on the research questions and hypotheses and possible directions for the practical application of the research findings.

New scientific findings and main conclusions of the thesis

In the course of the research, I carried out the following tasks that could be identified as new scientific findings:

1. I integrated the law enforcement studies perspective and approaches from related co-disciplines, such as criminology, penology and criminal policy to define a disciplinary position regarding the analysis of prison labour.
2. I explored and synthesized the main angles and focal points of the literature on prison labour
3. Based on international conventions and recommendations, I explored and analysed the human rights aspects of prison labour
4. Drawing on revisionist prison historiography and critical criminological theories, I built a theoretical framework that allows for a novel approach to the examination of prison labour in the Hungarian context.

5. I have carried out a structuralist analysis of prison labour systems in Hungary, covering both historical and contemporary processes. In this context:
 - 5.1. I set up a database of the pre-1945 sources on prisoner labour available in libraries and electronic databases;
 - 5.2. Systematically analysed the details of the parliamentary records of 1867-1941 touching upon the issue of prison labour
 - 5.3. On the basis of policy background documents, literature and legal sources, as well as my own qualitative research based on semi-structured interviews I analysed the processes of prisoner labour before the regime change and also in its most recent settings.
6. Drawing on a theoretical-historical framework and empirical research, I have analysed the conflicting goals of prison labour from a long durée perspective, focusing on the structural dilemmas associated with the relationship between objectives associated with economic and reintegration goals.

I have examined the research questions and hypotheses presented earlier by building on two main pillars. On the one hand, I explored the case of prison labour from a theoretical-historical perspective based on a review of the relevant literature. Within this, I developed an analytical approach based on revisionist narratives of prison history that informed the analysis of the role and purpose of prison labour throughout the thesis. In this sense, one of the indispensable pillars of the thesis is the theoretical-historical framing of prison labour based on the literature reviewed (Chapter II). The other key pillar of the thesis is the empirical research, which uses qualitative methodology, drawing on both primary and secondary historical sources, to explore the history and current structures of prison labour in Hungary, looking at four historical periods and contemporary processes (Chapters V-VI). In the following, I summarise the main findings and conclusions of the thesis, following the two pillars of the research.

Theses on the theoretical-historical framework of analysing prisoner labour (Chapter II)

- From the very beginning, the role of prison labour, its objectives and institutional setting have been inseparable from the social function of imprisonment and the internal contradictions of the prison system. Therefore, the study of prisoner labour must necessarily be anchored in the historical and penal context of the emergence of the prison

sentence as the dominant form of punishment, as well as in the formation of the prison itself.

- The custodial sentence did not inherently become widespread because of the achievements of the Enlightenment or a humanising turn in the general penal practice, but rather as an element of social control linked to the capitalist mode of production. It emerged as an institution with both economic and normative functions. Penal systems and practices, including the various forms of prison labour, are thus inextricably linked to the prevailing economic and class relations and to other institutions of power and social control.
- The second half of the 16th century witnessed the re-emergence of forced labour in the penal practice. Among the new forms of work-related punishments, a new type of imprisonment became particularly important, which combined the aspects of confinement and forced labour. The house of correction was an institutional innovation that best reflected the new direction of the changing penal practices, while at the same time anticipated the penal objectives of the modern penal system: combining deprivation of liberty as a tool for punishment with an explicit obligation to work and also with correctional ends. In the case of houses of correction work was not simply a punishment, but a necessary element of discipline. Therefore, it is closely linked to the construction of new types of control functions in capitalising societies.
- Prison labour is an essential element of the enforcement of custodial sentences from the very beginning of the modern systems of imprisonment. Work is not a punishment, but an element of the penitentiary which is both a means and an end.
- Prison labour is typically based on two different objective aspects that are quite difficult to reconcile in practice: the promotion of the reintegration of prisoners and the associated correctional efforts on the one hand, and the economic utilisation of prisoners' labour force on the other. From the outset of the modern and its institutional ancestors (the houses of correction), these two classic objectives have been characterised by a conflictual relationship, which can be seen in several organisational contradictions, including the following:
 - the contradiction between the profitability of prison industry and the requirement of full employment behind bars;
 - the contradiction between the traditionally path-dependent profiles of prison industry and the pressure of adaptation to market conditions;
 - the contradiction between production based on technology vs. manpower;

- the challenges of external market relations, the relationship between contracted labour and state-used production in prison management
- the relationship between the approaches of “obligation to work” and the “right to work”;
- the tension of economically organised production and security concerns;
- the tension of participating in prison labour vs. education or training;
- the challenges of self-sufficiency and self-sustainability

The central thesis of the dissertation is that these contradictions typically arise from the tension between the duality of objectives and are essentially linked to the following structural dilemmas:

- i. the role of coercion in relation to the employment of prisoners and the tension between the approach to work as a right and as an obligation
- ii. the challenges of providing sufficient work opportunities, and developing organisational and management frameworks which meet the functions of the penal system
- iii. the legal status of prisoners, rewards, and remuneration for prison labour

Theses on the empirical study of prison labour systems in Hungary (Chapters V-VI)

Imprisonment and work in the pre-modern penal system (1796-1843)

- At the beginning of the 19th century in Hungary, the criminal law already tended to move towards the use of prison sentence replacing former forms of punishments. In the meantime, neither the central Austrian government nor the local county authorities wanted to take on the task of establishing, running, and financing the necessary penal institutions. At this time, no established prison system existed in Hungary. Early practices of prison labour can be traced back to experimental territories which combined the elements of confinement and compulsory labour.
- Both the one and only Hungarian house of correction at Szempe, and the county jails with rudimentary prison workshops were important precursors to the institutionalisation of prison labour in Hungary. The first and only house of correction, modelled on the Dutch prototype, was a rootless institution driven by the ideology of correction, poorly adapted to local feudal conditions. The written documents of the time show that the economic challenges of organising inmate labour for educational purposes were at the heart of the

institution's permanent struggles. Apart from the gesture-like founding of the institution, there was no real demand for an such an institutional framework since social control was primarily exercised through feudal dependency. On the contrary, county jails with rudimentary prison workshops represented a shift towards the modern prison system already. Namely, in the form of experimental territories of these local jails the political interests of the liberal middle classes – who were at the forefront of liberal reforms and national independence – and the humanist efforts of the prison reform movement were already intertwined.

The period after the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 (1867-1905)

- The period after the Compromise was an era of consolidation, when the formation of a new bourgeois penal system and the development of the related institutions took place. Key positions of power were still held by the members of the nobility. Therefore, what was needed was a penal system which, through state institutions, could exert social control as the ruling class had previously did via the feudal system of dependency and the punitive practices that went with it.
- The establishment of the Hungarian prison system had begun, and as regards the organisational framework for the employment of prisoners, the main emphasis was on the introduction of the state-use scheme. It was a central goal to replace the contract system that had existed during the era of the Austrian administration. However, the mere fact that the state sought to take the place of the contractor was not enough to eliminate the dominance of economic interests as a defining factor in managing the prison labour system. Aspect of correction and reintegration was systematically overshadowed by budgetary considerations. By the years following the turn of the century, it had become clear that mere state management - to which the writers and politicians referred to earlier had high hopes - was not sufficient to ensure that the organisational framework and the way in which work was carried out could be determined by nobler objectives (such as preparation for release and prevention of reoffending), to the detriment of profit and economic considerations. The predominantly industrial prison labour contributed very little to the ameliorative mission that prison reformers attached to the aims of punishment in the modern prison. It was systematically marginalized compared to economic considerations.
- Thus, economic considerations were an inescapable constraint on the organisation and operation of prison labour in the era of the dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary. During the

period under examination, the issue of prisoner labour was most often discussed in Parliament in the context of budgetary talks or industrial regulation. Within this context, two focal points recurrently appeared in parliamentary speeches. Regarding budgetary issues, the questions regarding prison labour was typically raised in connection with the provision of funds for the maintenance of the prison system, while in the context of the industrial regulations, the tense relation between prison labour and free labour led the list of priorities.

The interwar period (1918-1941)

- In the period around the turn of the century, prison labour in most prisons operated under the mixed system of contract and state-use schemes. Inmate labour was typically continued to be organised around traditional craft activities, with some prisons adding factory-based production.
- The dismantling of the prison industry's production infrastructure during the war, the acute shortage of labour and the resulting reduction in work opportunities, the loss of some important prison due to border revision, and the post-war food shortages necessitated a major reorganisation of the prison labour system. This process of consolidation was basically initiated in the early 1920s along three main lines: (1) the early involvement of external economic operators, (2) the recovery of state-managed prison industry and (3) the development of agricultural employment. The structural dilemmas of prison labour at this time evolved mainly around the anomalies of the mixed system, and the disruption of the previous proportions of the sectoral structure, which necessitated the reorganisation of the organisational-structural framework during the post-war crisis period. Regarding the organisational framework, this intervention mainly meant the temporary weakening of state managed prison labour (since establishing contracts was a must for quick remedy). While in term of sectoral restructuring agricultural prison labour agricultural prison labour took precedence over industrial employment in the inter-war period.
- Although the idea of promoting agricultural employment in terms of policy and organisational vision, was not without precedent in the history of the Hungarian prison system, the substantial structural change only occurred, when the economic difficulties after the second world war made it necessary. Thanks to the developments in state-managed agricultural production – which based on the objective of food self-sufficiency – the ratio of income from prison labour to total expenditure of prisons increased dynamically during the period. The share of agricultural production in in the prison labour

system rose dynamically between 1919 and 1929, and in the years of the Great Depression of the 1930s exceeded the share of income from industrial production. The restructuring of the prison labour system in the 1920s essentially helped the prison employment system to overcome the crisis with less severe losses.

- This brought the issue of prisoner employment in the inter-war period closer to what the prison administration of dual monarchy of Austria-Hungary had attempted to achieve by consolidate the dominance of industrial prison labour managed solely by the state. The greater state intervention and supervision, that was based on purposeful land acquisition and the transformation of the regulatory environment embodied in the form of improved scale of agricultural production and the aim of institutional self-sufficiency.

The decades following the regime change (1978-1994)

- The contradictions between the fulfilment of standard functions of the prison system and the need to meet the requirements of economic interests were further underlined by the socio-economic crisis of the 1970s and 1980s. Professional discourse and policy documents from the period show that the tensions caused by the dual goal structure of the prison labour was a persistent challenge for prison management. The sources under analysis suggest that the practical problems arising from these contradictions during the period can be identified in three main key areas: (1) the dual vulnerability of the of prison labour to market and state demands, (2) the specificities of the available labour force and production structure, technological constraints, and scarcity of resources, and (3) the role and limitations of coercion and incentives in employment.
- The organisational problems affecting the system of prison labour in this period were also caused by the tension between the state's functions related to the purpose and implementation of punishment and the economic role expected by central authorities. In the period following the regime change, the full employment of prisoners was expected in the penitentiary system, in accordance with the principle of full employment under the state socialist economy. In the preceding decades, the planned economy had clearly defined the place of prison industry in the national economy, and the economic expectations placed on them were maintained even as market mechanisms were gaining ground. Full employment placed a burden on the prison service which, amongst changing circumstances, made it even more difficult for prison companies to operate sustainably, while the educational purpose of employment was also limited. After the regime change, the conditions of the prison labour system deteriorated further. The prison service, which

had traditionally been funded from the bottom line, was no longer facing purely economic difficulties; its financial situation was now threatening the fulfilment of its basic duties related to the enforcement of custodial sentences.

The post-2010 period (2010-2022)

- The Hungarian system of prison labour has been seriously redesigned in the past ten years. The idea of a self-sustaining prison system, the goal of full employment behind bars, and the efficiency of production have become governing principles in the system recently. State-owned prison industry companies, which earlier frequently struggled with financial and sustainability problems, have become economically prosperous businesses by now, and there is a still growing pressure on the expansion of job opportunities within prison walls.
- The conditions and circumstances of prison labour has been transformed to a great extent since 2010. This tendency is reflected in (1) the vision and promotion of the self-sustaining prison system, (2) the objective of full employment behind bars, (3) the reorganization of the administrative and management structure of prison industry companies, (4) the re-definition of prison labour in the new Criminal Enforcement Code, (5) the creation of an internal market for products manufactured by prison industry companies based on compulsory state orders, and (6) the concept of the current prison building project based on the use of prison labour. In the meanwhile, the concept of prison labour has been significantly reframed in the new Criminal Enforcement Code introduced in 2015. While according to the previous law, the main goal of prison labour was to facilitate the inmates' reintegration after release, the current one defines it as a reintegration activity, which also aims at generating profit. That is, the notion of economic efficiency became a defining part of the legal concept of prison labour.
- Due to the growing importance of economic rationality and production efficiency in the operation of the Hungarian Prison Service, there is a growing financial pressure on prison institutions, and a growing inequality amongst them. Labour organized by the prison and by the state-owned prison industry companies takes place on the same sites – mainly inside the prison walls – but it is managed and supervised by different entities, and thus it operates according to rather different, and sometimes conflicting logics. Even though there is a central managing body (Hungarian Prison Service Headquarter) on the national scale, and there are institutions (prisons and prison industry companies) supposedly contributing to the cooperation and interdependence of these entities on the local scale, the potential

conflict of interest cannot be ruled out. The roots of these conflicts are manifested in the different organizational interests. On the one hand there is the prison, which mainly operates on state budget. On the other hand, there is a prison industry company, which is required to cover most of its own operational and development costs through production. These conflicts became more intense following the reorganization of the prison labour system supplemented by the growing pressure of making more inmates to work which in a way also affects issues concerning institutional safety.

- After 2010, a type of state involvement - already familiar from the inter-war period – reappeared. Instead of ad hoc budgetary support and failed attempts at financial consolidation, it seeks to enforce the dual expectations of prison labour even more strongly than before, by means of a marked transformation of the regulatory environment.

In summary, I have explored the tensions of the dual system of goals associated with prison labour in the context of a longitudinal historical analysis based on critical criminological school of thought and revisionist prison history. With this framework and empirical research, I have demonstrated the structural dilemmas of prisoner employment across historical periods. Based on the results and conclusions of the research, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding the original hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: The history and current structure of the prison system in Hungary is essentially characterised by a conflict of objectives of prison labour where dilemmas and conflicts of interest that are usually identified as organisational issues have structural roots.

Both the historically embedded theoretical approaches presented in the thesis and the empirical chapters on the Hungarian systems of prisoner labour have confirmed the tension between the economic and reintegration goals of prisoner employment across historical periods. We have also seen that this tense relationship has almost always been characterised by the dominance of the economic aspect. The challenges associated with prison labour often take on a practical, technical character, while the framework of the tension in the dual system of objectives illustrates that practical dilemmas tend to have deeper structural roots.

This dissertation used the case of the Hungarian prison labour system to demonstrate that the significance and the logic behind the operation of prison labour cannot be understood if this process of restructuring is not included in the analysis. State involvement is a key factor in the functioning of prison labour regimes, which can be observed on different scales. The state is

not only a crucial actor in setting up the political-economic context of prison labour, but it also actively shapes the 'new market' for the products of prison labour, and on the lower scales it manages the ways in which different organizational logics are negotiated through organizing prison labour.

To understand the ambiguous compatibility and the specific relationship between the two most typical objectives of prisoner labour, namely the dimensions of economic and reintegration considerations, we should study it in the context of state involvement and political strategies. To do so, it is essential to see and understand the state strategies behind the management of prison labour systems that reflect the actual social function of the prison itself and thus define the real scope of possible objectives of prison labour.

Hypothesis 2: In the history of the Hungarian prison system, the concept of the current organisational system of prison labour can be considered a novel solution, which is above all linked to the strong state interventions.

Based on the results of the research, it became clear that the governing idea underlying the current system of prison labour is far from being a new one. Similar efforts focusing on full employment and self-sufficiency were already seen in the inter-war period and in the socialist regime. However, the strong role of the state was indeed central to the transformation, both in terms of regulation and maintenance. Much of the literature on the subject tends to emphasise the material interests of private economic actors in the operation of prison labour systems. However, as we have seen from an examination of the history and current system of prison labour in Hungary, the requirement of economic rationality within the prison system is not an inherent organisational logic, but rather a factor that is manifested through state action and involvement. Prisoner labour is not only a means of exploiting cheap labour but also a means of keeping the prison population under control.

Possible directions for practical use, recommendations

Above all, the approach and methods used in this paper allow lessons to be drawn at a higher level of abstraction, rather than making practical recommendations. The results of the thesis highlight that the dilemmas related to prison labour, which are typically of an organisational-managerial nature, in fact require a systemic approach, as they are inseparable from the vision we associate with the social function of prison.

I am convinced that the employment of prisoners behind bars must above all support their successful return to society. However, historical, and current experience clearly suggests that this objective is not sustainable when the economic aspect, which focuses on the highest possible level of cost recovery, dominates. The conclusions of this thesis suggest that economic pressures on prison administrations result in such employment structures that themselves contribute to the reproduction of crime-related social problems. It follows directly from this that the minimum requirement for the development of a framework for a prison employment system that supports this objective starts at on the ground of penal policy. What is needed, is a penal policy in which the custodial sentence is used only as a last resort. That places greater emphasis on alternative sanctions and tends to narrow the scope of custodial sentences through secondary and tertiary levels of crime prevention.

Prison labour is an important tool of the modern prison system, which, within appropriate policy context, can be used to promote reintegration into society rather than enforcing paternalistic corrections and increased coercion. Based on the conclusions of this thesis, it would be necessary to promote organisational solutions that can make a meaningful contribution to support the agenda of educating good citizens, rather than obedient inmates. In addition to the above-mentioned minimum requirements of criminal policy, there are several organisational solutions that can be linked to this task. These include, among others, the development of an appropriate incentive system, the regularisation of the social security status of prisoners, the strengthening of the operational conditions for reintegration such as education and probation, support for participation in education (e.g. by means of working time discounts), promoting responsibility and self-determination through work, or taking into account the development of skills and learning when defining forms of prison employment.

However, this thesis could not undertake a detailed exploration of specific organizational solutions. First of all, with setting the theoretical foundations and conducting a historical investigation on the Hungarian experiences, I wanted to carry out the exploratory and analytical work that necessarily precedes the further elaboration of policy and organizational-level recommendations. For this very reason, I recommend my thesis to the attentions of all those decision-makers, academic researchers, educators, experts of the penal field, as well as any other stakeholder, and interested parties who are concerned with the structural dilemmas of prison labour and wish to work towards possible solutions.

Publications of the candidate published on the research topic

- Ivanics, Zsófia (2022). Szelektív körkép a fogvatartotti munkáltatás európai rendszereiről és gyakorlatairól. In Baráth, N. – Mezei, J. (Szerk.) *Rendészet – Tudomány – Aktualitások 2022. Rendészettudomány a fiatal kutatók szemével*. Budapest: Doktoranduszok Országos Szövetsége, Rendészettudomány Osztály. (megjelenés alatt)
- Lévay, Miklós – Kerezsi, Klára – Szabó, János – Ivanics, Zsófia (2022): Influence of Covid-19 Pandemic on Social Control, Crime Patterns and Life in Prison in Hungary. In: Siegel, Dina – Dobryninas, Alexandras (Szerk.): *Covid-19 and Crime in Europe*. NY: Springer (megjelenés alatt)
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2022). A fogvatartotti munkáltatást érintő nemzetközi egyezmények és irányelvek. In Kovács, I. – Frigyer, L. – Tirts, T. (Szerk.) *Multidiszciplinaritás: A rendészettudomány sokszínűsége*. Budapest: Magyar Rendészettudomány társaság. 85-97. oldal
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2022). Conceptual issues and theoretical considerations regarding the study of prison labour. *Belügyi Szemle 2022/1. Különszám*. 53-68. oldal
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2021). A fogvatartotti munkáltatásra vonatkozó szakirodalom főbb irányai. In Baráth, N. – Mezei, J. (Szerk.) *Rendészet – Tudomány – Aktualitások 2022. Rendészettudomány a fiatal kutatók szemével*. Budapest: Doktoranduszok Országos Szövetsége, Rendészettudomány Osztály. 114-121. oldal
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2021). A büntetés politikai gazdaságtani megközelítésének gyökerei. In Kovács, I. – Frigyer, L. – Tirts, T. (Szerk.) *Globális kérdések – globális válaszok: rendészettudomány a hallgatók szemével*. Budapest: Magyar Rendészettudomány társaság. 108-1116. oldal
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2021). Olvasni a közeget, érteni a szöveget. A reflexió és újraértelmezés szerepe a kritikai pedagógiában. *Fordulat 28.*, pp. 7-20.
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2021). Határkijelölés, legitimáció, és a diszciplináris önkorlátozás meghaladásának lehetősége a rendészettudományban. In Harmati, Barbara – Kovács-Szitkay, Eszter – Pap, András László – Papp, Bendegúz (Szerk.): *Honestas, Humanitas, Humilitas: ünnepi kötet Kerezsi Klára tiszteletére*. Budapest: L'Harmattan, 96-104. oldal
- Ivanics, Zsófia (2021). Kritikai pedagógiai kísérletek lehetőségei és korlátai a büntetés-végrehajtásban. *Neveléstudomány: Oktatás, kutatás, innováció 9:1*, 16-28. Oldal

Ivanics, Zsófia (2020). „*Úgy erkölcsi, mint gazdasági értelemben*”. A fogvatartotti munkáltatás és annak célrendszere az 1867 és 1918 között országgyűlési naplók tükrében. *Kriminológiai Közlemények* 80. 233-240. oldal.

Czirfusz, Márton – Ivanics, Zsófia – Kovai, Cecília – Messzmann, T. Tibor (2019). A magyar munkásság a hosszú lejtmenetben. *Fordulat* 26., 142-170. oldal

Ivanics, Zsófia (2015). A TÁMOP 5.6.2-es program reintegrációs alprojektjének szakértői körben végzett utánkövetéses vizsgálata. Kutatási jelentés. Budapest, Belügyminisztérium. 4-32. oldal

Scientific-professional biography of the candidate

Professional experience

- Sep 2021 – assistant lecturer
Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Law, Department of Criminology, Budapest
- 14 Jul 2014–30 Jun 2020 researcher (criminologist)
Ministry of Interior, Budapest (Hungary)
Research tasks related to an EU-funded project focusing on the rehabilitation of inmates in Hungary. Planning and implementing qualitative analyzes, participating in project monitoring activity, and also contributing to the elaboration of proposals regarding project development.

Education and training

- 2016–Present doctoral student
Doctoral School of Law Enforcement, National University of Public Services
Focus of research: criminal justice, penal system, prison labor. Preliminary title of the dissertation: Prison labor in the Hungarian prison system and beyond.
- Sep 2019 Campus Mundi Scholarship for short-term study visit
University of Porto, School of Criminology, Porto (Portugal)
- Mar 2016–Jun 2016 special training on critical pedagogy
School of Public Life, Budapest
- 2011–2014 MA in Criminology
Eötvös Lóránd University, Faculty of Law, Budapest

Title of the MA Thesis: The safe city. The significance of safety in urban policy.

Jul 2013–Aug 2013

Campus Mundi scholarship for short-term study visit
University of Leiden, Faculty of Criminal Law and Criminology, Leiden (Netherlands)

Jan 2013–Jul 2013

Erasmus student mobility
Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, Faculty of Law, Amsterdam (Netherlands)

2008–2014

membership and training
College for Advanced Studies in Social Theory, Budapest (Hungary)
Participating in courses and lectures dealing with social issues and assisting in the organization of such events.

2007–2011

BA in Sociology
Corvinus University of Budapest, Institute of Sociology and Social Policy
Title of the BA thesis: Socio-spatial inequalities, analysis of residential segregation in a public housing block.

Other professional activities

Oct 2019–Nov 2019

trainer
Károli Gáspár University of the Reformed Church, Budapest
Contributing as co-trainer in a course (called Social awareness) for MA students in Psychology.

Mar 2016–Jul 2016

trainer
School of Public Life, Budapest (Hungary)

Co-trainer in a training program held in a county jail for women detainees on social inequalities.

Aug 2015–Oct 2015

external researcher

Rév8 Rehabilitation and Urban Development Company
Conducting research and making a study on local public safety in the VIII. district of Budapest between 2011 and 2015.

Oct 2014–Mar 2015

external researcher

Metropolitan Research Institute, Budapest (Hungary)
Co-author of a manual on social urban rehabilitation issued the Municipality of Budapest. (chapters on public safety and crime prevention).

Aug 2014–Sep 2014

external researcher

ForProjekt Ltd.

Conducting a sociological analysis on the local socio-demographic situation and social relations, and developing an anti-segregation plan for the town of Üllő.

Oct 2013–Dec 2013

external researcher

ForProjekt Ltd.

Conducting a sociological analysis and developing an anti-segregation plan related to the preparatory phase of a social urban rehabilitation project of Nagykanizsa.

Jan 2012–Apr 2012

trainee

Regional Social Welfare Resource Centre Budapest, Budapest (Hungary)

Contributing to the development of a crime prevention project proposal related to the social urban

rehabilitation program of Kis-Pongrác neighbourhood in the X. district of Budapest.

Nov 2011–Mar 2012

research assistant

Eötvös Lóránd University, Faculty of Social Sciences

Conducting semi-structured interviews in the framework of a research project on urban life: „Budapest – 2012”

Conducting desk research: collecting information from basic statistical databases about Hungarian settlements in the framework of a research project about the tendencies of suburbanization in Budapest metropolitan area.

Feb 2010–Apr 2010

interviewer

Corvinus University of Budapest, Institute of Sociology and Social Policy

Participation in research aimed to study the possibly effects of prizonization process amongst the inmates of a hungarian penal institution.

Language skills

English – Intermediate language exam (combined “C”; 2004)

German – Intermediate language exam (combined “C”; 2006)