INEQUALITY AND DISCIPLINE
THE PRODUCTION OF INEQUALITIES IN A WOMEN'S PRISON

By
Herta Tóth

Submitted to
Central European University
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Supervisor
Éva Fodor

Budapest, Hungary
2010

Statement

I hereby state that the thesis contains no materials accepted for any other degrees in any other institutions. The thesis contains no materials previously written and/or published by another person, except where appropriate acknowledgment is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

Budapest, February 10, 2010

ABSTRACT

The case-study of the Kalocsa prison explores the relationship between in-prison inequalities and the prison's strong emphasis on discipline. With focusing on the internal stratification of the inmate world, the thesis hopes to contribute to Goffman's analysis of total institutions (Goffman 1961). The thesis sets out to test Charles Tilly's hypotheses about organizations (re)producing durable inequalities; their tendency to take over existing strong and categorical inequalities out of convenience, which helps them accomplish other organizational work (Tilly 1998).

The analysis demonstrates that a robust inmate hierarchy is in place in the Kalocsa prison. While members of the elite are the extended arm of prison administration, a group of women are stigmatized as bad girls and warehoused until the day of their release; while the great majority of women are made disciplined workers. The thesis introduces the sorting mechanisms - e.g. job placement; or placement to cell - and the categories the prison uses - e.g. reliability, presentability - to distribute women in the various subgroups. The analysis uncovers the often direct translation between these internal categories and external inequalities – such as for instance the definition of Roma women as unreliable workers – and the resulting massive inequalities along the prison's internal hierarchies.

The thesis is built on ethnographic and participatory research conducted with women at Kalocsa, the largest women's prison in Hungary, during the years between 2003 and 2009. The research is based on women's experiences of imprisonment; the data collected during in-prison interviews and two series of seminars conducted in Kalocsa; as well as follow-up interviews and conversations with women following their release.

The key contribution of the research is the demonstration that a prison may produce and reproduce inequalities among groups of inmates in order to reinforce discipline and strengthen its legitimacy. These internal inequalities, if they are identical with existing strong social inequalities outside the prison walls, can remain invisible and strong stabilizing mechanism and may provide low-cost and convenient internal controls. If these inequalities are as deeply institutionalized into the prison's operations as they are in Kalocsa; these can assist the prison in times of change in adsorbing new principles and in adjusting to the new circumstances without changing the basic disciplinary system. As such, inequalities may be one of

the mechanisms that produce carceral clawback (Carlen 2002): prison's remarkable ability to resist and transform reform efforts so that changes ultimately do not threaten its basic operation.

The findings of the Kalocsa case study may be relevant in countries that are transitioning from authoritarian political regimes to democratic ones; countries that may not have fully completed the time-consuming and resource-intensive business of prison reform. I have argued that prison systems that lost earlier grounds for legitimacy yet lack political support and resources for change; may look for stabilizing support wherever they can find it. This may lead to exceptionally strong examples of institutional racism in prisons or other strong inequalities among inmates. I also argued that once such inequalities are institutionalized and linked with the core mission of the organization; inequalities can only be reduced or eliminated if the organization's mission itself is revisited.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

For the Kalocsa project I received an irresistible flow of support from many people throughout the past six years; their encouragement made me carry on even in moments of distress. I am deeply indebted to my colleagues at the Open Society Institute, in particular to Yervand Shirinyan, Aryeh Neier, Susan Treadwell, Andrea Simonits and other colleagues and board members of the Human Rights and Governance Grants Program, who gave me the most enthusiastic support there is; and as much time as I needed. I am equally indebted to former colleagues at the Central European University's Center for Policy Studies, especially to Viola Zentai. She invited me in 2002 to join a European comparative prison research project where I met people who inspired and influenced my work: Pat Carlen, Dani Wagman, Noelia Igarada, Marta Cruells, Philippe Combessie and Andrea Krizsán. These people and Viola Zentai helped me understand that it is possible to do academic work that has activist spirit; and activist work that has academic value.

I would not have completed the writing without my supervisor Eva Fodor, who was consistent and constructive throughout these many years; during which time she moved countries, published books, gave birth to children and made time to read my work. Professor Andre Beteille and Dylan Riley gave me helpful comments in the early stages of my work. I am thankful for Prem Kumar Rajaram and Ayse Caglar from CEU's Sociology and Social Anthropology department for their patience with me. I am glad that I met Lynne Haney, who was interested in the same women's prison in Hungary; which enabled experience sharing about Kalocsa and insightful comments by her. László Huszár and István Sponga helped me tremendously with their insider-perspective which they gained as sociologists who have worked for the Hungarian prison system.

The women whom I interviewed trusted me with stories that were difficult to tell or outward unspeakable; I thank them for their unconditional trust, enthusiasm and friendship. Mercédesz Mészáros and Anikó Csáki from Váltósáv Foundation helped me to gain access to Kalocsa, and provided social work assistance for many of the women whom I worked with. I am very thankful for this support which enabled me to build contacts with women without abandoning them when they needed help.

My sister, my parents and my friends were extremely patient with me throughout the project. I regret that due to the writing I was unable to spend time with Hanna, my niece, in the first seven months of her life. My boyfriend Zsolt assisted me throughout the writing and got to know many women, many stories with me; I am grateful for his partnership. Last but not least, I appreciate Fred Branfman's and Katalin Réti's help in shaping the text.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: A Case Study About The Production Of Inequalities In A Hungarian Women's Prison And Its Broader Relevance

Twenty years passed since the democratic transition triggered fundamental changes in the Hungarian prison system. From the symbol of state socialism's oppression of political plurality and individual freedoms, the prison system was expected to transform into an institution which respects the rule of law, treats inmates as rights-bearing individuals; and is subject to public oversight (Lőrincz 2003). Indeed, laws on prisons were amended and the prison system has opened its doors to students, journalists, priests, human rights groups; has created a department to serve cooperation with civil society and with the media, and has dedicated conferences to these subjects. In line with new data protection regulations, the prison system stopped recording ethnic data about its inmates. Although wardens estimated in the 1990s that about half of the inmates are Roma (Huszár 1997); by 2009 high-level prison officials refused to give estimates about the number of Roma in order to avoid any potential accusation of racism. However, the research will demonstrate that in the day-to-day operation of the Kalocsa prison important continuities remain from the state-socialist period, where the outdated state-socialist processing system that inmates go through is still the only framework available. In addition, various aspects of life in prison are in strong contradiction with the principles proposed in the early 1990s; and also with the extreme caution about estimating the number of Roma in prison.

The case study of the Kalocsa prison shows that the prison produces strong hierarchies in the inmate world; as well as ethnic divisions and other inequalities among inmates. The inequalities among groups of inmates are significant and influence many aspects of their stay in prison, from the quality of cell one stays in, the number of years to be served or the depth of in-prison poverty experienced, to the intensity of relationship with family members. Roma women inmates are severely disadvantaged and often fully excluded from 'prison-goods'. I argue that although the reproduction of ethnic inequalities inside the prison is most likely not a new phenomenon in Kalocsa; in recent years it has conveniently contributed to the stabilization of discipline and the reassertion of legitimacy in the prison, which has been challenged by a soft legitimacy crisis over the past decade. The soft legitimacy crisis is a result of political and other contextual changes that led the prison system from transition into neglect; as well as internal changes provoked by the increasing

openness that prisons had to learn to manage in new ways. Chapter two provides details about the difficult fate of the prison system after the democratic transition in Hungary.

Although this is a case study based on a women's prison in Hungary, its findings can be relevant for other prisons as well. First of all, links between discipline and in-prison inequalities within the inmate structure may be found in a men's prison in a similar context as well. In countries that are undergoing a transition from authoritarian regimes to democracies, prison systems - especially if reform efforts are not comprehensive and do not provide a new understanding of prison's role/ mission as well as sufficient human and financial resources to undertake consistent and time-consuming reforms - may experience a legitimacy crises and a power vacuum; under which circumstances prisons may be left alone and look after their own ways of reasserting their legitimacy and discipline within the prison. Given that under the new circumstances prisons typically cannot use force, the importance of relying on informal controls such as reproducing existing strong inequalities in inmate hierarchies, may increase. This hypothesis could be relevant for many countries in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union; and potentially in other countries that experience similar transitions as well.

At a more general level, according to several researchers of the subject, prisons and especially women's prisons are notorious for their high legitimacy-deficit (Carlen 2003; Liebling 2005). It could be argued that under such circumstances prisons may rely on the use of informal controls and hierarchies that match inequalities outside the prison walls. For instance, Jill McCorkel argued that in a U.S. women's prison the image of the dangerous black woman criminal emerged just at a time when the prison was under pressure to explain high recidivism ratios (McCorkel 2004). Furthermore, the prison systems' unique ability to resist and transform the original goals of prison reform projects – which Pat Carlen defined as "carceral clawback" (Carlen 2003) – may be in part resulting from institutional barriers to change such as, one could argue based on the Kalocsa research, inmate hierarchies embedded in powerful social inequalities outside the prison. After all, these internal hierarchies, if linked up with larger social inequalities, can be rather stable ground on which to reinforce discipline and reassert legitimacy.

The discussion throughout the following chapters will address three key questions and will rely on several sources of inspiration in addressing those questions.

The three key questions will be presented below following the discussion of the various sources of inspiration.

Charles Tilly's thoughts about durable inequalities provided not only inspiration but also the hypotheses about the production of inequalities that the Kalocsa research sets out to test. Tilly asserts that organizations tend to reproduce existing social inequalities, so-called categorical inequalities, through which they reinforce their own internal categories and the inequalities between the categories. Tilly argues that organizations take over existing categorical pairs and reproduce inequalities along these because these are readily available and provide low-cost solutions through which organizations can accomplish other important organizational work (Tilly 1998). Testing Tilly's hypotheses in a prison meant that the analysis has targeted an organization which has internal processes hidden from the public eye. I was hoping that the study of internal inequalities will be more straightforward than in other organizations given that prisons may not invest time and effort into hiding or disguising internal inequalities. Indeed, the analysis identified hierarchies and inequalities that are uniquely tangible and clear-cut; manifested in many ways from different colors of uniforms, to the strong language that differentiates "my duckies" from the "primitives."

Erving Goffman's foundational work on total institutions has provided inspiration for the research primarily because Goffman undertook the kind of organizational-level analysis that the Kalocsa research hopes to accomplish (Goffman 1961). This research provides an analysis of the inmate world and its internal hierarchy and stratification which Goffman did not include in his study. I will demonstrate that although Goffman did not discuss this topic, he was aware of its importance. Furthermore, I argue that the stratification of the inmate world actually contributes to a fuller understanding of total institutions. The empirical chapters show that at least in Kalocsa's case, matching the inmate hierarchy with external inequalities has a stabilizing effect, and reinforces the prison's grip. However, unlike Goffman's work, the Kalocsa research does not intend to provide an ideal type description about inmate hierarchies and inequalities; although the case study carries general conclusions as mentioned above. Although inmate hierarchies and inequalities among inmates may be found in other prisons and may also play a role in reinforcing discipline; these are likely to be uniquely strong in Kalocsa's case. The analysis will demonstrate that in Kalocsa the prison's state-socialist history and the recent

contextual changes as well as the characteristics of the inmate world together resulted in a unique combination of hierarchies and inequalities.

Women's experiences of imprisonment form the basis of the analysis throughout the empirical chapters, similar to many other pieces of research on women's prisons (Bosworth 1999; Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 1998). The research will rely on women's experiences in determining what are the critically important aspects of prison life that need to be studied when trying to understand internal inmate hierarchies, statuses, positions and rewards. Although it is women's experiences of imprisonment which will demonstrate the strong ethnic inequalities within Kalocsa; when asked explicitly about inequalities or discrimination, women consistently denied the existence of such phenomenon in the prison. I argue that this is partly because ethnic inequalities outside prison walls are powerful and in-prison ethnic differences remain unnoticed and unchallenged; and partly because the prison created its own internal categories and language to speak about these categories, which categories were also taken over by the imprisoned women.[1] These internal categories and language enabled discussions about groups of women in the inmate hierarchy without having to explicitly refer to ethnicity or other dimensions of differentiation. Women's experiences of imprisonment and their encouragement to tell about their experiences provided inspiration throughout the research.

Feminist research on women's prisons and on work organizations will be discussed and used during the Kalocsa research in many ways. Firstly, due to the richness of feminist work on women's prisons that documented the impact on gendered understandings of women's punishment on the actual prison regimes, this particular research does not focus on gender. Nevertheless it hopes not to ignore it either: it places gender to the background rather than to the forefront of the analysis.

[1] Such phenomenon could be discussed as the internalization of discipline, or self-governance, using Foucault's terminology; or as examples for adaptation and carrying over previous life experiences to new situations, using Tilly's terminology (Foucault 1977; Tilly 1998). There are several such occasions throughout the analysis; in these situations I decided to rely on Tilly's conceptual framework. Even though with this I am not doing justice to Foucault's enormous influence on prison research, I wanted to be consistent in following the chosen framework and with focusing primarily on structural phenomenon in this particular research. Foucault's invisibility is to some extent compensated by the presence and influence of Kelly Hannah-Moffat, Mary Bosworth or Pat Carlen who have relied on Foucault's concepts (Bosworth 1999; Carlen 2003; Kelly-Moffat 2001).

Furthermore, this research follows Candace Kruttschnitt's and Jill McCorkel's footsteps in trying to grasp the concrete, organizationally specific ways in which punishment is produced in a women's prison; paying specific attention to the experiences of ethnic minority women (Kruttschnitt 2000, 2003; McCorkel 2004). While the Kalocsa research is probably one of the first ethnographies on women's prisons dedicated to studying the stratification of the inmate world along ethnicity and other potential dimensions of inequality; many researchers of women's prisons touched on the subject and emphasized its importance (Bosworth 1999; Carlen 2004; Diaz-Cotto 2006).

I suggest that feminist organizational theory and analysis has a lot to offer in studying the production of inequalities within prison and in other organizations. Scholars already in the 1970s analyzed large bureaucracies - most often work organizations - in order to understand the structures, processes and practices that resulted in women's concentration at the bottom of hierarchies, in low-skilled, low-paid jobs, and the experiences of the few token women who were able to break through the 'glass ceiling' (Moss Kanter, 1977). Empirical studies documented and analyzed horizontal and vertical segregation and wage gaps both in the economy and at the institutional level in large organizations, as well as key organizational processes and procedures that contributed to the production of such inequalities. The methodology used in the Kalocsa research in order to identify inmate hierarchies and differences in access to various prison-goods – the analysis of key processes – was applied by feminist researchers of work organizations decades ago, and theorized more recently (Acker 1990, 2006). The empirical research chapters analyze various in-prison processes in Kalocsa similar to the way in which recruitment or wage-setting processes of large work organizations were analyzed by feminist researchers several decades ago.

OVERVIEW OF CHAPTERS AND KEY RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Chapter one provides an overview of the literature on women's prisons in order to identify what has been learnt so far regarding the production of in-prison inequalities. The review discusses what is known about the experiences of ethnic minority women in prison, and reviews scholarly approaches to the overrepresentation of ethnic minority women in prison. The chapter ends with existing approaches to the study of

organizational inequalities and with discussing Charles Tilly's framework, based on which the analysis of the production of inequalities in Kalocsa unfolds in the following chapters. As mentioned above, chapter two discusses the Hungarian prison system's recent history and the current state of affairs; and chapter three introduces the research methodology, locating the project as a feminist research that relies on participatory and ethnographic methods.

Firstly, the research aimed to identify what kind of inequalities are produced within the inmate world of Kalocsa and through what processes or 'sorting mechanisms' (Tilly 1998). Given the large number of Roma women in Kalocsa, the study of potential ethnic inequalities was an explicit objective of the research at its start. However, other dimensions of inequality were discovered during the fieldwork: inequalities along sexual orientation and religious beliefs were found to be integrated into Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy as well. Chapter two, three and four introduce three key processes through which the inmate hierarchy of Kalocsa is created. Chapter four introduces the importance of one's placement to cell, and the significant differences among Kalocsa's three key units. Chapter five discusses the all-important issue of work; and the boundaries that separate workers from nonworkers and the elite from standard workers. Chapter six covers the unequal distribution of Kalocsa's rewards and privileges; as well as its disciplinary system. All of these processes contribute to the establishment of an inmate hierarchy that consists of three subgroups with very different access to prison-goods. These chapters identify the key internal categories along which women are distributed into the different subgroups through the sorting mechanisms, such as for instance reliability and presentability.

Secondly, the relationship between inequalities within the inmate world and the outside world triggers further questions: is Kalocsa reproducing existing social inequalities, or is it creating new, locally specific inequalities? Thirdly, in what ways does the prison use inequalities within the inmate world? The study will provide explanations for the various different inequalities found in Kalocsa; and will demonstrate that while the reproduction of ethnic inequalities is intimately linked to the prison's very mission and its legitimacy; other examples for inequalities may contribute to solving other organizational problems, to use Tilly's terminology. Although several of these questions repeatedly emerge throughout the empirical chapters, eventually chapter seven provides an analysis of Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy,

its internal categories as well as the links between its internal categories and external inequalities.

Chapter seven will demonstrate that even though several dimensions of inequality are at work in Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy which are manifested in very similar ways; these are associated with very different larger contextual changes and undertake very different organizational work. Nevertheless, I argue that certain inequalities that are linked to the core of an organizations's mission – such as in Kalocsa's case, ethnic inequalities in the inmate world and the role of Roma women inmates in providing justification for Kalocsa's outdated processing methods – are deeply institutionalized in all aspects of the organization's functioning. I believe that these can be changed only with a radical rethinking of the organization's mission.

CHAPTER ONE: DO WOMEN'S PRISONS PRODUCE INEQUALITIES? - A LITERATURE REVIEW

The key questions that this literature review will approach, as a basis for the discussion of research findings on the Kalocsa prison, are the following:

Do women's prisons produce inequalities? If so, how? Do women's prisons reproduce existing inequalities found outside the prison walls in society, or do they produce other inequalities unique to their organizational culture, history and key characteristics? In particular, do women's prisons reproduce racial/ ethnic inequalities that exist in society?

While the literature on women's prisons has in recent years started to explore some of these topics – especially the significance of race/ ethnicity has become a central element of inquiry into women's prisons - several of the above questions can be considered new to the literature. In particular, the production of in-prison inequalities has not been addressed so far directly by the literature: this is the field to which the Kalocsa research hopes to contribute. The concept, based on Charles Tilly's theory about durable inequalities, will be introduced at the end of this chapter, and the empirical chapters to follow will provide an analysis of Kalocsa's inequality-producing mechanisms (Tilly 1998).

Nevertheless, the literature on prisons and women's prisons has produced debates and concepts that are closely related to the above questions and therefore influence the emerging ideas on in-prison inequalities. The literature review will address these debates and concepts below.

First, the issue of prisons' permeability or impermeability will be discussed, which has been a central debate in the literature ever since the emergence of prison sociology. The section entitled 'To what extent are prison walls permeable?' will introduce this classic debate that has influenced the literature for several decades, including the emerging literature on women's prisons in the 1960s. The section will demonstrate that while Goffman has been routinely associated with the impermeability stand, a closer reading of his work reveals his reflections about the reproduction of existing social inequalities within prisons. (Goffman 1961). Also, from the classics of prison sociology Goffman's work is closest to applying the kind

of organizational framework that the current topic, the study of in-prison inequalities requires. The section will discuss these similarities in approach, and will introduce questions that the empirical analysis will address in this respect. The section will also demonstrate that the idea that women's prisons are very different from men's prisons, has emerged from the very first studies of women's prisons in the 1960s.[2]

Second, the literature on women's imprisonment will be explored. This section will discuss the main findings of feminist-informed research that started to explore the characteristics of prison regimes in women's prisons from the late 1970s. The section will argue that while research findings on specific gendered characteristics of women's prisons were reinforced in several historical studies as well as ethnographic studies, this focus on demonstrating the specificity of women's prisons did not necessarily encourage research on the differences among them, and on the internal operations of prisons. A few comparative studies will be discussed that included reflections on institutional characteristics of specific women's prisons. The section will conclude with the recognition shared by several feminist scholars regarding the need to study institutional-level processes and structures in order to better understand women's experiences of imprisonment, and with locating the Kalocsa research in this discussion.

The third section explores the following question: What is the significance of race and ethnicity in a women's prison? Apart from introducing background data on the over-representation of racial and ethnic minorities in the prison systems of several countries; the section reviews the various scholarly approaches that were developed in recent years for explanations regarding the over-representation of ethnic minority women in prison, in a number of countries. The review demonstrates that despite a clear recognition by feminist criminologists that more work is needed on racial/ ethnic minority women's experiences in prison, and a growing number of approaches; there

[2] The literature review includes studies of men's prisons from the early days of prison sociology, both because these studies created the key concepts and debates that influenced the literature for decades, and because these studies addressed the question of the permeability of prisons, which will be an important consideration for the Kalocsa research. However, the discussion of recent findings in the literature will be based on the study of women's prisons. The review of the literature will demonstrate that women's prisons tend to be very different from those of men's; both in general, and in particular regarding the significance of race and ethnicity: unlike in men's prisons, in women's prisons research typically did not identify gang activity along ethnic lines.

are hardly any comprehensive studies on the experiences of ethnic minority women in prison, and on institutionalized forms of racism in the prison systems. The section identifies this topic as the key contribution that the Kalocsa research hopes to make.

The review's intention is to discuss these key debates in feminist criminology concerning women's prisons, and approach questions regarding the production of in-prison inequalities with a special emphasis on the significance of race and ethnicity. The discussion of each of the three questions will place the Kalocsa project in the context of these debates, and the last section will introduce the conceptual framework that has informed the research project. This section will borrow concepts from the study of gendered organizational inequalities found in work organizations, a field that offers decades of experience and a few theoretical frameworks for the study of organizational inequalities as well. Following Tilly's theory about durable inequalities, the last section will end with introducing the dimensions of the production of inequalities to be studied, as well as the hypotheses to be tested in the empirical chapters.

1.1 To What Extent Are Prison Walls Permeable? - From the Classic Debate to the First Studies of Women's Prisons

While the early, empirical sociological works on prisons - in the 1940s and 1950s in the U.S. - were not explicitly concerned with examining the prison's role in producing or reproducing social inequality, they created concepts and launched debates that have come to define key elements of the discussion on prisons for decades. One of the key objectives for this section is to introduce a key debate that is closely related to the subject of in-prison inequalities: the permeability-impermeability debate. This debate is relevant for the subject, since the examination of racism and inequality within prison requires recognition about the possible impact of outside social inequalities within prison, which, as we will see, was not straightforward in many classic works on prisons. A further objective is to introduce key concepts and analytical categories for the study of prisons, largely relying on Erving Goffman's work, that will be used as an important reference throughout the empirical chapters. Lastly, this section aims to provide some insight into research evidence that has supported the notion that women's prisons are very different institutions from men's prisons.

The permeability-impermeability debate concerns the degree to which prisons should be thought of as completely sealed and closed worlds on their own, that is, as being impermeable. Several of the first researchers of prisons, in particular Sykes, Clemmer, and Goffman are routinely associated with the impermeability argument. In 1940 Clemmer coined the term “prisonization”, that is the process in which the inmate becomes focused on the internal world of the prison to the extent that the outside world no longer exists for him. (Clemmer [1940] 1987). Many of the early prison researchers analyzed prisonization, and the so-called inmate culture: the various roles and the internal dynamics of inmate life. Gresham Sykes found that in response to deprivations suffered in the prison[3], inmates develop an inmate culture with its own system of rules as well as various roles that are characteristic of the prison environment. The inmate culture regulates inmate behavior by reinforcing inmate solidarity and forbidding cooperation with the prison, e.g. informing or 'ratting' is generally despised and may even be punished in some inmate communities (Sykes 1956a).

Goffman has been strongly associated with this debate, because his concept of total institutions is broadly interpreted as suggesting a very strong degree of impermeability.[4] Goffman's work focused on describing the institutional mechanisms and processes that result in the mortification of the inmates’ self, and in the creation of two worlds within the institution, those of inmates' and staff's, which are presented as fairly self-contained and closed. Goffman's work undoubtedly centered on presenting the powerful processes and irresistible internal mechanisms that characterize total institutions, and that result in the mortification of the self - clearly suggesting a disconnect from the outside world. He explicitly discussed the function of total institutions' suppressing external background, status, and role differences among inmates:

[3]Apart from the loss of freedom, Sykes identified several other forms of deprivation - such as the loss of material goods and services, heterosexual relationships, personal autonomy and self-worth (Sykes 1956a).

[4] This permeability/impermeability discussion is basically identical to what has been frequently referred to in the literature as the debate on importation/deprivation. I prefer to use the permeability/impermeability framework because it translates more readily to the subject under discussion.

> Some impermeability in an establishment seems necessary if morale and stability are to be maintained. It is by suppressing external social distinctions that a total institution can build up an orientation to its own scheme of honour. It should be noted that in thus suppressing externally valid differences, the harshest total institution may be the most democratic (1961:112).

Nevertheless, Goffman's contribution to the permeability debate has been oversimplified in the literature, where he is clearly associated with the 'impermeability' stand. A closer reading of Goffman's work reveals that – in spite of his statement above - he was not unaware of the actual impact of external social factors on the inmate's status and position in the institutions. In his section on conclusions and qualifications, he contended that:

> [...] there will always be some limits to its reshuffling tendencies and some use made of social distinctions already established in the environing society, if only so the institution can conduct necessary affairs with this society and tolerated by it. Since the crafts, trades and professions of those who become inmates are often required within the institution, staff will understandably allow and even encourage some role carry-over (1961:113).

Goffman also discussed inmates' efforts directed at improving their status within the institution, by moving from lower-ranked, less prestigious wards to better ones. Goffman made also references to internal mechanisms such as the rewards and privilege system that he perceived as key to defining the new environment and new rules in which inmates have to rebuild their selves – this way, he perceived the rewards and privilege system as the engine of prisonization.[5]

He was also aware of the existence of inmate hierarchies — for instance he talked about the existence of privileged inmates. In addition, he was also aware of the links between inmate hierarchies and social inequalities outside prisons. Goffman explained that some levels of inmate hierarchies are likely to be more permeable to outside influences than others. His example about 'Negro' garbage crews clearly demonstrates his awareness about the impact of social inequalities upon internal hierarchies.

[5] These references to the privilege system will be discussed in more detail in the empirical chapter that discusses the rewards and privilege system in the Kalocsa prison.

> [...] the inmate garbage crews in our prized integrated mental health hospitals tend to be wholly Negro. It seems to be true that within any given establishment the topmost and bottom-most roles tend to be relatively permeable to wider community standards, while the impermeable tendencies seem to be focused in the middle ranges of the institution's hierarchy (1961:114).

Thus, while Goffman became identified with the impermeability argument, a closer reading of his work on total institutions shows that he was not unaware of internal inmate hierarchies being linked to inmates' prior social status and position, such as for instance one's occupation and class/ race position. Although he mentioned such differences, Goffman did not explore in-prison hierarchies and inequalities further. Apart from such occasional references, Goffman more or less ignored differences within the inmate world, which he readily admitted in the conclusions and qualifications chapter of his book. Here he explained that in further studies of prisons more attention needs to be paid to the internal structure of both the inmate world and the staff world, as well as to the institutional functions and roles associated with these sub-groups.

In contrast with Goffman and Sykes, who were identified with the impermeability stand in the debate, John Irwin and Donald Cressey developed arguments suggesting a closer relationship between the external world and prisons. They disagreed with the emphasis on presenting inmate roles and culture as a product of prison life only, and they emphasized the influence of pre-prison groups and experiences on adaptation styles. They argued that only some inmates comply with the special rules of the prison — which they refer to as "convict culture". In contrast to the convict culture, the "criminal" or "theft culture" stems directly from and is linked to the criminal world outside the prison. And the so-called "conventional culture" refers to prisoners who continue to identify with conventional middle-class values and keep a distance from both the theft and convict cultures. Irwin and Cressey became identified as the representatives of the permeability stand.

The first studies on women's prisons, conducted in the U.S. in the 1960s, were inspired by the above-mentioned debates and concepts and mainly studied whether concepts such as inmate culture and inmate roles can be observed in women's prisons as well. David Ward and Gene Kassebaum published the first study of a women's prison in 1965, concluding that women's prisons were very different places from those of men. The study's general approach to understanding inmate behavior was informed

by the above-mentioned permeability argument. The authors tried to understand how the inmates' pre-prison experiences, including marital status, work experience etc. influenced their status and strategies in prison.

Ward and Kassebaum found that the "convict culture" and "theft culture" identified by Irwin and Cressey did not apply to the Frontera women's prison. They nevertheless found that many inmates identified with the so-called "legitimate culture".[6] The authors argued that the lack of inmate culture is linked to major differences between women's and men's criminality, e.g. that women's prisons had more first-time offenders and relatively fewer hardened criminals. Ward and Kassebaum ultimately connected their analysis to sex role differences, however, rather than to solely the differences in men's and women's criminal careers. For instance, the authors argued that due to the need to maintain masculine self-image in a homogenous environment such as a men's prison, the roles that men inmates take up, will be different from those that women's inmates are likely to follow (Ward and Kassebaum [1965] 2007).

As a result of recognizing the importance of sex-role differences, the authors discussed a range of characteristics that differentiated women prisoners from men. For instance, they argued that women suffered more from separation from their families and children. Nevertheless, the discussion of women's psychological and sexual needs led the authors to suggest that women's homosexual behavior in prison was their primary response to the pains of imprisonment, arguing that women turned to fellow inmates for intimacy and mutual dependence in the absence of male partners on whom they were psychologically dependent. Most of the study presented findings about women's sex lives in Frontera.[7]

[6] The authors point out that women sentenced for homicide have especially demonstrated a strong orientation towards `legitimate' values and goals. They also include an analysis about the relatively high proportion of women sentenced for homicide, and conclude that their crime was typically committed against family members and close 'associates.' This analysis is especially interesting given that is was accomplished prior to a widespread recognition about the links between domestic violence and homicide cases committed by women, usually after years of abuse.

[7] The dedication of almost the entire study to discussing sex life in the first comprehensive, book-length study of a women's prison, and the definition of homosexual activity as the only form of 'adaptation' to prison life — while not discussing sex life in men's prisons in the same approach and detail - has led to many criticisms by feminist researchers. For instance, Pat Carlen pointed out that the authors were relying on an essentialist and stereotypical notion of women's psychological needs, which

Rose Giallombardo's research, published in 1966, also challenged Sykes and Clemmer's ideas about impermeability. Similarly to Ward and Kassebaum, Giallombardo also used the sex role differences approach to understand women's prisons. She suggested that women's identities were based upon traditional roles such as wife, mother and daughter. In her analysis she found that women in prison tended to form either play-families (in which traditional roles were used and inmates called each other "mother", "father", etc.), or homosexual relationships, and that both had the function of fulfilling the conventional roles denied them in prison. Giallombardo implied that women tended to be passive, which was ultimately why women's prisons were more stable and experienced less turmoil. She has been criticized for relying on stereotypical ideas about women (e.g. passivity, jealousy, etc.) and not discussing women inmates as autonomous actors.[8]

Esther Heffernan's study of a women's reformatory institution was published shortly after the two above-mentioned works (Heffernan 1972). After analyzing the social organization of inmate life, Heffernan found that the inmate types described by Sykes were not directly applicable to the women's reformatory. She was also unable to identify a uniform inmate culture. She found, rather, certain patterns and practices in how women do time, and called these "the Square", "the Cool" and "the Life". Women following "the Square" pattern tended to identify with what she called conventional values, while those in "the Life" tended to be associated with the criminal world of the streets. Those in the "Cool" pattern were mainly focusing on the internal world of the prison. Although Heffernan developed a framework very similar to Irwin and Clemmer's conception of various subcultures, her understanding of these patterns and practices allowed for more room for individual negotiation and

led them to suggest that all women have the same need (belonging to a man), and that when deprived of this all are looking for the same solution (homosexuality in prison). Nevertheless, Carlen also pointed out that the book was a product of its time, in the sense that many explanations of women's crime in late 19th and early 20th century criminology linked criminality to women's sexuality (Carlen, 2004). Homosexual behavior in men's prisons was actually discussed by both Sykes and Clemmer. It was, however, described as a matter of inmate culture caused by deprivation and a constituent element of emerging roles; not as the main of form of adaptation to prison life (Clemmer [1940]1987; Sykes 1956).

[8] For instance, Mary Bosworth identified the stereotypical view of women presented in Giallombardo's work, as well as the implied desirability of controlling women in prison the same way they are controlled in their home (Bosworth 1999).

differences. She believed that women's pre-prison experiences played an important part in shaping their responses to imprisonment. In particular, she discussed previous institutionalization and offense history as key factors that influence in-prison adaptation.

Thus, the first comprehensive studies of women's prisons all concluded that women's prisons were very different from those of men, and that the key concepts elaborated by prison sociologists studying men's prisons - such as inmate culture and prisoner types - did not apply well to women's prisons. Perhaps the most important legacy of these first pieces of research on women's prisons is an enthusiastic demonstration of the difference between women's and men's prisons.[9] They discussed ideas regarding the difference in women's and men's criminality, the impact of sex-role differences, separation from children, and so forth. Many of these concepts are still being used today, though often in different forms. However, this focus on the difference of women's prisoners and women's prisons has occasionally reinforced stereotypes about women prisoners being passive and sexualized. Despite such shortcomings, however, these studies on women's prisons clearly gave the first, and often rich, descriptions about women's lives in prison. Although these studies were already aware of the very substantial differences among imprisoned women in terms of class background, ethnicity, committed crime, recidivism, age etc., these dimensions and their impact on women's in-prison experiences were not explored systematically. Women prisoners were largely thought of as constituting one group with identical or similar needs.

In summary, the permeability debate successfully challenged the view of prisons as entirely closed and isolated worlds.[10] The debate raised attention to the impact of external social factors on the prison's and prisoners' lives: either to the impact of earlier group loyalties (e.g. convict culture) or to the importance of the individuals' pre-prison experiences in shaping their adaptation styles. However, these

[9] The emphasis on differences has sometimes pushed aside findings of similarities between men's and women's prisons - such as the similarities in Heffernan's model to that proposed by Irwin and Cressey, or the similarities that Ward and Kassebaum found in inmate types and subcultures in the men's and women's prisons they researched (Ward and Kassebaum 2007).

[10] The classic permeability-impermeability or importation-deprivation debate has not continued into the further generations of prison research in its original form, however, elements of the debate may resurface from time to time.

early research studies did not address the prison's ability and mechanisms to explicitly produce and reproduce inequalities, nor the various dimensions of inequalities produced by the prison that might have required to be studied. These early full-scale studies focused almost exclusively on inmate culture in men's prisons, with a few exceptions which were introduced above. Race and ethnicity issues were largely left unexplored as well with, at best, reference made to the number of ethnic minority prisoners[11]. Although the working class background of inmates was actually discussed in some studies, this did not lead to systematic analysis or theory formation.[12] This lack of attention to the prison's ability to produce and reproduce inequalities followed from these early studies' primary focus on describing how inmates adapt to imprisonment, and inmate culture, while the characteristics of the prison itself remained invisible or unimportant.

Nevertheless, these early works remains impressive, of which - especially in case of Goffman - the empirical chapters will make further use. First of all, the analysis will use several organizational concepts applied by Goffman. He discussed organizational phenomena such as inmate structure, inmate hierarchy, the rewards and privileges system, and organizational processes throughout his work – with other words, he relied on organizational categories in the analysis of total institutions. In fact, his reliance on such organizational categories is unique not only among the classic works on prisons, but generally. Thus, the analysis of the Kalocsa prison in the empirical chapters will rely on organizational processes as analytical categories to explore the life of a total institution. The research will use specifically the rewards and privileges system as a central process in the analysis. Secondly, the empirical chapters will address what has been left unexplored by Goffman: the stratification of the inmate world and the role of the various groups within the inmate hierarchy of the prison. The analysis will explore whether there are any significant differences among various groups of inmates in their access to prison-goods, and whether this plays any

[11] For instance, already from Clemmer's first classic study on prisonization in (Clemmer [1940] 1987) we learn that ethnic data was collected as part of the study.

[12] Despite the 1939 publication of Georg Rusche's and Otto Kirchheimer's work (Rusche and Kircheimer [1939] 2003) which addressed the relationship between imprisonment, economy and unemployment; their analysis has not inspired the emerging sociological literature on prisons to consider broader structural issues, or to challenge automatic links between crime and punishment. (However, several decades later, from the 1970s and 1980s their early study was heavily relied on.)

role in the internal working of the institution. Such an analysis will ultimately contribute to our understanding of total institutions as described by Goffman: I will argue that permeability alone, as manifested in stratification of the inmate world along similar lines as found in society outside the prison walls, does not challenge the power of prisons over inmates and does not contribute to permeability in any other meaning of the word, e.g. openness, or stronger ties to the outside world. On the contrary, I will argue that such a stratification along well-known and familiar social inequalities only reinforces the status quo and discipline in prison. In this sense, I will argue that Goffman's understanding of total institutions can actually accommodate permeability in inmate stratification without undermining discipline.

1.2 The Emphasis on Gender and Social Control: The Study of Women's Imprisonment[13]

Feminist and feminist-informed prison researchers and criminologists launched a series of studies on women's prisons and prisoners - while also theorizing on women's crime and punishment - in the 1970s and 1980s in the U.S., U.K. and Canada. This wave of academic research was inspired by the feminist and prison reform movements of the time. First, research on women's imprisonment, and the influence of historically specific social conceptions about femininity/ womanhood on women's prisons, will be introduced below. Feminist researchers' main thesis about the different and discriminatory treatment of women prisoners in prison systems will also be discussed. I will demonstrate that although these pieces of research successfully delivered important messages about women prisoners, about the gendered nature of women's imprisonment and about the key dilemmas of women's imprisonment; they told us little about women's prisons as organizations and about their operations, social organization and dynamics. Firstly, the study of the inner dynamics of life, the social organization of inmate groups and inmate culture in women's prisons did not receive

[13] This review will not embrace the entire literature on women's imprisonment and on women in prison; it will focus on those pieces of research that discuss women's imprisonment and women's prisons comprehensively. This section will not discuss research on the characteristics of women in prison, which will be covered in the next section on race and ethnicity. Yet a range of other topics will not be discussed in the literature review, e.g. research on adaptation to prison, on prisonization, on self-harm, suicide, depression etc., on treatment programs and on reentry. Inmate writers and autobiographies are not discussed either.

much attention. Secondly, the role of the actual prison studied in influencing women's experiences of imprisonment, and the possible differences among various prison regimes[14], received also little attention.

Among the few pieces of research that acknowledge the role of organizational issues in influencing women's experiences of imprisonment, are comparative research studies about women's prisons which will be introduced briefly below. These comparative studies show that some characteristics of women's prisons seem to be rather stable across space and time, yet these studies also demonstrate the importance of institutional specificities and context at the same time: they show how women's experiences of imprisonment differed depending on differences in various organizational or contextual aspects of their imprisonment. I will argue that more research is needed on the actual prisons and on the various experiences of imprisonment within these prisons. I will place the Kalocsa research project into this existing pool of research studies, as a research effort that aims to map at least some parts of the internal dynamics of a prison, and aims to examine key organizational processes, along with their outcomes and other details of the inside workings of a women's prison.

1.2.1 From feminist approaches to the study of women's imprisonment to recent developments

Much of the emerging feminist scholarship in the 1980ies has conceptualized women's imprisonment as another form of social control of women that - together with such largely informal social controls as women's place in the family or work at low-paid jobs - are meant to make women obedient members of society. In this approach, female criminals are not only violating the law but also opposing accepted

[14] 'Prison regime' in the criminology literature refers generally to the type of prison under discussion. In most countries prisons are classified according to their severity and function. Although the variations in typology across countries are significant, most countries distinguish lighter regimes such as low-security prisons, open prisons, and therapeutic institutions from more security-oriented regimes such as high-security prisons (or supermax prisons in the U.S.) and closed regimes. However, regime in the sociology literature is used much more broadly, e.g. I will refer to Joan Acker's 'inequality regime' later on in this chapter. Please note that in discussing 'prison regimes' throughout the text, I will rely on the widespread understanding of the concept as used in the criminology literature.

understandings of womanhood and women's place in society. The first pieces of research identified ways in which general ideas in society about femininity and womanhood impacted prison regimes for women.

> Although women in prison have always been treated primarily as prisoners, and than often as if they are male prisoners, their prison regimes have, at the same time, also been shaped by some of the most repressive, discriminatory and usually outdated ideologies of womanhood and femininity that have been prevalent in society at large. (Carlen 2004:2)

The first comprehensive study of a women's prison in the U.K. - Cornton Vale in Scotland - was published by Pat Carlen in 1983.[15] The chapter on Cornton Vale concludes that women in prison are treated unfavorably - Carlen calls this discriminatory treatment - primarily because of their relatively small number and invisibility within the prison system, as well as the prison's understanding of femininity. These two findings are explained in some detail below.

Carlen found that primarily due to their small numbers, women prisoners are invisible and their needs neglected. The public mistakenly thinks that those few women who go to prison must have committed very grave crimes. Because of the small number of women's prisons, imprisoned women tend to be larger distances from their homes, which causes difficulties in staying in touch with family members, which in turn becomes one of the most often mentioned source of pain for imprisoned women. Women's prisons offer a smaller variety of treatment programs, and work, educational and training activities because of the relatively smaller number of inmates. Released women can rely upon a smaller number of facilities and services. And they tend to suffer a greater stigma, since they are not simply seen as criminals but as unnatural women (Carlen 2004). Her finding about the unfavorable treatment of women prisoners due to their small number was reinforced in many other countries

[15] One chapter summarized her findings from a small-scale qualitative study of women's experiences in a prison in Scotland. Other chapters, however, describe and analyze other social institutions in Scotland, e.g. family life, conceptions of masculinity, social work, mental illness, and so forth, deriving from her interest in interpreting women's imprisonment in light of broader social structures and processes.

and studies produced later about women's prisons, including many recent accounts[16]. This recognition and activism on this topic in several countries has actually led to court cases that challenged discrimination against women prisoners.[17]

Another key recognition of these studies was that women's differential treatment was partly the result of the staff's and administration's understandings and definitions of femininity and womanhood. Carlen found that women in prison were defined and treated as being: "both within and without sociability, both within and without femininity, and both within and without adulthood" (Carlen 2004:83). According to Carlen's analysis, on the one hand the staff and prison administration considered inmates childish, unfeminine and unsocialized. On the other hand, the administration was encouraging the medicalization, domestication and infantilization of women inmates. With the simultaneous emergence of historical studies of women's imprisonment, researchers found that many of these processes or technologies for governing women in prison were not unique to this women's prison in Scotland.

The various historical works on women's imprisonment published from the late 1970s and 1980s in the U.K., in the U.S., and shortly after in Canada, found that 19th century women's prisons promoted, through their administration and treatment of women, the ideologies of their time regarding femininity, women's place in society, and women criminals.[18] For instance, Nicole Rafter showed that when women's

[16] Recent comparative research that covered six countries of Europe (the U.K., Spain, France, Italy, Germany and Hungary) identified many of these problems across the six countries, and concluded that women in prison are treated unfavorably in most prison systems primarily because of their small numbers. Some improvement was tangible in those countries where governments have created and implemented policies targeting women in prison. But where no such policies existed, women in prison were clearly disadvantaged and neglected. Key findings about Hungary will be included in the chapter on Hungary. (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005)

[17] Such discrimination has been challenged in the courts in the U.S., as well as in Canada and the U.K. Victories achieved in the courts in the U.S. in the 1980s have led in some instances to improvements in treatment and vocational and educational programs. Several feminist criminologists, however, are skeptical about this success given that court victories did not necessarily lead to systemic improvements in the lives of women prisoners, and/or were often not implemented appropriately. A Canadian example of this is that even though a court ruled that equal treatment in vocational training must be provided for women inmates, the actual training courses offered to women were to take place in a men's prison (McCorkel 2003; Hannah-Moffat 2001).

[18] On U.S. women's prisons see Rafter (1985), on the history of women's imprisonment in Scotland see Dobash, Dobash and Gutteridge (1986) and for a Canadian perspective see Hannah-Moffat (2001).

reformatories – the first independent penal institutions for women in the U.S. - were created as part of the prison reform movement in the 1870s, regimes for women and men differed greatly, and women's regimes were influenced by the popular understanding of women offenders as less dangerous, passive and as women in need of more domestic training etc.[19] Rafter argued that the differential treatment of women prisoners has such deep roots in the U.S. prison system that, although reformatories were closed in the 1930s, gender stereotyping remains a major problem in women's prisons (Rafter 1985).

Based on the various sources of historical analysis and study of contemporary prisons, feminist criminologists concluded that two opposing forces have shaped women's imprisonment ever since the establishment of women's prisons. Firstly, women's prisons were transformed from or modeled after men's prisons, and thus were largely inadequate for imprisoning women. Secondly, in most women's prisons, women inmates tended to be treated paternalistically, which ultimately resulted in domesticating and infantilizing women prisoners. The actual content of women's different treatment may have changed depending not only on shifting definitions of femininity and womanhood, but also on the emergence of new penal reform thought and other contextual changes. With the emergence of prison psychiatry in the second part of the 20th century, for instance, women prisoners were considered "mad rather than bad" (Carlen 2004:12). This led to them being heavily medicalized because their differences from men prisoners were interpreted as pathological (Carlen 2004; Hannah-Moffat 2001).

[19]"The cottage plan appealed to these reformers because it was congruent with what they conceived of as woman's nature - too passive to attempt escapes, impressionable and therefore in need of gentle discipline. Moreover, the cottage plan offered excellent opportunities for domestic training, which the reformers came to identify as central to the rehabilitation of criminal women. In program as well as architecture, then, separate prisons for women began to differ dramatically from prisons for men. As in reformatories for men, inmates attended school for several hours a day; but most of their time was taken up by instruction in sewing, cooking, and waiting on table. Predictably, these first women's prisons also developed new methods of discipline. Instead of the lockstep, some required decorous walking, with hands clasped behind the back. Their inmates, instead of being whipped (as were prisoners in the penitentiaries) or "paddled" (as were prisoners at Elmira, the first reformatory for men), were often punished by being sent to their "rooms" and denied supper. These were techniques used in training schools for juveniles. Indeed, infantilization was fundamental to the disciplinary methods developed by reformatories for adult women." (Rafter 1985:237).

Thus, feminist research on women's prisons as sites of social control has resulted in a rich presentation of the impact of larger, socially defined understandings of femininity and womanhood on the treatment of women in prisons which, the studies showed, could be consistently established over space and time. However, the majority of historical as well as many ethnographic studies focused on presenting this perspective to the extent that the actual differences among women's prisons, and the importance of the specific institutional factors remained largely unexplored. In fact, this has been true not only for the early studies published in the 1980s, but also for more recent writing on women's imprisonment. As a result, the literature on women's imprisonment has few answers as to the power and significance of individual prison regimes on impacting women's experiences of imprisonment, and generally little is known about the inside working of women's prisons: about inmate groups or hierarchies, internal dynamics, key processes etc. As Kruttschnitt and Gartner has summarized this tendency in the literature:

> [...] research on women in prison is enormously diverse, and much of it has been less interested in imprisonment per se than in prison as an instance of a larger network of discipline or as a site in which a more general set of social relations and processes are played out. As such the research has contributed to our understandings of the processes of gender identity construction, of gendered social controls, and more; and it has explicitly or implicitly affirmed the importance of attending to women in prison in particular. While this has had value, we concur with others (e.g., Carlen 1994) who argue for research that is concerned with imprisonment as a site of state punishment and with questions about the pains of imprisonment asked in the classic prison sociology of the mid-twentieth century (2003:63).

Nevertheless, a few ethnographies and a few comparative studies did reflect on the impact of the actual institutional settings on women's experiences of imprisonment. Among these exceptions, several studies by Candace Kruttschnitt and Rosemary Gartner, as well as the work of Lynne Haney, Andi Rierden and Paul Rock should be highlighted. Not all of these studies aimed at discussing the impact of organizational factors on women's experiences of imprisonment; however, primarily as a result of the comparative perspective they did produce findings relevant for this subject. Below I will summarize the findings of relevant comparative studies, in particular, two kinds of studies have been valuable: comparisons of women's experiences at various penal institutions at the same time period; and studies that

followed experiences of imprisonment at the same penal institution in different time periods and penal ideologies.

Research conducted at various penal institutions at the same time – considering that a number of key environmental factors such as penal policies, politics, penal ideologies etc. were the same – has the potential to offer insight into the impact of institutional differences among the prisons studied on women's experiences of imprisonment.[20] Kruttschnitt and Gartner undertook research on women inmates' experiences in two California prisons constructed in very different time periods and under different penal ideologies on women's imprisonment. Frontera was built in 1952, at the height of the rehabilitative discourse in the U.S., while Valley State Prison (VSP), a large new prison was built in 1995, and was considered a product of the new penology. The authors found that there were many similarities between women's experiences of imprisonment. Women in both prisons, for example, discussed separation from family members as a major source of pain. And yet, more women at Frontera were able to talk about positive experiences in relation to their imprisonment, and more of them discussed their relationship with staff as constructive or even helpful. Inmates at Frontera described VSP as a militarized prison and did not want to be transferred there.

Kruttschnitt and Gartner concluded that the findings about significant differences in women's prison experiences depending on the institutional setting suggest that gender may not as fundamentally define women's responses to imprisonment as has been assumed previously. Universalizing women's experiences of imprisonment should be replaced by more attention to a range of other factors, including the role of institutional differences. They also concluded that these factors can only be understood through the detailed study of prison structures and processes in their larger environment[21] (Kruttschnitt and Gartner 2000, 2003).

[20] This potential was often left unexplored even in studies conducted at various prisons, primarily because researchers' interest did not embrace the matter of institutional differences and their impact on women's life in prison (E.g. Bosworth 1999, Hannah-Moffat 2001).

[21] The authors wondered why other ethnographies of women's prisons have not highlighted the importance of institutional differences among women's prisons to the same extent. They concluded that women's prisons previously studied were probably not that different from each other, and that the discourse about women prisoners was probably similar as well. Kruttschnitt and Gartner added that a strong emphasis in earlier work on the impact of conceptions about women criminals and femininity

Lynne Haney found in a comparative research effort of two state agencies under the California juvenile justice system that the two agencies operated on markedly different assumptions about juvenile girls' criminality, about their needs, and about the kind of intervention and control required. Despite the fact that both agencies were part of the state bureaucracy, Haney found the practice of the agencies studied did not reflect an unambiguous male-dominated view in their approach to delinquent young women: rather, they followed different approaches, influenced by their particular place and function in the criminal justice system. Thus Haney argued that the state should be seen, instead of a monolithic agency, as a network of institutions with competing understandings of gender (Haney 1996). While Haney's theoretical angle in this research was different - she contributed to shaping feminist theories on the state - her findings about the operations of the two institutions actually confirmed the significance of studying the institutional dimension of penality in greater detail.

The second kind of comparative research that has offered insight into the institutional dimension of the impact on women's lives, are those studies that consider the life of the same prison in different time periods, and under changing penal ideologies and policies. Kruttschnitt and Gartner compared women's experiences of imprisonment in the same California institution in the 1960s and in the 1990s. For their historical comparison the authors used the research site and survey data collected by Ward and Kassebaum in their famous study, the Frontera prison.

Kruttschnitt and Gartner prepared a similar survey in 1995, which was supplemented by interviews, and they were also able to use interview data from the 1965 research. They also relied on observable changes in architecture and design, e.g. the building of towers and a barbed-wire fence that did not exist in 1965. The authors' objective was to understand whether the remarkable changes in the ideas about rehabilitation possibilities between the 1960s and the 1990s, and the increasing emphasis on punitive methods, had significantly changed inmates' lives in Frontera.[22]

---

may have also contributed to paying less attention to internal prison processes and structures, and institutional differences among prisons.

[22] The authors were able to document changes in the structure and everyday life of the prison that were associated with policy changes, e.g. women were called "residents", and clothes, personal items, and exchanges of goods were allowed in the 1960s. By the 1990s in Frontera, such privileges were restricted, women were called "inmates", and inmate-staff relationships had become more formalized.

Kruttschnitt and Gartner concluded that the evidence seemed to support the continuities in women's experiences of imprisonment, rather then the differences. They believed, however, that this finding was due to the lack of dramatic differences and changes in the operation of women's prisons (Gartner and Kruttchnitt 2004; Kruttchnitt and Garner 2003). Nevertheless, their research result – the continuity in women's experiences of imprisonment despite the significant changes in penal ideologies, policies and practices – confirms the importance of the organizational dimension, since it raises the question whether some prisons, equipped with long histories, deeply embedded practices, routines etc. are able to resist larger contextual changes in their environment.

Among the few other studies that attempted to record the impact of institutional and policy transformations on the lives of imprisoned women, are research efforts of Andi Rierden – who documented the life of a women's prison in Connecticut between 1992 and 1995. The prison was built in the first part of the 20th century under the rehabilitative ideal; however, a new prison was being built at the site in the mid 90ies, already under a distinctively punitive ideology. Rierden's ultimate goal was to compare women's experiences of imprisonment in the new and the old building, however, she was not given access to the new prison for research interviews, thus the comparison remained incomplete (Rierden 1997). Lastly, Paul Rock's work on the history of 20 years of London's famous women's prison, the Holloway prison needs to be mentioned, which is a rich documentation of the very significant changes in the prison's life from 1968 until 1988. Rock demonstrates that the changes in punishment ideology and a great number of contextual changes have shaped the actual operation of the prison; however he does not explicitly develop the impact of the changing prison regimes on women's experiences (Rock 1996).

In summary, there is a growing recognition in the literature about the uneven impact of existing penal ideologies or policies on the lives of particular penal

But the authors also emphasized that despite changes in ideologies and approaches to punishment many continuities could be observed in the regime that remained in place. Women's responses to several questions when surveyed also suggested similarities. And where differences were identified the authors believed that those were not qualitative but differences in degree. For instance, the majority of women in both surveys disapproved of snitching, believed that a distance should be kept between staff and prisoners, and were rather skeptical about loyalty among inmates.

institutions.[23] Also, there is some research evidence to support the notion that the experiences of imprisonment in women's prisons with distinct history show remarkable continuities despite significant changes in penal policies, penal politics and penal ideologies. What needs to be better understood, are the institutional processes and mechanisms that contribute to prisons' ability to maintain their practices despite considerable changes in their penal environments. I will explore one of the possible invisible mechanisms that contributes to prisons' ability to withstand changes in their larger penal contexts: the internal stratification among inmates that contribute to maintaining the status quo.[24]

In the empirical chapters I will demonstrate the importance of the institutional dimension by mapping some of the continuities from Kalocsa's state-socialist past that continue to influence inmates' lives twenty years after the democratic transition. In addition, I will demonstrate the prison's remarkable ability to influence women's life in prison not only by direct means of control and punishment, but also by steering a key processes along specific value preferences, as determined by prison administration, and represented by key groups of inmates. The research will not attempt to give a full picture about the internal operations of the Kalocsa prison; the focus of the analysis will be on the production of inequalities by the prison. I will demonstrate that in order to maintain the status quo, the prison relies on its unique capacity to produce and reproduce inequalities among inmates. The fact that the research takes place in a Hungarian prison 15-20 years after the democratic transition which brought with radical changes in the function and the operations of the prison

[23] This recognition was not restricted to the study of women's imprisonment. Leading theoreticians on the sociology of crime and punishment, such as David Garland, have argued that punitive changes in penal ideologies in the U.S. and in the U.K. did not translate unambiguously into a punitive turn at the level of actual penal practices. Rather, according to Garland's analysis, the coexistence of rehabilitative and punitive practices characterizes current penal practices in these countries (Garland 2001).

[24] Lastly, contrasting studies of women's prisons that focus on the study of punishment and prisons with those that offer insights into the social construction of gender, and locating the Kalocsa project in the first group; does not mean that this project would ignore gender or the gendered nature of women's imprisonment. Gender will be integrated throughout the analysis in the empirical chapters. However, the current project does not aspire to make theoretical contributions to the already robust literature on the gendered nature of women's imprisonment, as demonstrated in many studies presented in the review of the literature as well as in some studies in Hungary, which will be introduced in the Hungary chapter.

system – which has impacted penal ideologies, legislation, policies and practice profoundly – is significant not only because it is the first investigation of its kind[25], but also because it may offer lessons for other countries in transition regarding the ways in which prisons may be resilient to even profound changes in their environments, relying on rather invisible mechanisms that maintain their status-quo.

1.3. Moving Beyond Recognizing the Significance of Race and Ethnicity: Approaches to Studying Race/ Ethnicity in Women's Imprisonment

There is ample data to suggest that women from racial and ethnic minorities in many countries are greatly over-represented in prison and have been the fastest growing segment of the prison populations in a range of countries over the past 15-20 years.[26] This section aims to explore the approaches that have emerged so far regarding the study of racial and ethnic minority women's experiences of imprisonment, and the

[25] In theory, as a consequence of the transition to democracy, prisons opened up for research across Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union two decades ago. However, in practice, access to prisons has remained extremely limited in a few countries – most notably in Russia, in Ukraine and in several countries of Central Asia. Research on Russian women's prisons by Laura Piacentini, Judith Pallot and Dominique Moran must be mentioned. Due to strict limitations on research methods and process, researchers faced challenges in interpreting interview data (Moran, Pallot and Piacentini 2009; Pallot 2007). In other countries access has been enabled yet often bureaucratic, time-consuming and the state has often retained some element of control (e.g. checking interview questions). Nevertheless, in most countries of the region, researchers, students and human rights activists were able to conduct research in prison over the past two decades and have contributed to a slowly growing literature. However, ethnographic research and sociological research on prisons in general and on women's prisons as well, has been extremely limited. Although the current research on Kalocsa is the first of its kind in Hungary, other research that paved the way for this particular effort, will be reviewed in the Hungary chapter.

[26] In countries such as the U.S., UK, Australia and Canada, both official statistics and research data support the overrepresentation of racial and ethnic minority women in prisons. Kruttschnitt and Gartner showed that a black woman was about six times more likely to be imprisoned than a white woman in the U.S., and ten times more likely in England and Wales (Kruttschnitt 2003). Canada's ratio of Aboriginal women in prison has been similarly striking. They were reported to make up about 15-23% of the prison population, and only about 2% of the general population. Aboriginal women in Australia face a very similar ratio (Carlen 2004), and an overrepresentation of Maori women in prison was also reported in New Zealand. Hispanic women in the U.S. were about twice as likely to be imprisoned as white women (Kruttschnitt 2003).

significance of their overrepresentation. The review will demonstrate that feminist scholars in a number of countries have recognized the need to undertake research both on the experiences of ethnic minority women in prison, as well as specifically on racism in prison. The section will review the few existing studies that integrate ethnic minority women's experiences in their findings; and summarize the rather limited research evidence currently available about institutional racism in women's prisons. The challenges of researching imprisoned Roma women's experiences in Europe will be also mentioned below.

I will demonstrate that feminist criminologists in North America, Australia and in Western Europe have advocated for greater attention to the study of ethnic minority women's experiences of imprisonment and to their treatment in prison (Carlen 2004; Chesney-Lind 2006; Kruttschnitt 2003). They have also produced significant analysis of some of the larger underlying trends that have resulted in the growth in the number of women of color behind the bars and in their often strong over-representation. (Davis 2003; Diaz-Cotto 2006; Mauer 2004; Sudbury 2005 etc.) All recent ethnographies on women's prisons have reflected on race/ ethnicity issues - most often trying to understand the in-prison and pre-prison experiences of black, Hispanic, or migrant women. But this has often been treated as one of the many intriguing dimensions of life in a women's prison described in comprehensive ethnographies. (Enos 2001; Owen 1998) However, there are at the moment very few studies that address specifically ethnic minority women's experiences of imprisonment (Diaz-Cotto 2006), and even fewer that systematically uncover how prison regimes treat minority women as compared with other women. Although several researchers assume and believe that prisons indeed produce institutional racism, I will argue that such studies are needed in order to understand whether and how institutional racism operates in women's prisons.

1.3.1 Explanations for the over-representation of ethnic minority women in prison

In the U.S. a rich variety of studies examine the historical roots of the over-representation of ethnic minorities in the prison system. Angela Y. Davis has linked some of the reasons for the dramatic overrepresentation of black men and women in

prisons to U.S. history, and to the persistent racialization of crime and criminality (Davis 2001, 2003). Similarly to the work of Davis, several other feminist writings have emerged recently that address the impact of slavery and colonialism on racialized understandings of crime, criminality and on the actual workings of the criminal justice systems in the U.S., Mexico and elsewhere (Bosworth and Flavin, 2007).[27] While Davis consistently described both men's and women's experiences, much of the literature on the legacy of slavery and colonization focuses on men's criminality and imprisonment and tends to omit women's imprisonment.[28]

Some researchers argue that although the convict leasing system was eventually abolished, the current prison system continues the practice of using black slave labor - due to the massive privatization of U.S. prisons and use of prisoners to supply cheap labor and produce profits. According to Davis, this so-called "prison industrial complex" has a vested interest in maintaining the continuous flow of cheap black labor to prisons. She has argued that various efforts to reform prisons have consistently failed and that the only real solution can thus be the abolition of the institution (Davis 2003). While the concept of the prison industrial complex has become well-known; some scholars, such as Loic Wacquant, have rejected the idea as one that suggests an overarching plan and conspiration behind the "eruption of the penal state" in the U.S. (Wacquant 2009:9).[29]

[27] See for instance the collection of essays in Bosworth and Flavin (2007).

[28] Loic Wacquant argued that the recent dramatic increase in the number of black prisoners originates from the crisis of the ghetto as an institution of social control of poor and black groups. Wacquant described four key institutions of social control in his historical analysis, starting from slavery and the Jim Crow era, continuing with the ghetto, and finally the prison. Although women are not completely invisible in his work - e.g. he mentions dramatic increases in black women's imprisonment - his analysis lacks a gender perspective and is based on men's experiences of imprisonment, e.g. his heavy emphasis on prison gangs organized along racial divisions does not resonate with women's experiences of imprisonment (Wacquant 2001). The review will primarily focus on scholars and explanations that have included a gender perspective in their accounts.

[29] Wacquant has elaborated his above-mentioned historical analysis into a critique of the neoliberal state, in which, the penal system is a core organ. In this state, economic deregulation is a ruling concept, along with cultural beliefs in individual responsibility; moreover, the expansion of the penal system takes place parallel with the retraction of the welfare state. Although the penal state was created in the U.S., Wacquant argues that the model of the penal state has been very influential in France and elsewhere in Europe in recent years (Wacquant 2009).

Research on the expansion of the penal system and changes in the welfare system in the U.S. has produced various linkages between two, arguing for instance that U.S. states with higher incarceration rates spend less on welfare (Beckett and Western 2001), or drawing attention not only to the tendencies but also to the curious relationship between the targets of reducing welfare programs (who are mainly women), and the targets of penal policies (who still are predominantly men) (Haney 2004, Wacquant 2009). These research efforts contributed to an understanding of penal and welfare regimes as systems that converge to govern social marginality in the U.S. At the same time, there has also been a call to produce research in other countries and transnational comparisons to explore to what extent the criminalization of poverty is gendered and racialized in other contexts (Haney 2004).

Feminist criminologist Chesney-Lind has pointed out that over the past two decades the U.S. media has increasingly portrayed girl offenders as violent, out-of-control, and dangerous criminals, and that this image has also been heavily racialized. Chesney-Lind attributes the growth of women's imprisonment to a political backlash[30] and emerging punitive penal policies in the U.S.[31] Chesney-Lind is not the only commentator to point to the media images of women offenders as highly problematic. Angela Davis has argued that women's bodies in prison are being treated as sexualized, referring to the still widespread sexual harassment that women inmates suffer from, or the frequent images of Black and Latino women as hypersexualized (Davis 2003). McCorkel has demonstrated that the image of a new, dangerous kind of criminal, "the bad black woman" emerged in the U.S. women's prison she studied,

[30] Chesney-Lind has argued that despite research demonstrating that the increasing levels of arrest are not supported by a similar growth in girls and women's criminality, the conviction about women's growing and dangerous criminality is now widespread in the U.S. This, in her analysis, may act as a self-fulfilling prophecy and generate further arrests, convictions, and demonization of the young violent black woman criminal. Under the term "vengeful equity", also used as "equality with a vengeance", Chesney-Lind has referred to women's prisoners being treated as if they were men. For example, she has discussed examples of chain-gangs for women inmates, or women having to deliver babies handcuffed for security reasons (Chesney-Lind 2006).

[31] The literature on the impact of punitive penal practices and policies (such as determinate sentencing, three strikes laws, sentencing minimums; and the war on drugs etc.) on racial minorities in the U.S. has been well-documented (Mauer 2001; Wacquant 2009).

and has justified new, more punitive methods (McCorkel 2003).[32] Chesney-Lind believes that future research must focus on the intersection of gender, race and class in order to challenge the backlash and punitive tendencies in women's imprisonment in the U.S.[33]

Several authors in the U.S., in the U.K. and elsewhere in Europe have explored the impact of repressive drug and immigration policies on women's imprisonment. Juanita Diaz-Cotto has demonstrated that the U.S.-led war on drugs has resulted in growing arrest and incarceration rates for Latina women not only in the U.S. but in Latin America and Europe as well (Diaz-Cotto 2005). Julia Sudbury's work has shown that the dramatic increase in foreign women's imprisonment in the U.K. is intimately linked to the emergence of the Jamaican 'drug mule' in the media in the late 1990s - not as a nonviolent offender, but as a criminal associated with gangs, gun crime and urban violence (Sudbury 2005).

Several researchers in Europe addressed the criminalization of immigrants as a key contributor of the rise in women's imprisonment. Some of this research has included occasional references to Roma women migrants in European prisons.[34] Asale Angel-Ajani has argued that in Italy a growing number of African immigrant women - and others from Latin America and Eastern Europe, including Roma women - have been the targets of repressive incarceration policies used against immigrants (Angel-Ajani 2005). Another research found that immigrant women in Italy were heavily criminalized, and that most of them were arrested for minor offences and illegal

[32] The discussion in the next section will return to McCorkel's study, as one of the few examples for prison ethnography that takes into account both the organizational dimensions as well as the larger context of the studied prison.

[33] "...feminist criminology is uniquely positioned to do important work to challenge the current political backlash. To do so effectively, however, it is vital that in addition to documenting that gender matters in the lives of criminalized women, we engage in exploration of the interface between systems of oppression based on gender, race, and class. This work will allow us to make sense of current crime-control practices, particularly in an era of mass incarceration, so that we can explain the consequences to a society that might well be ready to hear other perspectives on crime control if given them…" (Chesney-Lind 2006:21)

[34] While most of the Roma women in Western European prisons e.g. in France and in Italy are immigrants, this is not true for Spain, and for most countries in Central and Eastern Europe such as Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, the Czech Republic and Slovakia – where imprisoned Roma women tend to be citizens.

immigration[35]. Immigrants' access to adequate legal defense was not ensured and, once imprisoned, foreigners tended to face such barriers as not keeping in contact with family members. The research, based on imprisoned women's accounts, identified racial prejudice by criminal justice authorities in their treatment of foreigners. The research found that drug addicts and immigrants, especially Roma women, are heavily criminalized, and that foreign nationality and drug addiction are seen as evidence of deviancy and criminality (Astarita, Gonnella, and Mairetti 2005). The French research in the same comparative study demonstrated that agents in French criminal justice agencies considered young Romanian Roma women typically arrested for theft, and Roma women prostitutes from a range of Eastern European countries, the most disaffiliated and deviant women criminals. (Combessie, Contrepois, and Duburg 2005).

The only study to date that has been published in Europe about Roma women in prison was produced in Spain. The study found that from about the late 1970s industrialization and regulation of the Spanish economy, as well as the gradual arrival of immigrants, have led to the erosion of economic space available for Roma in their traditional trades and the informal economy. Roma settlements and urban ghettos continued to exist in the 1980s, and increasingly became centers for drug trafficking. The study found that the majority of Roma women in prisons of Spain have been sentenced for drug trafficking[36] (Proyecto Barani 2001).

In summary, there are a number of well-developed approaches to and answers in the literature for the over-representation of racial and ethnic minority women in prison; especially in the U.S. both historical analysis as well as the impact of punitive penal policies coupled with a political backlash has been demonstrated on the increasing incarceration of racial and ethnic minority women. With the exception of the UK, European research on the subject has been more limited, and has largely focused on understanding the criminalization of immigration and drug trafficking.

[35] A comparative research across six countries in Europe entitled "Women, Integration and Prison" (WIP) was conducted about women's imprisonment and about women's reintegration after their release. The research covered Spain, France, Italy, Germany, England and Wales and Hungary. The study has informed the development of the current project and therefore will be discussed in some detail in the Hungary chapter (Cruells and Igarada 2005; Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

[36] As we will see in the Hungary chapter, this is not true for Roma women in Hungarian prison.

In particular, Roma women's over-representation in prisons of Europe has been almost completely overlooked: in Western Europe it was only researched in Spain; while across Central and Eastern Europe – most notably, in Romania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, in the former Yugoslavia, Ukraine and Russia has received practically no scholarly attention so far. The available very limited data and estimates suggest that despite the very small ratio of Roma in the general population in European countries, their numbers in European prisons are very significant: in some countries up to 25% (Spain) and to 50% or more (Hungary) of women inmates are Roma, which in fact would make their overrepresentation among the highest in the world.[37]

One of the barriers to research has been the lack of official data on racial and ethnic minority prisoners across most EU member states[38], and a related barrier may have been that some Roma communities, activists and researchers were indeed concerned about the potential consequences of relaxing strict data protection regulations, due to the history of abuse and violence against Roma communities. (Goldston 2001; Kócze 2009). Nevertheless, as Kocze also notes, it is possible to overcome such concerns with appropriate methodologies, such as for instance participatory research methods (Kócze 2009)[39]. Studying the over-representation of Roma women in prisons of Central and Eastern Europe, its recent history after the democratic transition as well as its links to state socialism; the criminalization of poverty; changes in penal policies; ethnic discrimination in the criminal justice system; as well as challenging the already mentioned image of Roma women criminal

[37] Spain in the only country where research data is available on the number of Roma women in prison. The only comprehensive study of Roma women's prison experiences in Europe - found that 25% of women inmates are Roma, and that 60% are imprisoned for drug offenses and 40% for crimes against property (Proyecto Barani 2001). The Hungarian research from the WIP study estimated that 50-70% of women in prison are Roma, comprising about 3-5% of the general female population (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

[38] With the notable exception of the U.K., most EU member states have no (or very limited) official data available on ethnic minorities in prison, primarily due to their strict personal data-protection regulations. Such regulations make the recording of ethnic data by state institutions very complex if not impossible, and result in the lack of official statistics. Instead of relying on official statistics, therefore, researchers have to collect their own data if and when they have access to prisons. (The Hungarian regulation and practice will be briefly summarized in the chapter on Hungary.)

[39] The methodology chapter will discuss the methodological choices for the Kalocsa research in detail.

would be all essential in order to fully understand the phenomenon and challenge harmful public images about Roma women's criminality. The Kalocsa research only accomplishes a small fraction of this research agenda by examining institutional racism within the operations of the largest women's prison in Hungary, and its links to the strengthening public debate on Gipsycriminality.

1.3.2 The experiences of ethnic minority women in prison; and institutional racism in prisons

Despite the recognition that more research is needed on racial/ ethnic minority women's prison experiences, relatively few studies have looked at racial and ethnic minority women's actual experiences of imprisonment. However, in recent years a growing number of ethnographies of women's prisons discussed interracial/ interethnic relationships among inmates as one of the dimensions of life in prison. One study, produced by Juanita Diaz-Cotto actually focuses fully on Chicana/ Latina women's experiences of imprisonment in a Los Angeles prison; while another study by Mary Bosworth proposes to reconceptualize race/ ethnicity as potential forms of resistance. In the review below a number of recent ethnographies will be taken into account in order to summarize what has been learnt so far about the experiences of racial/ ethnic minority inmates in women's prisons and about potential forms of institutional racism.

Several recent ethnographies in the U.S. and in the U.K. established that interracial relationships between inmates in women's prisons are found to be largely unproblematic. Barbara Owen's ethnography at a large California women's prison found that imprisoned women considered the importance of race in their interpersonal relationships to be very limited: women formed relationships across racial boundaries. Race was only mentioned in conflict situations; however, in general women inmates did not believe that race was an important determinant of their life in prison. Owen concluded that race was rather a 'subtext' to their relationships than a determinant factor (Owen 2001). The already-mentioned studies by Kruttschnitt and Gartner also found that race did not seem to play an important role in defining women's relationships with each other in the California prisons they studied (Gartner and Kruttschnitt 2004; Kruttschnitt and Gartner 2000, 2003). Mary Bosworth studied three

English prisons and found that race did not play a key role in determining women's relationships with each other (Bosworth 1999).

In most women's prisons studied no gang activity was found. Carbone-Lopéz and Kruttschnitt re-analyzed the data from two previous surveys of U.S. women's prisons, focusing on race relations only, and arrived to the conclusions that there is no racial tension or gang activity (Carbone-Lopéz and Kruttschnitt 2003). Barbara Owen found also no gang formation among inmates in her study in California (Owen 2001). Juanita Diaz-Cotto's study[40] on Chicana/Latina women in prison is the only study that documented some gang-related activity. She established that many Chicana/ Latina women in her study were exposed for the first time in prison to the continued and close presence of white and black women. Most inmates were associated with gangs outside prison. The tension between racially divided gangs was tangible even in the prison, especially in the 1980s, although still not as strong as in men's prisons. Diaz-Cotto asserted that eventually imprisoned women were able to disassociate from their gang affiliations and manage to create relationships in which race did not really matter as much -although sex with a black woman was generally not encouraged among Chicanas. Yet, women were able to form partnerships against the administration, and together initiated a lawsuit that finally triggered changes in the very poor conditions of the prison (Diaz-Cotto 2006).

In addition, several pieces of research found that women did not believe that staff treated them differently because of their racial/ ethnic belonging (Bosworth

[40] Diaz-Cotto's work has focused on the prison experiences of Latinos and Latinas (Diaz-Cotto 1996), and on the life-histories, and pre- and post-prison lives of Chicana/ Latina women in prison. (Diaz-Cotto 2006). The great majority of the 24 women whose life interviews formed the basis for her analysis - which was also supplemented by further interviews, and document and media analysis - were imprisoned in the women's jail in Los Angeles called the Sybil Brand Institute for Women (SBI), usually several times, between 1967 and 1999. Diaz-Cotto decided to study the life stories of women with a particular attention to the impact of Chicana and Chicano gangs on women's lives, as well as on their experiences of imprisonment. Gangs were well-known and active for decades in this area. The women who participated in the research have had a drug problem and were usually imprisoned for nonviolent economic and drug-related crimes. Diaz-Cotto found, based upon their life stories, that the war on drugs only deepened and extended the cycles of violence in their lives and contributed to their further isolation from society. Violence was already present in their lives in the form of domestic violence including sexual abuse. Most women had joined barrio gangs, and been caught up in alcohol and drug abuse, prior to their first imprisonment.

1999; Owen 2001). At the same time, the research of Diaz-Cotto discussed Latina/ Chicana women experiencing favoritism by staff towards white and black inmates. Latinas who did not speak English — e.g. Mexican or other Latin-American women - were treated worse than others by the staff. Women believed that the good jobs, and beds in good cells (in the so-called "Honor Dorm"), went to certain prisoners who were close to the staff. Yet, the study did not address the actual extent and significance of favoritism, or the extent of its racial profile. Nevertheless, Diaz-Cotto's findings suggest that favoritism may be linked to race/ ethnicity in prison.

In addition to these suggestions in Diaz-Cotto's findings, there is some research evidence regarding various aspects of institutional racism from women's prisons in some historical studies done on U.S. women's prisons[41]; as well as from recent research in the U.K. and Australia. For instance, it has been documented in the U.K. that black women were less likely to be enrolled in educational programs, if their English was not strong enough, and that there may be other examples of disadvantage and racism in prisons. In fact, in recent years the Prison Service in the UK has launched a campaign against racism in prisons. Aboriginal women in Australia were not given appropriate access to work and accommodation that would have enabled them to move to minimum security conditions because they were perceived as untidy and lacking an appropriate work ethic (Carlen 2004).

A number of feminist scholars have called for the study of racism in prisons. Davis for instance argued that because of the invisibility of the inner life of prisons, they are locations where racism may go unnoticed:

> The dominant social expectation is that young black, Latino, Native American and Southeast Asian men — and increasingly women as well

[41] Rafter found significant ethnic segregation among women inmates, with custodial units generally filled with black women and reformatories with white women. She argued that this segregation was the result of defining true femininity as a feature of white women. Black women were associated with criminality and masculinity, and were possibly seen as beyond salvation. Rafter's work was the first study that not only considered class and gender, but also the importance of race in understanding women's imprisonment. "In contrast, the populations of women's reformatories tended to be white. The three southern reformatories (in Arkansas, North Carolina, and Virginia) explicitly excluded black women; some northern and Midwestern reformatories resisted such commitments. The mission of the women's reformatories explains their reluctance to receive blacks: these institutions were established to rescue and reform, to restore fallen women to true womanhood." (Rafter 1985:240)

> — will move naturally from the free world into prison, where, it is assumed, they belong. Despite the important gains of antiracial social movements over the last half century, racism hides from view within institutional structures, and its most reliable refuge is the prison system (2003:103).

Mary Bosworth has emphasized the difficulty and complexity of studying racism within prisons, as a possible explanation for the lack of research so far on institutional racism in prisons:

> There is a growing recognition among scholars and the larger public that our corrections system could not survive in its current form in the absence of widely shared racialized assumptions about who is criminal and deserves to be punished. The question of how racial prejudices and discrimination depend on our correctional system is thornier and ultimately far more unsettling. As a result, it has been largely left unexplored. (Bosworth and Flavin 2007:9)

In summary, several researchers of women's prisons have called for the study of institutional racism in prison, despite its known difficulties. Such an analysis of institutional racism in prison would require the study of the internal operations of the given prison. The study of key organizational processes will form part of the study of the Kalocsa prison. This is one of the key contributions this research hopes to make to the literature by providing a comparative analysis of Roma women's in-prison position achieved along key organizational processes in the Kalocsa prison, as compared to the position achieved by other women – that is, by ethnic Hungarians. Apart from establishing whether and to what extent institutional racism is at work in Kalocsa, the research will also aim to identify details of its mechanism; and most importantly, will investigate whether and how it is connected to the core mission of the prison, to the disciplining and punishment of inmates.

Finally, I would like to add a note on the concept of race/ ethnicity and gender used in the literature on women's prisons. Probably due to the strong roots of feminist social science approaching gender as a social construct, their approaches to race/ ethnicity reflect the same approach, although it is rarely made explicit, often it is assumed as the natural paradigm. Feminist criminologists and scholars typically conceptualize racial/ ethnic minority women's experiences as ones produced in the intersection of race, gender and class (Carlen 2004; Chesney-Lind 2006; Kruttschnitt 2003; Owen 2001). While this approach seems to be rather clearly and consistently

expressed at the level of concepts, e.g. when calling for more research on women's imprisonment; however, it remains to be seen whether and how this approach can be operationalized into research designs.[42]

Mary Bosworth's unique contribution to approaching subjectivity and identity in research on women's prisons must be mentioned here. Although Foucault's understanding of power and agency has influenced much of the feminist scholarship on women's prisons, some of the early studies on women in prison were criticized more recently for presenting women prisoners as victims, who have little ability or room for resistance in prison. Some commentators feared that too much emphasis on presenting these women as victims could lead to a one-sided view that denies them agency, i.e., their ability to manage their own lives. In particular, Mary Bosworth asserted this perspective, and chose to write an ethnography about three prisons in England that focused on presenting women prisoners' agency and resistance.[43]

Bosworth found that women redefined the meaning of motherhood and femininity in the women's prisons she studied in England - even though the prisons actually promoted what she called "regimes of femininity", and women endorsed several of its aspects including an idealization of motherhood. Bosworth argued that the redefinition of femininity took place through women's experiences as filtered through race, class and sexuality, and that ultimately their femininity became an element of identity and source of pride and positive self-definition. Bosworth

[42] As mentioned previously, in the Kalocsa research for instance, gender will not be at center stage, mainly because so many excellent studies were written already about the gendered nature of women's imprisonment. However, while the Kalocsa study does not expect to contribute to the literature on the gendered nature of women's imprisonment, gender still will play an important role as an analytical dimension. Ethnicity will be more central in the discussions and analysis given that one of the research objectives is to understand institutional racism in the Kalocsa prison. Although the research has no ambition to analyze class matters separately, ethnicity and class/ poverty will be difficult to separate during the analyses in most cases.

[43] Bosworth's understanding of what constitutes resistance in prison has been very broad. She considered all acts against prison discipline as acts of resistance against the prison's legitimacy. Furthermore, she interpreted women's confessions about 'wearing a mask', and their presentations of the self — including dressing, or eating the kind of food required by their religion or conviction - as acts of resistance. She also proposed that not only acts against prison discipline, but also incidents of self-harm and suicide might be considered as forms of resistance (Bosworth 1996, 1999). The Kalocsa research will use the concept of resistance in a much more narrow form, which will be discussed in chapter seven.

interpreted this redefinition as a form of resistance, and called for the need to study women's construction of identities, especially along their experiences as shaped by the intersection of race, class and sexuality (Bosworth 1999). In further writings, Bosworth and Carrabine suggested that race and sexuality in prison should be also studied as possible basis for resistance (2001).

Although the focus of the Kalocsa project will be on women's experiences with institutional racism; however, the research will build on the hypothesis from Bosworth and will address whether race and sexuality may be interpreted as possible forms of resistance in prison.

1.4. Towards a Conceptual Framework for the Study of the Production of Inequalities in Organizations

As discussed in the previous section, studies of women's prisons so far did not address specifically institutional racism and/ or the comprehensive study of inequalities produced or reproduced by the prison. While the study of gender was central for a broad range of studies on women's imprisonment; however, as mentioned before, most of these studies did not focus on actual organizational mechanisms – rather, they tended to focus on the production of gender and social control, largely using prisons as illustrations to more general arguments about gender. Therefore, when looking for a conceptual framework for the study of the production of racism or inequalities in a women's prison, the search has to cover other fields of study, outside the literature on women's prisons.

I will argue that the experiences and knowledge accumulated in the study of gendered inequalities in work organizations could be useful for the study of in-prison inequalities in several ways. The study of gendered inequalities produced by work organizations has provided several decades of research evidence both about the existence of stubborn and massive inequalities in work organizations in a great number of countries, and also insights into the kind of mechanisms that produce or maintain inequalities; as well as organizational-level theories on the subject. I will primarily focus on the production of gendered inequalities in work organizations

because, arguably, this is the most advanced field of study; although other kind of inequalities have been also studied in work organizations.[44]

The review below will on the one hand briefly cover key mechanisms and processes that were found to contribute to the production of gendered inequalities in organizations. These micro-processes will be examples for the kind of micro-processes that will be analyzed in case of Kalocsa in order to identify the production of inequalities. On the other hand, this section will introduce selected key theories developed for the study of inequalities in organizations, developed on the basis of the study of gendered inequalities. First, conceptual frameworks developed by Joan Acker - the theory of gendered organizations and the concept of inequality regime will be discussed (Acker 1990, 2006). Secondly, I will introduce Charles Tilly's theory about the production of inequalities and will suggest applying his framework for the study of the Kalocsa prison. The Kalocsa research will test Tilly's central hypotheses about the reproduction of durable inequalities by organizations (Tilly 1998).

1.4.1 The Study of Gendered Inequalities in Work Organizations

1.4.1.A Key problems and processes studied

Wage inequalities and hiring discrimination are two key problems that were documented and scrutinized by feminist and feminist-informed researchers from the 1970ies in the U.S., in the U.K., in Australia, in Canada and in a growing number of

[44] These include racial/ ethnic discrimination in work organizations – such as for instance discrimination or bias in wage setting – but also other kinds of inequalities such as age discrimination, discrimination based on sexual orientation or disability. Although there is a growing body of literature in these fields as well, several researchers have asserted that within work-related inequalities, the study of gendered inequalities have accumulated so far the largest body of knowledge. (Powell 1997, Tilly 1998) While I do not want to suggest that work-related inequalities on the basis of gender are identical with those experienced on other grounds such as race/ethnicity; however for the purposes of introducing key areas of study, and the conceptual frameworks that emerged from these, I will primarily rely on the study of gendered inequalities. An additional argument for focusing on this literature is that a number of researchers within this literature have been attentive to racial/ ethnic minority women's experiences during the study of gendered organizational practices (Burton 1991; Cockburn 1991), or have actually researched both gender and racial/ ethnic inequalities (Powell 1997) or, as Joan Acker, have moved from the study of gender organizations to an integrated framework for the study of inequalities in organizations (Acker 1990, 2006).

other countries as well (e.g. Stroh and Reilly 1999)[45]. Both the wage gap and hiring discrimination was subject to research both at the level of specific organizations (e.g. Powell 1999), as well as at larger analytical levels, such as in certain industries or economies (e.g. England 1992). These studies have indeed documented hiring discrimination, and unequal wage setting in a broad range of contexts. Such work uncovered and scrutinized the micro-processes of recruitment and wage-setting, e.g. for hiring processes analyzed the design of job specifications, recruitment methods, selection criteria, interviewing methods, and decision-making; and for remuneration processes analyzed job definition and job evaluation methods, as well as wage-setting principles and influencing factors such as seniority etc (e.g. Powell 1999).

In addition to documenting such problems and organizational processes that produced these, researchers also identified a number of possible explanations for wage inequality and hiring discrimination. For instance, at various analytical levels research established examples and patterns of occupational and vertical job segregation: the phenomenon that both within organizations as well as across industries some jobs were defined as men's jobs while others as women's jobs (occupational job segregation), and the phenomenon that women tended to occupy jobs at lower ends of organizational hierarchies (vertical segregation)(e.g. Kanter 1977; Pierce 1995; Powell 1999). Research showed that partly as a result of job segregation, jobs that women occupied tended to carry lower pay, lower prestige, power and limited possibilities for promotion (e.g. England 2005). Although other key problems and inequality-producing processes were also studied, these two issues featured high on the research agendas and provided key insights into the production of inequalities in work organizations in a great number of countries.

1.4.1.B The theory of gendered organizations

Based on evidence produced by research in the 1970s and 1980s, Joan Acker argued that it would be wrong to explain women's disadvantaged positions in bureaucracies at the level of individuals, and emphasized that assumptions about

[45] References in this section indicate only key examples for, or reviews/ summaries of research on the subject. For a comprehensive and international review of empirical research on various aspects on gender in work organizations see Gary N. Powell's handbook on gender and work (Powell 1999).

gender are integral to organizational life. Organizational structures and procedures, even if they may seem gender-neutral on the surface, actually produce and reproduce gendered differences as they are based on essentialist and stereotyped assumptions about men and women, and about their skills and contributions. Acker posited that key organizational concepts such as the concept of 'job' or that of a 'manager' are far from being gender-neutral, as these are designed with a typical male career and characteristics associated with men in mind.[46] The novelty of Acker's concept was that it explained the persistent nature of gendered inequalities in organizations by arguing that gendered assumptions are integrated into the core of organizations' lives (Acker 1990).

According to the theory of gendered organizations, gendering takes place through various organizational phenomena. Acker names some of these organizational phenomena as follows. *Divisions* are created along gender - these can be divisions of labor, or divisions in space or power, and so forth. The *construction of gendered symbols and images* can occur through the differential use of language, associations of masculinity or femininity with typical male or female jobs - e.g. the image of a 'success' tends to be associated with the figure of successful male top managers, which image links masculinity and success together -, and the dress code. *Interactions* among men and women may also reflect different gendered expectations, e.g. in teamwork men are often associated with dominant, leading roles and women with

[46] In the following example Dana Britton investigated in two U.S. prisons (a men's prison and a women's prison), whether the traditionally male job of correctional officer, now filled both by men and women, is gendered. She found that although the job of correctional officer in theory was gender-neutral, in practice both the training of officers as well as their actual experiences on the job were gendered in two ways. Britton studied whether the training process of correctional officers was gendered. Officers' training in theory was generic. However, in the men's prisons the training very much focused on the violent nature of the job, which was seen as exaggerated by many officers, and has led to some officers leaving their job. At the same time, during the trainings the women's prisons were omitted and none of the specifics of the women's prisons were discussed. Britton argued that this has contributed to an understanding of men's prisons being the real prison while women's prison are seen as unreal, something different. Secondly, Britton studied the assignment process of various tasks to male and female correctional officers and found that, especially in the men's prison, female officers were not treated as equals to men officers in all situations. Women were thought to perform well under normal circumstances. But when an emergency situation occurred women were only given support functions since, it was claimed, they might not be able to handle violent situations adequately (Britton 1997).

support roles. The representation of self can also integrate elements of this *gendered identity*. And lastly, gender is an element of *organizational logic*, which Acker defines as *"the underlying assumptions and practices that construct most contemporary work organizations*" (1990:147).

Acker's theory of gendered organizations was translated into research in a broad range of fields, even including prisons as work organizations. Dana Britton's comparative study of correctional officers in a men's and a women's prison actually stepped outside the analysis of gendering processes of correctional officers' jobs. Britton, in her interviews with the officers, identified a range of essentialist assumptions about men and women inmates that correctional officers commonly shared.[47] In addition, the theory of gendered organization has been applied to the study of a U.S. women's prison by Jill McCorkel. Her study is one of the very rare examples for linking detailed organizational-level analysis to larger trends such as changes in penal policies and in public opinion about crime and punishment. Relying on Foucault's understanding of discipline and surveillance, and Joan Acker's theory of gendered organization, McCorkel demonstrated that women's prisons still continue to be gendered even during U.S. mass incarceration, which has otherwise brought with it

[47] Women inmates were frequently described as emotional, difficult to control and even violent. Men were seen as rational, though more dangerous when violent. While both men and women were thus seen as violent in some situations, men's violence was considered rational, women's violence irrational. Britton argued that since women being violent was not in line with traditional expectations about femininity, officers had to rationalize women's violent behavior by attributing it to emotionality and irrationality. The author also discovered another difference in correctional officers' descriptions of men and women inmates. Many more officers talked about the difficulties of working with women's bodies as opposed to men's. They talked about their special physical needs (e.g. menstruation, describing women's bodies as disgusting). And male officers also talked about the difficulties involved in working with women due to the females' sexual desires and the threat of sexual harassment. Britton argued that the fact that men inmates' bodies were not discussed, while women's bodies were portrayed as problematic, was also in line with the theory of gendered organizations which holds that men's bodies and sexuality are the norm, while women's bodies and sexuality are seen as different and problematic (Britton 1999). In Acker's analysis, the suppression of sexuality was always a feature of bureaucracies. She pointed out that the exclusion of women from certain organizations (e.g. monasteries, the army, etc.) was often rationalized on grounds that women's presence and sexuality would corrupt procedures of discipline and control. Acker contended that not only sexuality but activities associated with reproduction, child care, menstruation etc., tended to be excluded, suspected, stigmatized or excluded from organizations (Acker 1990).

'equality with a vengeance' for women's imprisonment, as discussed previously. McCorkel argued that due to the significant transformations in ideologies and practices of women's imprisonment, the gendered nature of women's prisons took new forms. She showed that the formation of the new, tougher regime was intimately linked to the emergence of a new type of offender: that of 'the bad black woman'. McCorkel demonstrated that this emergence was not accidental, that it in fact constituted a solution to the pressing needs of the prison system[48] (McCorkel 2004).

However, the theory of the gendered organization has been criticized for its vague articulation of the components and characteristics of gendered organizations, or with other words, the dimensions of analysis; as well as for insufficient clarity about key concepts of the theory (Britton 1997). Acker in the past several years has actually moved away from her one-dimensional model after having recognized it's potentially

[48] McCorkel introduced the women's prison she studied on the East Coast as an institution that used to be managed by relying on a certain degree of 'penal paternalism' - the logic inherited from the prison's reformatory past in the 1930s. Penal paternalism in this prison operated upon assumptions about the possibility of women inmates being reformed or saved. These women were perceived largely not as hardened criminals, but as victims of abuse, or bad men who pulled them into crime. The regime was not punitive, women tended to be treated with a degree of leniency, and a small range of religious and treatment programs were run to assist their 'rehabilitation'. Following the introduction of punitive sentencing policies and war-on-drugs policies, however, the number of inmates radically increased and prison administration was changed as well. New assumptions about women offenders were reflected on the one hand in more punitive policies within the prison, and on the other hand, in the emergence of new forms of surveillance. A radical drug treatment program called the Encounter Group, developed and formally used only for men, was launched in the prison. The program was based on aggressive confrontation, humiliation, and intensive surveillance by therapists and fellow team members. McCorkel showed that the use of the Encounter Groups was linked to gendered conceptions about women's criminality, and defining women as needing psychological help. McCorkel further examined the actual changes in the prison's operation, arguing that shifts in assumptions about women's criminality do not just automatically appear in prison practices after the introduction of high-level policy changes. It is also necessary to study changes in prison structures and practices of social control. McCorkel argued that the extreme and increasing overcrowding and lack of resources caused a legitimacy crisis for the prison. At the same time, the prison was blamed for recidivism ratios of 70%. These pressures merged and resulted in the emergence of a new, dangerous, unreformable type of criminal: "the bad black woman". The warden, the prison staff and therapists alike talked about the new criminal woman, which discourse was also related to staff frustrations and increasing fears of the public. McCorkel concluded by emphasizing that the gendered organization had a distinct racial order linked to the racial order outside the prison walls.

essentialist features. Acker discussed the need for organizational-level analysis to embrace a range of inequalities in organizations; and called for acknowledging the links between gendering that takes place within organizations and larger social processes, e.g. the fact responsibility for reproduction, upbringing etc. is still primarily seen as women's job in most societies, while organizations continue to refuse to take any responsibility in these (Acker 1998). Eventually Acker created a new model for the study of inequalities in organizations by introducing the concept of "inequality regime".

1.4.2 Towards the Development of Multi-Dimensional Models

1.4.2 A Acker's concept of inequality regime

The model is based on the recognition that gender, class and racial/ethnic inequalities in organizations should ideally be studied in an integrated framework. Acker has conceptualized class, gender and race as interconnected. But, rather than discussing the intersections of gender, class, and race in general; she talks about racialized and gendered class relations in society. She perceives class inequalities to be fundamental in large organizations, and argues that depending on one's location, these class inequalities may be described as racialized and/ or gendered. (Acker 2006) Acker's definition for the concept of inequality regime is: "Thus, `inequality regime' specifies interconnecting organizational processes that produce and maintain racialized and gendered class relations" (2006:109).

The characteristics, through which an inequality regime can be recognized and studied, are the same as those described when presenting the characteristics of gendered organizations above. The author thus talks about *organizational divisions, interactions, symbols*, etc., however, emphasizes that she considers '*organizing processes*' to be central to understanding how inequalities are produced in organizations (Acker 2006). Acker continues to mention hiring and wage setting as examples for such organizing processes, however, she leaves the definition of organizing processes rather open and vague.

> Organizing processes that reproduce hierarchy and inequality include the conscious construction and deconstruction of hierarchies, jobs and work processes, recruitment and hiring, control and supervision, and wage determination. Some of these processes are relatively invisible and

> nonconscious. Bodies and sexuality are implicated in these processes. The processes are highly variable, as are the shape and degree of hierarchy and participation.(2006:112).

Acker emphasizes that although every organization has an inequality regime, there can be very significant differences between them depending upon the organization's history, its efforts to dismantle the inequality regime, the organization's size, staff composition, and so forth. Nevertheless, given what she perceives as slow and uneven progress towards equality in large organizations, in order to better understand the relative stability of inequality regimes, she has introduced a discussion about two further variables: the legitimacy and visibility of inequalities. The latter concerns the degree to which inequalities are evidently visible and noticeable for member of the organization, while legitimacy refers to the degree of acceptance of inequalities. Acker argues that depending on the combination of these factors, some inequality regimes are more stable than others; low visibility and high legitimacy of inequalities provide the most stable combination.

Even though the integration of various dimensions of inequality in Acker's model, as well as her attempt to explain the durable nature of organizational inequalities by introducing the notions of visibility and legitimacy, are certainly valuable; the concept of inequality regime leaves a range of key questions unexplored.

Acker does not give much guidance on what inequalities become dominant in some organizations and contexts and not in others. The model does not discuss whether or not organizations tend to reproduce otherwise persistent social inequalities, or whether they add their own dimensions of inequality. It is also somewhat unclear what Acker believes to be the reason for organizations' production of inequality regimes. The mechanisms that produce inequalities are also unexplored. Acker does not discuss whether some aspects of inequality regimes can be contested, challenged or resisted by members of the organization. In short, the model does not offer much help in understanding what dimensions of inequality are produced or reproduced by organizations in a given context, with what mechanisms, and why.

1.4.2.B Charles Tilly's framework for the production of durable inequalities

The introduction of Tilly's framework will include clarifying his model's roots in feminist research on gender inequalities. Although, as we will see below, Tilly

relies heavily on research on gender inequalities in organizations, he criticizes feminist research on the subject heavily and on several grounds. [49]

Tilly's goal was to create a conceptual framework for the organizational view of the production of durable inequalities[50]. His model works with a large number of concepts and categories[51]. On the one hand, Tilly heavily relies on ideas and concepts developed by researchers of gender inequalities in organizations and in the labor market. He takes the idea of *rewards differentiation* by organizations – e.g. wage gaps between men and women – as a starting point of his analysis of inequalities. He discusses ways that organizations tend to produce *internal structures and hierarchies* - which he refers to as the *ranking and the bounding of positions* – and its impact on

[49] Tilly claims that the research on gender inequalities has been individually focused, that is, only investigates whether and how discrimination takes place at the given organization against the individual. He declares that such research only uncovers some of the mechanisms along which inequality is created, and he calls these 'sorting mechanisms'. Tilly asserts that although sorting mechanisms may explain some inequalities in work organizations, such an approach is unable to tackle inequality that stems from differences in social location at birth, during upbringing that lead to differences in educational level which in turn influences hiring decisions; and he also argues that these approaches do not understand the organizational logic that maintains durable inequalities. I will focus on his second assertion, as it is closely related to the topic under discussion. I believe that Tilly is mistaken when he argues that feminist research on gendered inequalities in has been overly individualistic in its focus. Research on gendered inequalities has covered dimensions of inequalities that are not approaching the issue at the level of individuals; but that are primarily organizational, structural or systemic inquiries. In agreement with other critiques of Tilly's point (Laslett 2000; Roos 1999; Wright 2000). I believe that much of the analysis provided by researchers has focused on the features of work organizations, that contribute to gendered inequalities; for instance the role of old-boy networks, organizational phenomenon such as glass ceilings or token positions, symbols attached to jobs and power, or interactions (e.g. Kanter 1977), and other factors of 'corporate masculinity' as organizational culture (e.g. Maier 1999). A significant part of the literature has focused on uncovering larger structural problems beyond inequalities in work organizations, e.g. work on the already-mentioned job segregation; but also more theoretical work linking workplace inequalities to the public/ private, production/ reproduction or paid work/ unpaid work divide.

[50] Although Tilly defines organizations very broadly, many of his examples are linked to work organizations or other bureaucracies. While the summary will introduce his theory's key terms in general, I will focus on those aspects of his theory that discuss his views on work organizations and bureaucracies.

[51] The summary will not include all concepts and categorizations that Tilly introduces; however it will include the key terms of his theory. The terms used by Tilly are below in italic.

producing wage differentiation. He also relies on previous feminist work when identifying processes through which individuals belonging to various *categories*[52] are assigned to various positions in an organizational structure or hierarchy; which he refers to as *sorting mechanisms*. For instance, Tilly identifies hiring discrimination as a key sorting mechanism, and argues that such discrimination is the result of organizations matching well-known social inequalities - such as gender inequalities - with internal boundaries and structures – such as prestigious jobs or underpaid jobs; rather than the result of individuals' discriminatory decisions. Tilly also discusses the existence of distinct *mobility maps*, career tracks as well as various different *incentive structures* along those career tracks, and refers to the existence of the glass ceiling. Although he relies on the above ideas – sometimes creates new expressions for these - he labels feminist analysis as individually focused and contrasts it with his so-called relational and organizational analysis.

On the other hand, Tilly introduces new concepts as part of his framework; perhaps most importantly, he discusses four mechanisms that play a key part in producing inequalities in organizations. Two of these mechanisms, *exploitation* and *opportunity hoarding* are introduced as mechanisms that play a key role in producing inequalities in organizations; while *emulgation* and *adaptation* are described as mechanisms that stabilize inequalities. Tilly understands exploitation as the phenomenon that some individuals do not receive adequate or corresponding share from the rewards produced; as determined by the so-called *powerholders* who control resources. Tilly considers opportunity hoarding as a mechanism through which individuals other than powerholders can benefit from monopolizing access to certain resources. Emulgation is a mechanism by which already existing inequalities are taken over from one context or organizational setting to another; and adaptation is the mechanism through which members of the organization adjust to the inequalities even if they are in disadvantaged positions. Although Tilly raises the possibility of solidarity along categorical inequalities, resistance and collective action; he seems to suggest that when categorical inequalities and internal inequalities reinforce each other, their combination tends to be stable.

[52] Tilly asserts that significant inequalities in a broad range of advantages among people tend to correspond with so-called categorical differences such male-female, black-white, Muslim-Jew (or other religion), citizen-noncitizen etc. Tilly considers paired, unequal categories as key organizational concepts for human activity.

Tilly asserts that although organizations may create locally specific inequalities, often times they reproduce some of the strongest and durable inequalities in their environments; also reinforcing these inequalities even further. A central component of his theory focuses on explaining why organizations rely on existing strong social inequalities. More precisely, Tilly asks why organizations often match their internal structures and boundaries with categorical inequalities. Tilly asserts that it is because these are readily available, and because organizations tend to have other specific organizational goals to undertake. Tilly thus argues that so-called *categorical pairs* (e.g. female-male; black-white, citizen-noncitizen) are useful for organizations because these can be reproduced by organizations with little effort or *transaction costs*. He emphasizes that efforts targeted at changing beliefs, assumptions and stereotypes about characteristics associated with categorical pairs would not result in reducing inequalities. Rather, it is the organizational work that needs to be modified – e.g. changing rewards, internal structure or boundaries, divorcing these from categorical inequalities - in which case, Tilly argues, inequalities may shift with surprising speed.

Although Tilly talks about the above assertions as hypotheses and argues that the examples he lists are mainly illustrations of his points rather than evidence; some of the powerful assertions he makes about the production of inequalities were received with criticism. Some criticism focused on Tilly's functionalist arguments – especially along the exploitation – categorical inequalities – emulgation/ adaptation cycle (Wright 2000) – although Tilly maintains that these are soft functionalist hypotheses which can be verified or falsified by research (Tilly 2000, 2003). Others found that Tilly ignores human agency and the possibility of resistance, negotiation and contestation (Laslett 2000), although Tilly denied that charge (Tilly 2000). Yet others found that his arguments downplay the importance of culture in favor of structural arguments, although Tilly argued that he did not deny the role of beliefs about inequalities or attitudes etc.; he just did not see them as part of the causal mechanisms he attempted to uncover. (Tilly 2000). Further commentators argued that Tilly should be more straightforward about his strong links to Marx (Wright 2000) and challenged his lack of operationalization of the concept of exploitation (Mann 1999). Nevertheless despite the criticisms commentators believed that Tilly's ambitious work would inspire new directions in the study of inequalities.

Concurring with much of Wright's and Mann's critique, I believe Tilly's concept of exploitation including its links to Marx, would have needed more explicit discussion and explanation. Exploitation is probably the least discussed concept in Tilly's framework; its definition includes all instances when people do not receive the full value of their contribution to joint outcomes. Tilly's analysis of the links between exploitation and the production of gender inequality adds little new insights to our understanding of gender inequality. Nevertheless, his emphasis on opportunity hoarding as a mechanism through which members of the non-elite may be able to monopolize access to certain resources or rewards; and his discussion of the institutionalization of inequalities through emulation and adaptation lend themselves more readily for empirical research and may contribute new insights into the creation and maintenance of inequalities in organizations.

1.5 The Application of Tilly's Concept of Durable Inequalities for the Research

The Kalocsa research aims to test two central hypothesis of Tilly's theory. Firstly, the research will test the notion that organizations tend to reproduce existing, strong inequalities in their environments. Secondly, the research will also test whether the production or reproduction of inequalities assists Kalocsa in undertaking other specific organizational work. Arguably, Kalocsa is a convenient research site for the study of the production of in-prison inequalities given that its internal operations and processes are much more hidden than in most other organizations; its inmate world is much more heterogeneous than membership in many other organizations; and at least in theory there is a general expectation towards the prison to treat inmates according to the same norms and standards.

Working towards testing the above hypothesis, the analysis will aim to understand the internal structures, boundaries and hierarchies within the inmate world; as well as the distribution of rewards among inmates. The analysis will also aim to establish whether or not inequalities are created among inmates in Kalocsa along ethnic orientation or other dimensions; and if such inequalities are created or reproduced, what specific organizational aims these help to accomplish. In addition, the analysis will explore whether particular groups of inmates or staff members are able to monopolize access to certain valuable resources and rewards; and whether these strengthen/ reinforce categorical inequalities at work in Kalocsa. Lastly, the

research will address whether and what forms of resistance may emerge in response to, or in negotiation with, the production of inequalities in the prison.

Although there is some overlap among the four empirical chapters, the discussion in the various chapters largely follows the below logic in exploring the production of inequalities.

1.5.1 The Internal Structure of the Inmate World

The first two empirical chapters aim to uncover the internal structure of the inmate world in Kalocsa. As mentioned before, this is something that may contribute to Goffman's understanding of total institutions (Goffman 1961). The first two chapters will discuss whether and what kind of hierarchies exist, what positions are seen more prestigious or advantageous by the inmates and what are defined as the low end: the least advantageous or desired positions in the prison.

The first task is to identify the key organizational processes that produce/ construct inmate hierarchies. In a work organization, as we saw before, researchers would turn their attention to analyzing the hierarchy of jobs. In a prison environment, however, one cannot assume to know what processes are central to producing internal hierarchies. Likewise, one cannot assume what inmates would perceive as important organizational processes and outcomes during their imprisonment. To stay with the example of work: it may or may not be perceived as a key issue during imprisonment; and it may or may not construct important inmate hierarchies. Whether or not it is one of those key processes, depends on a large number of questions. Does work matter in this particular prison? Would inmates prefer to stay in their cell or work? Is work compulsory? Do inmates get paid at all? Are there large pay differences? In summary, instead of assuming what are the key processes in a prison, the first challenge has been to identify key issues that shape inmates' experiences of imprisonment.[53]

[53] In determining these, I have primarily relied on inmates' experiences. Even in interviews with prison staff, I have focused on understanding their views about and experiences with the inmate world. This research will not explore the prison as a workplace for staff. There is a separate literature on prisons as work organizations; e.g. one of the studies by Dana Britton mentioned previously is an important contribution to understanding prisons as gendered work organizations (Britton 1997).

The two key processes that were found to carry a great significance for inmates on the one hand; and construct tangible inmate hierarchies on the other hand, will be introduced in the first two chapters. Placement to cell and work assignments are these two key processes; each chapter will start with introducing why these processes matter for inmates during their imprisonment. The analysis will identify what hierarchies are created among inmates; through what kind of boundaries. Both chapters will touch on the kind of inequalities that appear in these key processes and in the resulting hierarchies. Following the analysis in these two chapters, three subgroups emerge that construct the inmate hierarchy: the group of model prisoners, bad girls, and the large group of disciplined women.

1.5.2 Rewards Differentiation

The third empirical chapter focuses on the distribution of rewards. In a work organization, researchers would firstly, although not exclusively, scrutinize possible wage differentiation. Although some rewards – e.g. pay – will be covered in the work chapter; this chapter considers the distribution of the full range of rewards that are available in Kalocsa. This chapter also starts with introducing what kind of rewards and privileges matter for the women in the first place, and typically what goals inmates try to accomplish through these rewards. Given that rewards and penalties tend to be intimately linked in prison, the chapter will also consider the distribution of penalties. The chapter will discuss the role of educators in distributing rewards and penalties and will argue that they engage in opportunity hoarding.[54]

The analysis will determine whether the distribution of rewards among different groups of women is consistent with the hierarchies found in the previous two chapters. The analysis will demonstrate that some groups of women are excluded from all rewards and privileges; the great majority of women are eligible for one broadly available privilege; and a small group of women has access to all privileges

[54] Despite this reference to opportunity hoarding, the Kalocsa research does not and cannot apply Tilly's key concepts of exploitation and opportunity hoarding given that these are larger social processes that concern the distribution of resources. An organizational-level analysis such as this one is better suited to examine the two other mechanisms that Tilly defines as those that stabilize/ institutionalize inequalities: emulation and adaptation.

the prison has to offer. The analysis will cover whether Roma women inmates are disadvantaged; however, additional inequalities will be also identified during the research.

1.5.3 The Production of Inequalities and the Larger Context

The fourth empirical chapter builds on the results of the first three chapters and completes the analysis of the production of inequalities in Kalocsa. This chapter discusses various subgroups found in the inmate hierarchy; as well as the internal categories along which hierarchies are created. The relative position of different groups of inmates will be also analyzed, as well as the differences in their incentive/ motivation in producing or maintaining inequalities. The key challenge for this chapter is to uncover the institutionalization of categorical inequalities in Kalocsa, thus examples for emulgation and adaptation will be discussed as well.

In this chapter the prison will be examined in its larger context to enable analysis of links between the kind of inequalities tangible in Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy and Kalocsa's larger environment. The analysis provided by Jill McCorkel on the women's prisons active reliance on the image of the bad black woman as a legitimizing factor at times when the prison experienced a multiple crisis will inspire this analysis (McCorkel 2004).

The chapter discusses some examples for inmates' resistance against the strict hierarchy and significant inequalities. As discussed, Tilly talks about the possibility of strict inequalities generating solidarity between groups of inmates and the potential 'danger' inherent in strengthening such solidarity; and Mary Bosworth also discusses the possibility of "using" race/ ethnicity or sexuality as resistance (Bosworth 1999; Tilly 1998).

Last but not least the fourth chapter will return to the initial key hypotheses formulated based on Tilly's theory, and will discuss whether in Kalocsa some key categorical inequalities were reproduced and reinforced by the prison; and if so, what other organizational work the prison has accomplished through these processes.

CHAPTER TWO: PRISONS IN CONTEXT - HUNGARY

2.1 The Democratic Transition and the Fear of Crime

Hungary is among the countries of Europe with low incidents of crime, according to a comparative crime survey that covered 18 countries of the European Union in 2005 (EUICS 2005). In particular, the number of violent attacks against people (e.g. homicide, rape) as well drug-related crimes, and robberies is low compared to most other EU member states. Budapest is one the safest capitals in Europe, with low and decreasing crime statistics. Also according to official police statistics crime has basically stagnated between 2004 and 2007 and has decreased in 2008 (OKRI 2009).

Despite these favorable figures, however, fear of crime is high. Crime and criminality have been high on the public and political agendas in recent years. According to the 2007 Eurobarometer survey, Hungarians ranked crime fifth on their list of concerns (Ivan 2008). An opinion poll in 2005 found that more than two-thirds of respondents wrongly believed that crime had recently increased. Respondents greatly overestimated violent crime as 55% of overall crime, instead of the actual 7-8%.(Medián 2005) A few potential reasons and explanations will be explored below for the clear discrepancy between actual crime rates and the perception of high and increasing criminality.

Looking at longer-term trends, there has been a steady increase in crime over the past 20-25 years, both in overall and violent crime. Although a gradual increase started years before the democratic transition, crime exploded during the first years of the transition, in 1989-1991, and continued increasing until 1998. As several analysts have pointed out, even though the trends showed clear growth in the 1980s the explosion has become associated with the democratic transition (Lőrincz 2003, OKRI 2009). This became a lasting association even though after 1998 crime levels decreased and later stabilized near the level of the early 1990s. Nevertheless, the fact that recorded crime incidents were three times higher in 1998 than 1988 was a major relative change that probably contributed to the false perception that it also increased in the 2000s.

Analysts and criminologists have emphasized the role of the mass media in increasing the fear of crime through its sensationalist and detailed coverage of violent crime (Ivan 2008; Lőrincz 2003; OKRI 2009). While the Hungarian mass media is

probably neither more nor less sensationalist in its crime coverage than media in other countries, the relative change here in the role of the media compared to the state socialist period is significant. Prior to the transition only a few state-controlled programs focused on crime, offering an approach determined by criminological analysis and a concern for fellow socialist citizens' moral status. Only a few authors and journalists covered crime, usually in a similar sense.[55] Access to police or other criminal justice data was not freely available. The state continued to exert control over media reporting on crime even in the 1980s.

Given this limited and ideologically-directed presentation of crime and criminals in the mass media, post-1989 coverage of the topic constituted a true revolution. Violent crime is covered in great detail in a very broad range of media outlets, and a number of TV shows present stories about crime**.** The police and prisons have had to learn to communicate with the public. Both have, for example, hired Public Relations officers. And the bookshops are full of criminals' life histories. As we will see in the empirical chapters, the interest of the media in criminals has penetrated prison walls as well. This intense media approach has probably given high visibility to violent crime despite its low occurrence in reality.

Analysts also often refer to politicians' failure to discuss crime as it is actually shown in crime statistics. They note that they instead seek short-term political gain by catering to what they perceive as the public's views on crime, particularly a desire for tougher criminal justice policies. (Iván 2008; Lőrincz 2003; OKRI 2009) One example of such a conservative political turn that impacted prison policies in 1998, and continues to do so today, will be discussed in the section below.

There are, however, two more recent examples of how politicians - with only slight differences between left and right - have turned to tough-on-crime rhetoric and even policies. The first occurred because of a few well-known and dramatic incidents involving violent crime by children and juveniles - particularly a case in which two schoolchildren killed a third student, and another in which a child threatened people with a knife in a large central square in Budapest. Following these incidents in the

[55] For instance, the TV program "Blue Light" was a well-known program for decades, and informed viewers about the latest crime cases and the devoted and difficult work of the police. Lengthy books were published with the best stories about Blue Light. György Moldova was one of the most popular authors among those covering rime, and produced what was called "report-books". They were semi-documentary popular books about criminals in the 1980s.

past two years politicians repeatedly discussed reducing the age of criminal responsibility from 14 years to 12 or 10.[56] At the same time, crime statistics have not shown any increase in violent crime committed by children or juveniles.[57] Although the law has not been changed to date, however, the issue has not been closed. Both the government and opposition parties plan to return to the subject of juvenile crime.

The other example is the recent proposal from the largest opposition party to introduce three-strike laws in Hungary, even though with some modifications of the U.S. model. After negotiations with the government, a law was passed in July 2009 that punishes those committing violent crimes for the third time with very high and stricter sentences. The law did not, however, include a life sentence as originally proposed. Both the age of criminal responsibility and three-strike proposals have emerged at a time when Hungary has continued to have a stable and relatively low crime rate. Politicians have nevertheless been unable or unwilling to resist discussing and introducing tougher crime policies. Some parties have recently used crime as their key campaign topic.[58]

The security business has been one of the most dynamically growing areas of the economy in the past several years. Hungarians have now accepted the presence of security guards in practically all public places — supermarkets, plazas, railway stations, office buildings, schools, hospitals - not to mention bars, clubs, football matches, concerts, festivals, other events etc.[59] This, and the increasing reliance on security services when constructing new homes and protecting existing homes, as well

[56] This has actually been on the agenda in several post-socialist countries. The Czech Republic and Georgia have recently reduced the age of criminal responsibility, while many more countries have considered it.

[57] The analysis by the National Committee for Crime Prevention suggests that there was no increase in crimes committed by children below 14, and crimes committed by juveniles also remained steady. Peer violence among juveniles is a problem that the report admits and wants to address. (National Committee for Crime Prevention 2009)

[58] The section on Roma in the criminal justice system will discuss the example of a political party, Jobbik, that used the fight against crime — in particular, against so-called Gipsycriminality - as its key message, with great success in an election campaign in 2009.

[59] There are 128,506 certified security guards in Hungary, registered by SZVMSZK, the Association of Security Guards. Data Retrieved August 27, 2009 (http://www.szvmszk.hu/files/images/Orszagos/Letszamstatisztika/Letszamstatisztika_2009_augusztus pdf)

as an insurance industry boom, have probably contributed to people's growing sense of insecurity and danger – nevertheless analysts have not yet targeted this field in their efforts to understand the discrepancy between actual crime rates and the growing fear of crime.

Last but not least, new forms of violence outside the traditional understanding of crime have emerged in recent years, and may be influencing perceptions of safety, security, and risk. Traditional schools, used to disciplined students, have been unable to cope with an increase in school bullying and violence. Also, demonstrations that used to be peaceful have recently turned violent, for example attacks against the Gay Pride in 2007 and 2008 are noteworthy. Demonstrators have also engaged in vandalism and attacks against state buildings (e.g. attack on the Hungarian Television, fall, 2006). Police have used force against demonstrators in several instances. These phenomena have led to renewed debate about subjects ranging from hate speech to freedom of assembly to the police's obligation to protect, and its right to use force.

Furthermore, and most dramatically, starting in July 2008, a series of premeditated racist attacks against Roma people - including the murder of several people in their own homes - have shocked Roma communities in the targeted villages and the public at large. Usually vulnerable houses, on the edge of small villages, were attacked with guns and Molotov cocktails The suspected murderers were finally caught in August 2009, after a year of attacks that killed six people and wounded more in nine attacks all together.

Even though most people may not feel directly threatened by these events, these new and radical forms of violence have undermined the concept of security that had previously been taken for granted. This, in turn, has likely reinforced the desire for more security, order and discipline. Thus, even if these new forms of violence have nothing to do with traditional crime, the growing fear of crime - which has already led to proposals to get tougher on it - is likely to eventually result in punishing "classic" criminals more severely.

2.2 Transition and Neglect: the Difficult Fate of the Prison System

With the collapse of state socialism radical changes were introduced in criminal justice policies and the prison system as well. A prison-centered and repressive approach to criminal justice was changed through new laws and policies. In the first few years of the 1990s, criminal justice policies were liberalized: the death penalty was abolished, as were several previously existing penal sanctions that violated human rights standards, e.g. the so-called labor therapies for alcoholics, or the so-called "enhanced reform educational work".[60] Prisons were made to respect human rights standards, be humanized, and opened to public oversight. Amendments to the criminal code in 1993 also continued to liberalize policies. For instance, they increased the value limits for theft, and removed additional penalties for repeat offenders that had been previously in place. Because of these changes and an amnesty, the prison population in 1995 was less than half what it was in 1985.[61] (Lőrincz 2003).

The changes in the prison system advocated in the early 1990s focused on the three principles of normalization, increasing openness and responsibility. I will briefly summarize these below, and argue that although important developments were launched in all three areas in the early 1990s, however, less than ten years later some of the most progressive trends were discontinued or even reversed.

The principle of normalization meant that both the legal position of the detained and their conditions of detention had to be brought closer to those outside the prison walls. But while laws on the rights of detainees that met European standards were passed, the actual conditions of detention changed little. Inmates were and are housed in obsolete, mostly 19th century prison buildings, in large communal cells - contrary to European standards favoring single-cell accommodation.

[60] Although this summary will focus on the development of the prison system after the democratic transition, given its numerous state socialist legacies, references will be made throughout the section to key developments under state socialism.

[61] The prison population in Hungary in 1985 reached 23,016; while in 1995 it was only 12,454. From 1998 the prison population grew to approximately 17,000 by 2001, where it stagnated for a number of years (Lőrincz 2003). In the past few years due to a slight decrease the number of people in prison was around 15,000. On December 31, 2008 it was 14, 748; (BVOP Yearbook 2008) and in summer 2009 it grew again to 15,427 (source: data provided for this research by the National Prison Administration.) This means that it Hungary there are still approximately 154 imprisoned for 100.000 people; which is significantly higher than the corresponding number for most EU countries.

Although experts said that the obsolete prison system needed a major transformation, this was not on the political agenda in the 1990s.[62] Overcrowding has been a standard feature of the Hungarian prison system, and continues to be a major problem until today.[63] Overcrowding has not only meant that the physical space available to inmates has become critically small. Work, educational and recreational opportunities also suffer, and prisons have been unable to observe rules regarding targeted treatment of various groups of inmates. Security concerns have typically increased and the prison administration has generally become more discipline- and security-focused. At the same time, due to overcrowding some prison regulations have not been observed, further increasing dissatisfaction and conflicts (Kádár 2002; Lőrincz 2003; Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005). In summary, although the Hungarian prison system progressed towards normalization in the 1990s (Huszár 1997), progress was seriously limited by the obsolete, unchanged infrastructure and repeated overcrowding (Lőrincz 2003).

Increasing the openness of the prison system was meant to facilitate and strengthen inmates' contacts with the outside world, and also to increase access to the prisons by members of civil society, the media and general public. After 1993 the possibility of short leaves from prison was established, and the so-called LER (Lenient Executive Rules) were introduced. Those under LER were granted the possibility of regular monthly leaves and other privileges. From 1993 until 1998 the

[62] Comprehensive prison reform was also discussed in the 1960s, after a 1965 review of the prison system which established that the system is obsolete. The political leadership, however, was reluctant to invest in the prison system since they believed that crime would necessarily decline as people came to identify with the socialist value system. This political ideology connected crime with capitalism and imperialism and believed that people, if they understood the principles of socialism, would refrain from committing crime. Emphasis was thus placed on reforming and educating people who committed a crime, as well as on prison work as one key aspect of reform and education. When in later decades it became clear that crime did not disappear, in light of the slowly increasing crime rates, the political leadership initiated repressive anti-crime policies which repeatedly led to prison overcrowding. Yet, from the 1970s, the country already lacked the resources for any system-wide reform. As a result, the Hungarian prison system (in terms of buildings, architecture etc.) has remained essentially unchanged for the past several decades (Lőrincz 2003).

[63] Overcrowding has varied between 146% and 132% between 2005 and 2007. In 2008 due to adding new beds in two new prisons built under Private Public Partnership schemes, the overcrowding was 118%. (BVOP 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008).

prison system experienced an unprecedented increase in the use of short leaves and other progressive tools. The media and a large number of civil society groups - including religious organizations - also entered the prisons in increasing numbers. Starting in the second half of the 1990s, The Hungarian Helsinki Committee has run a prison monitoring program. It has issued a report on its findings and discussed recommendations with the central prison authority (Kádár 2002).

However, with a dramatic change in 1998, the use of progressive measures in both prisons and general criminal justice policies was stopped and reversed. The conservative turn to repressive criminal justice policies was a reaction to the growing crime rate of the 1990s. Following changes in the criminal code in 1998, the prison population between 1998 and 2002 grew with 33%, and led to record levels of overcrowding.[64]

An unfortunate incident also triggered restrictions in prison policies: an inmate was killed during his leave outside prison. This led to a strong political reaction by the conservative Minister of Justice. A new administrative order was issued which declared that the warden was personally responsible for any failure of inmates to comply with regulations regarding leaves (e.g. delayed return or no return from leave). In a hierarchical structure such as prisons this meant an immediate and dramatic decrease in the use of both short and regular leaves.[65] According to several analysts (Kádár 2002; Lőrincz 2003), the conservative government exploited this incident to institute other policies that resulted in virtually abandoning some of the most progressive policies introduced a few years earlier.

Furthermore, these repressive trends were not reversed even after the return of a social-democratic/ liberal government in 2002 and 2006.[66] The order about the warden's personal responsibility is still in place today. As two high-level prison officials explained to me:

> Yes, I know that the incident was already more than ten years ago, and the central prison administration in recent years has repeatedly tried to tell wardens that they should be more relaxed about the leaves. But you

[64] The Kalocsa prison in 2000 had an overcrowding level of 172% (Lőrincz 2003).

[65] In 1998 26,451 leaves were authorized, in 1999 13,007, in 2000 only 4,082 and in 2001 just 2,409. The number of people put on LER decreased by 90% in the same period (Lőrincz 2003).

[66] According to the data provided by the National Prison Administration in its yearbook, the number of leaves in 2008 was 4,828 (BVOP 2008) which is similar to the 2000 figure of 4,082, and is not comparable with the 1998 level of 26, 451 leaves (Lőrincz 2003).

> know how it is: people in this rigid and hierarchical system will remember for a long time that when that incident happened in 1998, the Minister of Justice announced on TV that there would be consequences. And some very high-level people were moved. You know people do not forget this. (high-level prison official)
>
> Look, why would anyone take any risk if they don't need to? Can you imagine the amount of worrying that goes on if you let someone go on a leave, and for what? I know that in other more civilized countries like in the Netherlands, if a prisoner does not show up after a leave, everybody is relaxed. They know that the police will bring him back, no problem. Here this is the prison's number one performance criteria. It means that everybody will try to avoid that risk. And let me tell you: if the warden avoids that risk everybody else below the warden will also avoid it. (high-level prison official)

As mentioned by this high-level prison official, the key performance criterion for prisons in recent years has become the "no special event" indicator - meaning no escape, no unauthorized stay on leave, and no suicide. These indicators, according to him, have strengthened wardens' attention paid to security issues at the cost of the openness principle. As a result of the conservative turn in criminal justice policies and prison policies following 1998, the prison system has regressed into half-openness after only five years of openness. The outside world certainly has more access to the prisons than before, and a degree of public oversight has thus been established there. But inmates' lives are just as confined to their same old prisons as they were 20, 30 or even more years ago.

The third principle of reform was that of responsibility, according to which inmates had to be regarded as individuals with rights who could make decisions regarding both their time in prison and future after it. This principle required transforming the prison system from a so-called instructive-paternalist approach to one based on respect for individual rights and cooperation. Progress has been reported in the treatment of prisoners by staff, and both state-run and NGO monitoring of prisons regularly occurs.[67]

[67] The central prison administration has its own internal monitoring system; and the prosecutor's office is responsible for checking whether prisons operate according to the relevant legislation. The ombudsman has a relatively open mandate to monitor conditions of detention and inmate rights, yet the ombudsman's office has typically not been active. The Hungarian Helsinki Committee found that torture and physical abuse of prisoners is not typical in Hungarian prisons, although various abuses were revealed, and the set-up of appropriate complaints mechanisms was recommended. (Kádár 2002).

According to some analysts, however, the emphasis on human rights and individual freedoms has left some members of staff frustrated as they experience a relative decrease in their power. Some analysts argue that not enough resources were available for training and improving the professionalism of staff members (Lőrincz 2003).

The key civilian staff in prisons, the so-called "educators" are responsible for providing tailor-made support for inmates' development during their imprisonment[68]. Research found that educators were unable to provide effective support to inmates in their development and preparation for reintegration. Educators primarily engaged in administration, e.g. delivering letters to inmates. Some educators recommended that their job title be changed to "social administrator", since they were responsible for as many as 80 or 90 inmates, and the average of 55 has still been found too high to provide any individualized support. [69] (Kádár 2002; Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005). In summary, the responsibility principle - due to insufficient human and financial resources, and the growing overcrowding leading to overemphasizing security concerns - has not been put into practice (Lőrincz 2003).

[68] The job title "educator" refers to the administrator working as the primary contact person with inmates. In other countries such jobs are usually held by social workers. In Hungary - as in several other post-socialist countries - their job title is "educator" and many indeed frequently have teaching degrees. (See the note below for more details about their responsibilities.)

[69] The prison law passed in 1979 - and amended in 1993 - still continues to be the main document regulating prison life in 2009. It was considered a progressive law, which emphasized the double function of prisons: punishment and rehabilitation. By 1979 it was understood that the idea that criminals could be reformed and turned into socialist workers could not be accomplished as originally envisioned. However the law retained a strong but more pragmatic concept of education, rehabilitation and preparation for release. Much of this rehabilitative function was embodied in the job of the "educator", the person who would theoretically be responsible for drafting a personal development plan with each inmate, and ensuring that educational, professional training and work opportunities in prison serve the future reintegration of the person to be released. Although this has never been implemented effectively, however, the law reflects a progressive development compared to early state socialist ideologies. It was also influenced by U.N. and Council of Europe recommendations adopted during the Kadar regime's symbolic trust-building policies in the late 1970s (Lőrincz 2003). But despite its then-progressive features, its relevance in 2009 is highly questionable. Prison law is the only major piece of criminal justice legislation that has still not been replaced by a new code. The new draft code has been in the making for the past four years.

In conclusion, none of the three reform principles of normalization, openness and responsibility mandated in the 1990s has in fact been put into practice - except for important changes in respect to respect for human rights in prisons. In some cases - notably regarding openness - even the relative progress of the 1990s has today been reversed. The emphasis on security concerns has become dominant, both due to political pressure and problems associated with overcrowding.

2.3 Roma in the Criminal Justice System, and the Notion of Gipsycriminality

The significant overrepresentation of Roma in the prisons of Hungary has been public knowledge for many years now, although no official data is available on the ethnic breakdown of the inmate population due to strict data protection regulations introduced in the early 1990s. There is limited research data available; and estimates from wardens provide some guidance, yet do not substitute the missing data.[70] Based on these sources, the ratio of Roma inmates in prison is likely to be between 30% and 60%. Considering that the Roma population is estimated to be between 3 and 6% of the total population[71], Roma people can be estimated to be overrepresented in prison by five to ten times.

[70] In the mid 1990s two surveys found that 30% and 40% of prisoners identified themselves as Roma, and in the latter survey 44% were identified as Roma by survey administrators (Huszár 1997); slightly later another survey found that 41,5% of respondents identified themselves as Roma and another 15% said that they are ethnic Hungarians but have Roma relatives (Póczik 1999). Data by the Hungarian Helsinki Committee based on self-identification suggests lower figures, such as 32.6% and 24.4% respectively (Kádár 2002, 2004). Prison officials' estimates are singificantly higher, averaging 61% (Huszár 1997).

[71] The size of the Roma community can only be estimated due to the lack of official data. The census in 2001 registered 190,000 Roma in Hungary. Estimates put the number of Roma at 500,000-600,000 in a total Hungarian population of approximately 10 million. See Hablicsek (2007) for the details of one of the most broadly used estimates. Nevertheless, there are debates about estimation methodologies; as well regarding who should be considered Roma. János Ladányi and Iván Szelényi point out that all of the frequently used empirical research methods, that is, self-identification, survey administrators' decision and expert opinion can be legitimate and they all have their own strengths and weaknesses. Szelényi and Ladányi assert that race/ ethnicity is a social construct. They argue that the boundaries between who belongs to an ethnic group and who does not, are necessarily fluid and contested depending on who draws the boundaries, and what interests, stereotypes and struggles characterize the context. (Ladányi, Szelényi 2004). I concur with their approach.

The ratio of Roma women in women's prisons has been consistently estimated higher by the wardens than the average. The only survey which included a women's prison - the Palhalma prison - found the ratio to be slightly higher than the average, 42% compared to 40% (Huszár 1997). No such research data is available for the Kalocsa prison, although a high-level prison official in 2009 estimated the ratio of Roma women to be 50 and 75% there. And, according to state statistics before the collapse of state socialism, 55% of Kalocsa inmates were Roma in 1988 (Juhászné 1988).

During the past two decades a few research efforts have been launched - usually by human rights groups - to uncover some of the processes in the criminal justice system that result in the extreme overrepresentation of Roma in prison. Each time methodological challenges were faced due to strict data protection rules. A small-scale research project by the Hungarian Helsinki Committee analyzed closed court files of Roma and non-Roma people convicted in two large cities, and found several remarkable differences. First, the type of arrest suggested that many more Roma were arrested as a result of police stops and identification on the street than ethnic Hungarians. More Roma tended to be placed in pre-trial detention. And the length of their pre-trial detention was significantly longer: on average 5 months more than that of ethnic Hungarians. The actual sentences were also significantly longer for Roma, especially if their ethnicity was mentioned in the court file (Csorba 2002). Ethnic profiling by the police was further researched by the research group TÁRKI, whose 2005 qualitative research established that the police practice of stopping people for identity checks is discriminatory (Pap 2006).

A large survey on ethnic profiling was recently conducted by the Hungarian Helsinki Committee (HHC) in cooperation with the police. It conducted a detailed analysis of ethnic bias in the practice of stopping people for identity checks. The research was based on data collected by the police on its identity check practices and used a methodology jointly developed with the HHC. It established that the widespread practice of stopping people on the streets has low effectiveness, and that most stops do not lead to any further action. Roma people were being stopped at least three times more often than warranted by their ratio in the general population. And, when they are stopped, it is as ineffective as with ethnic Hungarians. This finding has been important because it challenged the widespread belief that ethnic profiling is a

rational police practice because stopping Roma people identifies more criminals (Kádár 2008).

Other research by the HHC focused on the treatment of detainees in pre-trial detention and found that generally the system of ex-officio legal counsel fails to provide adequate defense. Ex-officio legal counsels were typically not present at the first interrogations, and frequently met their defendants for the first time in court at their trial (Kádár 2004). Generally it is poor defendants who rely on ex-officio legal counsels, and Roma are over-represented in this group (Huszár 1997; Póczik 1999). The HHC recommended fundamental reform in criminal legal aid due to the dysfunctional nature of the ex-officio system (Kádár 2007). The HHC also found that more Roma detainees than ethnic Hungarians experienced physical abuse by the police during their arrest and police detention (Kádár 2004).

In summary, research data suggests that the Roma are disadvantaged at several stages of the criminal justice system. The police engages in ethnic profiling, and Roma defendants are disadvantaged by the poorly functioning ex-officio legal counsel system. Research on racism within the police found that there is racism among police officers, especially in those areas with larger Roma populations (Csepeli 1997). Several of the HHC's research findings also suggest bias in sentencing practices, although more work is clearly needed on sentencing. No research is available on potential discrimination against Roma during imprisonment.

Research results on stereotypes and racism are reviewed next.[72] A study based on large surveys conducted in 1994 and 1997 argued that stereotypes about Gipsycriminality have become stronger since the democratic transition. In 1997, 60% of respondents disagreed with the statement that there are just as many criminals among Roma than among ethnic Hungarians who live in similar conditions. In 1994, nine out of ten respondents believed that Roma people's problems would be resolved if they finally would start to work. The study found that stereotypical attitudes against the Roma have become more open and directly discriminatory, e.g. many respondents said that the police should be stricter with the Roma than with others, and that criminality is in "their blood". The authors found it worrisome that the overwhelming

[72] Most studies reviewed in this section use the word "Roma" and "cigány/gipsy" interchangeably. The term "cigány", that is, gipsy, was broadly used both by researchers and in general public discourse before the word "Roma" started to replace it in the 1990s, at least in language used by officialdom and the elite. Nevertheless, "cigány" continues to be broadly used in many contexts, including prisons.

majority of respondents attributed criminal behavior to personal characteristics of Roma people rather than structural issues (Csepeli 1998).

Comparing more recent survey results on the same questions, the research group TÁRKI found that the ratio of respondents who believed that criminality is in Roma people's blood has increased from 55% in 2000 and 53% in 2002 to 62% in 2005.[73] According to data from a 2009 survey, 59% of respondents believed that ethnicity influenced tendencies for criminality.[74]

In 2008-2009 the growing belief in "Gipsycriminality" has become a matter of concern for more than a handful of researchers. It has become a headline story for newspapers, and a most heated topic in political and public discussions. It has taken center stage because a rapidly emerging new right-wing party, Jobbik, and a political movement associated with it, Magyar Gárda, have made Gipsycriminality their key message to potential voters during the election campaign leading up to the 2009 European Parliament (EP) elections.

Jobbik started referring to Gipsycriminality, written as one word, to indicate that there was a special criminality associated with the Roma that needed to be distinguished from general criminality. Magyar Gárda, an association promoting self-defense for the Hungarian nation, organized several marches for its members. Members dressed in military-looking uniforms marched in small villages across the country, demonstrating against Gipsycriminality. After a few marches the association was attacked for advocating racial hatred and finally, in the summer of 2009, was dissolved by a court decision. But the political party Jobbik did unexpectedly well in the June 2009 EP elections, establishing itself as an important political power that is expected to enter the Hungarian parliament in 2010.

Human rights groups, writers and intellectuals have strongly opposed the concept and use of Gipsycriminality, and the government renewed its earlier attempts to pass legislation against hate-speech. Two incidents, however, have been particularly relevant to the topic under discussion. The police chief of Miskolc - a city in North-East Hungary - issued a press release that said that in recent months almost all robberies on the streets of Miskolc had been committed by Roma. He was fired the

[73] Data by research group TÁRKI retrieved January 6, 2010 (www.tarki.hu/kozvelemeny/kitekint/20060201.html)

[74] Data by research group Nézőpont Intézet retrieved August 29, 2009 (www.nezopontintezet.hu)

same day on the grounds that such a high-level state official should not discuss the ethnicity of criminals. But he was restored to his position the next day. A few weeks later the Ombudsman, in an interview, speculated about Gipsycriminality and discussed, among other things, the tribal background of Roma. Human rights groups, various politicians, and Parliamentary Committees objected to his discussion of Gipsycriminality.

In this context it is perhaps understandable why I was given rather surprising answers when I asked two high-level prison officials about their estimates regarding the number of Roma in prison and discrimination against them:

> I used to give estimates when I was asked about the ratio of Roma in prison, but now I do everything to avoid giving a straightforward response. Now if I am asked by the media, I would probably say that it is not my job to know that and they should speak with social scientists who are more knowledgeable about the topic. After what happened to the police chief in Miskolc, I am not going to say anything about Roma in prison. (high-level prison official)

> Discrimination against Roma here in prison? No, there is no such thing. It cannot be there, it is forbidden by law. (high-level prison official)

In summary, despite the lack of official data, research on various aspects of the criminal justice system has documented that Roma are disadvantaged, and directly or indirectly discriminated against in several stages of the criminal justice system. No research has focused so far on in-prison treatment and discrimination. Due to the heated debates about Gipsycriminality in the media, many high-level prison officials are reluctant to even estimate the number of Roma in prison, let alone discuss in-prison discrimination in the treatment of Roma inmates.

2.4 Women's Prisons: Time Stands Still

A strong impression that Kalocsa – and the other two smaller prisons for women, Eger and Mélykút – leaves on the visitor is that of a journey in time. Although no ethnographic research was conducted thus far on any of the three women's prisons in Hungary, this conclusion was drawn from a relatively recent study on the reintegration of women prisoners, which will form the basis of the introduction below. The purpose of this section is to introduce what is known about women prisoners in Hungary, despite the scarcity of research[75]. Apart from some results of the WIP study, the section will share recent official data provided by the National Prison Administration for this research.

More than two-thirds of the approximately thousand women in the prisons of Hungary - their number has been rather stable over the past several years - have at best elementary school education. And about 21% of the women have not completed elementary education[76]. It thus seems justifiable that the prison system, both under state socialism and after its collapse, emphasized the importance of education for women's future reintegration. It is no coincidence that the job title of the educator also refers to this function; and that, as the WIP research has found, some educators actually teach classes to the imprisoned women as part of the elementary education organized within the prisons[77].

[75] This section relies largely on the results of the research "Women, Integration, Prison" completed in 2005 (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005). Separate references will be made where other sources are used. Prior to the WIP research, an interview-based research was conducted with women prisoners in 2002, which was the first study on women prisoners (Fehér 2002).

[76] In August 2009 altogether 931 women were imprisoned in Hungary, which is about 6% of the total number of 15,427. The current statistics show that about 2% of women have no formal education and are considered illiterate; about 19% have partial elementary school education; about 52% have completed elementary school education; about 9% have professional training; 12% have secondary school education; and almost 4% have college or university education. (There is no data about the remaining 2%). Data was provided for this research by the National Prison Administration on August 25, 2009.

[77] Some educators in Kalocsa were teaching inmates in the elementary school. Educators saw no problem in taking up additional teaching assignments despite their overload and failure to provide attention to individual needs or development. They received an additional fee for the teaching which may partly explain their motivation (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

While elementary education is promoted by the prison[78], and many women complete a few classes during their imprisonment; the WIP research found that even if completed, elementary education alone does not improve one's post-release labor-market prospects. The range of professional training available in women's prisons has been extremely narrow, and largely limited to low-value and "feminine" occupations such as cleaning, cooking, flower decoration, and word processing/basic computer skills. No secondary school training or further higher education was available at the time of the WIP study despite the fact that more than 50% of inmates could engage in secondary or higher education, and that typically lengthy sentences would provide time for further education[79]. Despite the rhetoric of education, women's prisons were found unable to provide the overwhelming majority of women with meaningful professional training or further education that could improve their lives after release.

Prison work, as mentioned in a previous section on the state-socialist legacies of the prison system, was originally perceived as a way of transforming criminals into law-abiding socialist workers. The WIP research found that work in women's prisons does not meaningfully contribute to women's development of new and marketable job skills, given that most jobs in women's prisons tend to be in such "feminine" and low-skill and low-paid categories as, predominantly, sewing and packing. After their release, women were not able to find jobs relying on their in-prison work experience or job training.

Statistics show that almost half of the imprisoned women are sentenced for robbery and theft - these are the most typical crimes. The third place is occupied by women imprisoned for homicide and attempted homicide. Relatively small numbers of women are imprisoned for white-collar crimes. Very few women are imprisoned for drug-related crimes, especially if compared with Western Europe and North-

[78] During state socialism, inmates who arrived to Kalocsa with incomplete elementary education had to participate in compulsory classes in order to complete elementary school in prison (Juhászné 1988). Although since the transition it is not compulsory any longer, it continues to be encouraged by the prison (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

[79] In 2001 the average sentence length in Hungary was 4.1 years, much higher than in Western Europe or North America (Lőrincz 2003).

America.[80] The number of foreigners in women's prisons tends to be also extremely small.

Women's pre-prison histories show remarkable differences, as established by the WIP research. One of the study's aims was to study women's pre-prison histories in order to understand the role of primary social exclusion in shaping women's criminal careers. The WIP research identified a few patterns in women's pre-prison histories.

Women in the pattern called "pushed into crime", would typically live in lasting poverty in their childhood families, not attend school or interrupt it early, and/or also start their own families early. They would get into crime - typically stealing and/or robbery - in order to provide for their families, and often return to prison again and again. Although there were no statistics on ethnicity, the WIP research found in its small sample that repeat offenders of theft and robbery were typically Roma. Women imprisoned for theft and robbery were perceived by criminal justice agents as either accomplices to men criminals; or as innocent people who only claim to have committed the crime instead of others, typically family members. Prison officials strongly associated this pattern with Roma women's criminal careers.

Women in the pattern called "interrupted by violence", were typically first-time offenders. They tended to be adult women in their 30s, 40s or 50s, who attempted or committed serious bodily harm or homicide against a batterer - typically their husband, ex-husband or boyfriend. Most women in this pattern had permanent employment, some level of education, and a "consolidated" family life prior to the start of domestic violence - which often lasted for years and decades and led to the tragic end eventually. Prison staff was aware that these women are not career criminals and very unlikely to ever return once released after their typically lengthy sentences. Staff believed that those imprisoned for domestic violence were mostly ethnic Hungarians.

According to other research conducted after the WIP research so as to better understand the role of domestic violence in leading to homicide, 92% of the women sentenced for homicide experienced serious forms of domestic violence either in their

[80] Robbery 23.70%, theft 20.91%, homicide 17.49%, fraud 8.48%, assault 5.17%, drugs 3.93%, embezzlement 1.96%, jeopardizing children 1.75%, other 16.61%. Data was provided for this research by the National Prison Administration on August 25, 2009.

adult relationships, childhood families, or both (Rédai, Sáfrány, and Tóth 2007).[81] This supports the notion - held by prison officials - that the majority of women imprisoned for homicide in Kalocsa are there because of domestic violence. Given that Kalocsa is the only high-security prison in the country and that homicide often results in being sentenced to a high-security section, many of the almost 170 women sentenced for homicide are imprisoned in Kalocsa, as a result of domestic violence.[82]

As identified by the WIP research, women in the third pattern called "crime as choice", described themselves as rebellious. Typically not satisfied with the economic or other circumstances in their lives, many described how they were attracted by excitement, travel, etc. Their criminal careers typically included white-collar crimes such as embezzlement or forgery, but also such other crimes as theft and robbery. Unlike women in the first pattern, however, women in this pattern typically planned and committed their crimes independently. Usually women in this pattern did not respect traditional gender roles. Staff identified this pattern also with ethnic Hungarians, and generally considered white collar criminals to be ethnic Hungarians.

Several of the key problems and policy recommendations made by the WIP study in 2005 regarding state policies on women's imprisonment and their reintegration after release, were already mentioned in articles written in the 1990s (Huszár, Tari 1997) and some even earlier, in articles written during late state socialism in 1988 (Juhászné 1988). The notoriously unresolved overcrowding problem in Kalocsa, coupled with the many problems resulting from the large communal cells occupied by as many as 25-33 women, were mentioned in the studies dating back to the late 1980s.

Since then the political system may have changed dramatically, the laws improved substantially and the rhetoric may have changed slightly. Yet several of the underlying principles upon which the prison is run - work, basic education and discipline - as well as the building, and infrastructure are the same as they were in

[81] Earlier research among imprisoned women found that one-third of women imprisoned for homicide experienced domestic violence in their adult relationships. (Fehér 2002)

[82] The other two smaller units for women prisoners are both part of larger men's prisons. Medium security (Eger, Mélykút) and low-security (Mélykút) prisoners are housed in these units. As mentioned, Kalocsa is the only high-security prison for women in the country, but also women sentenced to medium-security sentence are located in Kalocsa. All sentenced women prisoners are placed in either of these three prisons, while women in pre-trial detention can be held in several other locations as well.

1988. In this sense the hand embroidery decoration which awaits visitors in Kalocsa's cultural center now just like it did 20 or 30 years ago, symbolizes that indeed time has stopped in Kalocsa. The empirical chapters will reveal how the internal structure and key processes of the prison contribute to the remarkable stability of the Kalocsa prison.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY - ASSEMBLING THE KALOCSA PUZZLE

The choice of Kalocsa as the research site for a women's prison in Hungary was natural as it is the largest women's prison, the only high-security prison for women in Hungary, and the only women's prison that is run as an independent institution; that is not as part of a larger men's prison. Women commonly refer to it as "the big prison". The more I learned about Kalocsa in the past six years, the more curious I became about the peculiar ways of punishing women in this 19th century fortress.

The methodology that will be discussed below was not a result of a conscious planning exercise. Rather, it emerged gradually, from the experience of two previous research projects conducted in Kalocsa and in other prisons of Hungary in the past several years.[83] The engine behind the development of this methodology was the lasting relationship with a group of women whom I first met in Kalocsa in 2003.

A series of interviews were conducted with twenty women inmates in three women's prisons during the WIP research project from 2003-2005, both in the prison before their release, as well as on several occasions after their release, since the research addressed the prison's role in preparing women for reintegration and their post-release experiences. Several women who participated in the follow-up process were eager to stay in touch even after the WIP research was officially completed in 2005. This group of women became a source of information and inspiration for developing a methodology that rests on a longer process of engagement rather on single interviews. I quickly learnt that single interviews in prison environments have many limitations, some of which will be discussed in the next section.

The fieldwork for the thesis research started in 2005 in Kalocsa, where I led a series of workshops for a group of women soon to be released after lengthy sentences;

[83] My entry to Kalocsa in 2003 was enabled by the Women, Integration and Prison (WIP) research project, in which I participated as a researcher with the Central European University's Center for Policy Studies. Following the WIP research, I initiated a research project that focused on domestic violence in the lives of imprisoned women and men who were sentenced for homicide/ attempted homicide; which again included Kalocsa, along with a few men's prisons. The results of the WIP research were published (Cruells and Igarada 2005; Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005) and are also available on the website of the Center for Policy Studies of CEU. The results of the domestic violence research were published in Hungarian (Rédai, Sáfrány, and Tóth 2006).

and I ran another series of workshops in 2008-2009. The goal of the workshops was to assist women in preparing for their release; yet both participants and the prison understood that the workshops are part of a research process. These workshops allowed me weekly visits to Kalocsa for about 3-4 months in both occasions; group discussions with the women about a very broad range of topics, as well as individual interviews and informal conversations both with inmates and prison staff. I was able to stay in touch with the majority of women in both groups after their release; which resulted in further interviews and many more informal conversations.

In summary, the data collection for this research rested on three pillars: the fieldwork during the workshops in Kalocsa; the interviews conducted with inmates[84], ex-inmates and staff over the past several years; and post-release follow-up work with women whom I met on these previous occasions. The section below will discuss the features, principles and challenges faced when trying to understand and piece together pieces of the Kalocsa puzzle.

3.1 Ethnographic Methods rather then Prison Ethnography

Although with the Kalocsa research I wanted to provide an analysis on the prison's microcosm described by Loic Wacquant in his passionate calls for more ethnographic work on prisons[85]; I believe that due to the various limitations of the research, the

[84] I formally interviewed about 50 women at least once, of whom about 30 were interviewed on several occasions, usually both before and after their release. Most interviews were tape-recorded. The tape recorder, especially during in-prison interviews was uncomfortable for some women, therefore I always offered to turn it off. Interviews conducted in Kalocsa during the WIP research were included in the analysis, with permission from the Center for Policy Studies from CEU. All interview materials were re-analyzed and all quotations were translated again. Workshop sessions in Kalocsa were not recorded, however, I prepared detailed fieldnotes after the sessions. I also prepared fieldnotes about the post-release follow-up work with women. I changed women's names when using quotations from them. The appendix includes brief information about the women from whom quotations are included in the text.

[85] The title of Wacquant's 2002 article summarizes his key point: "Curious Eclipse of Prison Ethnography in the Age of Mass Incarceration". Wacquant passionately argued that the eclipse of U.S. prison anthropology and sociology happened just when huge increases were recorded in prison populations in the U.S., and just when prison ethnography was most needed. Wacquant pointed to some European prison research that occurred in the 1980s and 1990s, especially in the U.K. and France, he concluded that these studies were too few and isolated from larger scientific debates in sociology and anthropology (Wacquant 2002).

Kalocsa project cannot be called a prison ethnography. Rather, I propose to call it a feminist participatory research project that relies on ethnographic methods. The discussion will start with introducing the limitations of ethnographic work in a prison environment, and will move on to discussing the feminist/ participatory elements of the project.

As several researchers who used ethnographic methods have pointed out, there are very significant limitations to engaging in ethnography in a prison environment (Owen 2001; Rhodes 2001). As Barbara Owen remarked, even if the researcher has access to public spaces in the prison - such as the yard, library, 'living room' etc. - she cannot in most cases observe or participate in inmates' daily lives; and usually has no access to their cells and the more hidden parts of the prison. The fact that the researcher leaves the prison and returns home at the end of the day is a key difference from inmates' lives. Owen also adds that the researcher may be unwilling to know about certain phenomena, e.g. rule-breaking behavior such as drug usage, or sexual behavior, out of respect for their privacy. Owen thus proposes that due to the structural barriers inherent in the prison environment, ethnography with such limitations should best be referred to as quasi-ethnography (Owen 2001).

I experienced all the limitations that Owen described. My access to Kalocsa was limited in time and space as well. I paid about 40-50 half-day visits to Kalocsa over a period of several years. Once in the prison, I was usually escorted to the cultural center where the workshops and interviews took place. That was the most accessible part of the prison for visitors. It was designed to present the prison as a relatively civilized and cultured place. Its windows were decorated with hand embroidery, it had plenty of plants and the corridor was decorated with handicrafts prepared by inmates. The ethos of culture and education was reinforced by the library, and educational materials in the rooms.

I gradually learned, however, that this section did not have much in common with the large and crowded cells where women lived, to which visitors had practically no access. Even though with some luck I finally managed to enter some cells, and gradually achieved some freedom in getting around the prison, disguised – officially,

by the prison administration - as a priest; I never achieved full access to all parts of the prison.[86]

The most significant challenge faced during data collection in prison was the low reliability and/ or controversy of interview data, especially on some topics. Given the previous experience with multiple interviews conducted with women prior to and after their release; at the start of the Kalocsa fieldwork I was aware that on a number of topics - such as for instance inmates' views about the acceptability of life/ conditions etc. in prison, actions of prison staff; and women's relationship to their children, family members as well as women's relationships to other inmates etc.- repeated interviews after release may have challenged or contradicted the data from the in-prison interviews[87]. This was a major challenge given that – as many feminist researchers - I wanted to ensure that the analysis of the prison rests primarily on women's experiences of imprisonment.

The research design tried to respond in two ways to this challenge: by focusing group discussions and workshops on the individual women thus decentering the prison as much as possible; and by building on a series of interviews before and after release to enable comparison of data, return to questionable or contested issues, and discussions about these with the women.

[86] Once all permissions were granted by the National Prison Administration and by Kalocsa for the project, I was never denied access to the prison. However, my arrival to Kalocsa repeatedly took the prison by surprise. I must have visited Kalocsa about 40-50 times in total, and on each occasion I experienced a different admission procedure. It tended to be time-consuming since it routinely required lengthy conversations and phone calls with several staff members - about the purpose of the trip, the organization I represent, my occupational and educational background, and the identification of a suitable officer who would walk me to the workshop. Once, frustrated that I had lost 30 minutes from the workshop because a new guard was on duty at reception who had no prior knowledge about my visits and therefore had to make the full cycle of phone calls, I asked an educator whether I could be granted some form of permanent identification and access. A few visits later I was given a security card which said "priest" on it. This gave me unsupervised access to most parts of the prison once I was checked in at reception. After dozens of visits, I was finally able to walk around the prison by myself. This was exciting, though I found it curious that I had to change my identity into that of a priest to achieve that freedom.

[87] Of course, women's presentations of, and thinking about, these topics may also have changed over time. It required careful data collection and analysis to understand whether changing presentations of prison life had to do more with the distorting impact of the prison environment; or with shifting memories and changing self-presentations.

Workshops, given that their topic was related to the time after release, encouraged women to talk less about the prison and more about their plans for the future. During discussions about planning monthly household budgets, sources of income; or role-plays about job interviews or difficult conversations with family members etc; the focus was on the individual, and on the time after release. This decentering of the prison did not result in the prison's disappearance from the scene, at best it helped to moderate it slightly by bringing in other topics. It was very difficult for women to concentrate on a future that was felt to be abstract, beautiful and still too distant; compared to the prison's overwhelming presence. Nevertheless, the group discussions gave insight into women's life in prison which was not as ready-made and well-rehearsed as prison interviews in highly controlled environments can be. In addition, the group dynamics revealed internal relationships, hierarchies, debates etc. among inmates that would have been difficult to grasp in individual conversations.

The multiple interviews and conversations with women allowed me to collect data on sensitive topics and to strengthen the validity of data already collected on sensitive topics. For instance, given that the prison had no data on ethnicity, I collected my own data by talking to inmates about their own ethnic belonging, as well as about the ethnic composition of their cells[88]. In addition, I learned, that while women denied ethnic discrimination when asked about it in prison, they had plenty to say if asked about selective placement in good cells, especially after their release; although many women still denied ethnic discrimination. Nevertheless, I could return

[88] Women who considered themselves Roma, almost without exception volunteered information about their ethnic belonging in interviews, informal conversations and group situations alike. As we will see later, volunteering information on oneself was not limited to ethnic data; women usually included their age, crime committed, sentence length, and sexual orientation in introductory remarks in many situations. When identifying themselves, some women used the general term "gipsy", while others referred to Roma ethnic subgroups such as beás, or oláh cigány; yet others said they were romungro, or half gipsy and half Hungarian. Throughout the empirical chapters I will use the term "Roma women" referring to women who identified themselves as such. Although women routinely referred to each others' ethnicity as well; I did not record differences in women's self-identification and those that others attributed to them. The only difference that I noticed was that a person who considered herself half Roma, half Hungarian was usually considered Roma by others; however this was never challenged by the person concerned. When I asked women to describe the ethnic composition of the cells they live in, they did it without hesitation for every person in the cell. When comparing descriptions of the same cell by various women, I did not experience differences in their understanding of who is Roma.

to the women with new, more specific questions that avoided the loaded term "discrimination". The repeated conversations also allowed me to recognize strong impulses for self-presentation (Goffman 1961) that can be overpowering in a prison environment (Bosworth 1999). These impulses tended to be weaker in repeated meetings outside the prison. For instance, several women who presented themselves as heterosexual in prison, after their release told me about their in-prison same-sex relationships. As we will see, the prison strongly encouraged heterosexuality; thus some women decided not to talk about their lovers in the in-prison interviews.

In summary, the repeated conversations with women over longer time periods allowed me to slowly get to know the entire prison and piece it together as if it were a giant puzzle. I assembled the "big prison" action by action, cell by cell, floor by floor, as I listened to countless stories about people and events. In addition to the in-prison interviews and workshops, I relied on hundreds of informal conversations with many of the 50 women after their release. This method gave me the luxury of asking questions about a certain event or story from several people in order to comprehend it fully. It also gave me the luxury of further elaborating on a topic, since it allowed me to return to the women with new questions.

3.2 A Feminist Research Project with Participatory Elements

As mentioned, I wanted to ensure that the Kalocsa research takes women's experiences of imprisonment as its basis for the analysis. The commitment to do so has generally characterized feminist-informed research on women's prisons (Bosworth 1999; Diaz-Cotto 2006; Enos 2001; Kruttschnitt 2003; McCorkel 2004). This commitment has influenced the design of the research project; as well as its content. For instance, I relied on women's accounts in determining what are the in-prison processes that are critically important; those processes which determine whether time in prison is relatively bearable or not. By listening to women's experiences I managed to identify three such critically important processes that will be analyzed in the first three empirical chapters.

Putting women's experiences first has impacted the importance of data collected from prison staff; which ultimately played a supplementary role in the analysis. Naturally, when addressing the role of prison staff, I integrated data from

prison staff into the analysis[89]. However, I did not want to provide an analysis about the staff world in Kalocsa; and it was not data from prison staff that defined the key themes of the analysis: much rather, it was women's experiences of imprisonment.

Many feminist researchers strive to establish settings in which the researcher and other research participants are less bound by one-way and hierarchical relationships than in classical research settings; for which purpose, action research methodologies and participatory research methods were often relied on (Harding 1986, Maguire 2001). Some elements of the Kalocsa research were participatory; however, I argue that the Kalocsa project cannot be called an action research project. Participatory elements included regular discussions with a group of women about the goal of the research, emerging hypotheses, and further research actions, sometimes leading into debates and heated discussions; particularly on the issue of ethnic discrimination in Kalocsa which was vehemently denied by most inmates and passionately argued for by a few women. This small group of women – some of whom I met in 2003, others in 2005 and yet others in 2008 – emerged gradually from those women who were most interested in the research; and with whom I was in regular contact. They recommended me further interview partners – sometimes recruiting women for interviews whom they met e.g. in homeless shelters after their release but knew them from Kalocsa – debated my points, and sometimes explicitly told me to include their experiences in the research.[90] These women very much

[89] I formally interviewed about 20 prison officials between 2003 and 2009; from various levels of the organizational hierarchy: prison guards, educators, psychologists, penitentiary judges, wardens, deputy wardens and other top prison administrators; and several representatives of the National Prison Administration (NPA). Some interviews were prepared during the WIP research between 2003 and 2005 while further interviews were added in the past several years. During the visits to Kalocsa I had many informal conversations with staff members. Some people requested that I ensure that they cannot be identified; thus I decided to refer to the warden, the deputy warden and other top Kalocsa administrators as well as respondents from the NPA together as "high-level prison officials".

[90] One night I received an emergency phone call, saying that I should come and pick up Kiralk from a central square in Budapest because she had no place to stay for the night and was suicidal. Knowing about her suicide attempt a few months earlier, I decided to go and asked my partner to accompany me. We found Kiralk in rather poor condition, but together managed to find accommodation for her with two other ex-inmates from Kalocsa and drove her to their place outside Budapest. On the road she started to feel better and explicitly told me to include her story in the research. She analyzed her situation and gave me instructions on the kind of conclusions that should be shared from her story because, she said, "you must tell them about my story so that nobody else gets to where I was tonight".

influenced not only the process but also the outcome of the research. Nevertheless, this process only involved a small group of women; and ultimately the research results cannot be considered a shared/ joined product, since I made all the decisions regarding final analysis and conclusions.

However, reciprocity – which is an often-mentioned principle of participatory research (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1996; Maguire 2001) - was a feature of the research that I tried to achieve with all research participants; and one that women appreciated very much. During in-prison workshops women drafted CV-s based on which I produced their very first printed CV-s. The workshops produced a range of plans for women's post-release lives - resource maps, contact lists, letters requesting support, and so forth. In some cases these plans led to such tangible post-release outcomes as jobs and documents (e.g. IDs). Other workshops covered topics that may have been important in their lives, although not directly linked to their release. One workshop, for example was devoted to crime and poverty, another to racism, and a third to domestic violence.[91]

After release I accompanied some women to see their parole officer, social worker etc. when they requested such assistance, or I made phone calls to officials, employers or banks on their behalf. Often times they turned to me in emergency situations, thus I ended up driving people to hospital to deliver a baby; or driving home from hospitals after a suicide attempt; finding a lawyer; fighting a child protection agency; collecting baby clothes etc. But in many cases I just had to be a good listener. Many women called me to simply tell me about their lives once in a while[92].

The need for reciprocity was often expressed by the women. They asked me about my life each time we spoke, and have kept track of the major events in my life.

[91] Apart from the discussing a few ideas in each topic, I tried to make sure that women know where to turn to if they need assistance; e.g. against domestic violence. The idea of bringing in such topics was inspired by Dani Wagman who told me about courses in political science run in a women's prison – the California Institution for Women - in the 1970s. Academics and activists succeeded in building an undergraduate degree program in the CIW. (Faith 1993) Although the Kalocsa workshops were not comparable to their courses in any way; the idea to discuss larger social issues such as racism seemed to work: most women were very interested in discussing such topics.

[92] I continue to receive regular phone calls from women even though some of them had been released six years ago. Some are back in prison and others have gone abroad, and yet they call to tell me about their lives. I have probably received at least one phone call every few days for the past several years.

Since often times I came to know their close family members and in some cases, their employers, neighbors, social workers and/or parole officers as well; therefore, women were also very interested in getting to know my family members, neighbors, colleagues etc., although I usually tried to limit this to my partner. I was surprised by their insistence on learning about my life, and sometimes even irritated by the often-discussed baby topic[93]. Yet in general, I appreciated the reciprocity and care expressed in their questions and gestures. This focus on reciprocity in the research process by imprisoned women has been noted elsewhere as well (Owen 2001).

However, the extended research process and the resulting regular and close relationships with some women - my relationship with most women has become stronger and longer than in a classic research relationship which tends to have well-defined boundaries – did present challenges. Pat Carlen has warned researchers about the complications involved in building close relationships with participants in prison research (Carlen 2004). Indeed, I experienced difficulties in drawing boundaries and keeping emotional distance while still respecting reciprocity.

I tried to be clear about what kind of help could be expected of me, and the women rarely expected assistance from me that I could not or would not deliver. Nevertheless, unexpected emergency calls have been an emotional burden, as has feeling helpless when some women were in nearly hopeless situations, or on their way back to prison. I believe, however, that this emotional burden is typical in all prison research and not only in those employing methodologies built on sustained contact. (Bosworth 1999)

Also, I relied on an NGO as a safety net which greatly assisted in managing demands on my time. Requests for assistance - e.g. in dealing with authorities, employers, hostels, and so forth – were usually channeled through this NGO. Most women whom I met in Kalocsa became clients of Váltósáv, and have benefited from

[93] Many women were worried about me not having a child. Several conversations, especially in the prison, centered around babies and concluded by encouraging me not to delay having a child further. I gradually learned that this partly resulted from the strong motherhood cult of the prison environment. The pressure eased after their release, although some women continued to make passing references to my age, mainly to tease me.

this NGO's services. Due to their help I knew that even if I cannot be there; women will get assistance[94].

In summary, the research project did have participatory elements and tried to integrate principles from feminist participatory research – such as for instance reciprocity. While some challenges were already discussed; a further challenge will be discussed below separately: the heterogeneous positions along class, race and sexual orientation both within the inmate world in Kalocsa; as well as between the researcher and research participants.

3.3 Heterogeneous Positions: Whose Prison Experiences? [95]

As mentioned, I wanted to ground my research findings in women's experiences of imprisonment; however, I knew that there were very significant differences between imprisoned women's backgrounds and life-histories in Kalocsa. As identified by the WIP research, educated middle-class women who murdered their husbands after years of domestic violence; and women living in extreme poverty imprisoned for petty theft may have had very few common experiences in their lives apart from being imprisoned together. And, as it turned out, even their experiences of imprisonment were also very different in many important ways. So, whose experience would I refer to when discussing "women's experiences in prison"? How would I be able to build

[94] The NGO called Váltósáv (Changing Lanes) offers in-prison tutoring for young prisoners to help them complete secondary school education during their imprisonment; prepares inmates for their release through workshops and individual assistance, and supports ex-prisoners after their release in various ways (e.g. help in securing employment, housing, and access to official documents such as ID cards and social security cards. It also runs support groups for inmates' family members, and is an advocate for improving the currently weak state support available to people after their release from prison.

[95] Recent feminist literature offers rich discussions about the possibility of research across class, ethnic, etc., boundaries, as reflected for instance in the recognition of multiple feminist epistemologies, the plurality of women's experiences and standpoints, and the intersection of race, gender and class. (hooks 1989, Kócze 2009) Several prison researchers asked similar questions, for instance, Mary Bosworth asks: "For example, what happens if the interviewees belong to a different ethnic or racial group from the interviewer? What if they are native speakers in another language? What if they have very few life experiences in common?" (1999:71) An important difference as compared with a sample from the UK's prison population is that all inmates in this research are Hungarian citizens, born and raised in Hungary, and native speakers of Hungarian (while some of them speak in addition Romanese etc).

relationships based on reciprocity with women with such diverse backgrounds and histories? The following section will attempt to address these key questions.

The first challenge was to ensure that a sufficiently heterogeneous group of women participates in the research. All women preparing for release in Kalocsa were invited to join the workshops, without pre-selection. But still the question emerged whether I would be able to develop similarly lasting relationships with all participants, or only with those who were the most motivated and with whom it was easiest to cooperate with. (Bosworth 1999) I included one-on-one counseling sessions and interviews around the workshops. This ensured that I had some time alone with each participant, and I was able to speak with silent or depressed participants as well[96]. I nevertheless spent more time with some women than others during the workshops; and especially after their release I stayed in touch with some even for years, while I lost contact with others. Nevertheless, both the small group of women with whom I shared and discussed research results regularly, as well as the larger group of women who stayed in touch with me were very heterogeneous. During the analysis I took into account differences in women's class background and ethnicity; however, I tried to avoid taking an overly deterministic approach which overlooks common experiences, a range of other factors that influence women's experiences of imprisonment, or individual variation. The final analysis includes dimensions of inequalities that were not anticipated at early stages of the project.

Even if I strived to form less hierarchical relationships with research participants, I was aware of the significant differences in positions and power, both during women's time in prison and after their release. If I violated a prison rule during a workshop I would be politely asked not to repeat it when I left the prison that afternoon. If they violated a rule during the workshop, they might have faced

[96] Despite these efforts, I lost some participants in both workshops. Women who were very depressed, on strong medications, unable to concentrate, and/or too nervous sometimes decided not to come to the session. I encouraged them to come and to join the sessions later when they felt better. Some of them did come back, but others decided not to come. Some of the most privileged prisoners - e.g. media stars - did not want to mix with others and/or believed that they would not need help in preparing for release, and decided to discontinue attendance.

disciplinary consequences.[97] If I walk on the streets of Budapest without my identity card, I am not going to be stopped, asked to identify myself and taken to the police station. But women released from prison - especially Roma women and women with tattoos - can be stopped, brought to the police, and accused with various charges.[98]

I was able to rely on three factors that helped to moderate the distance in these relationships. One was the lengthy and sustained contact with most women, which has allowed both parties much more information about the other than a research interview would have allowed; and included participatory elements that are certainly helpful in this respect (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1996; Kócze 2009).

The second helpful circumstance was women's experience with managing heterogeneity that they gained in Kalocsa: these women spent years in one of the most heterogeneous locations imaginable in Hungary and were able to manage a broad range of relationships.

Thirdly, I believe that my most important differentiating feature was that I was an outsider, a civilian who listened. Given the shortage of civilians in Hungarian prisons, and inmates' generally poor contacts with the outside, women were very hungry for contact and conversations with someone not employed by the authorities. I was a woman from outside who listened to their stories. I believe this helped me build contacts and learn to manage relationships across a broad range of boundaries. Once they were out, I was the person with whom they were able to have conversations

[97] Although no guards were present during the workshop, there was camera surveillance. The prison management did not interfere with the workshop activities throughout both series of workshops. I asked the prison management in advance if I was in doubt about the use of some tools.

[98] A young Roma woman released from Kalocsa lost her ID card in Budapest. She was taken to the police station three times within one week because she was unable to show her ID card when the police stopped her, without any particular reason, on the street. She was once brought to the station due to lack of an ID card and accused of prostitution. She was accused of begging on the street another time. She was twice rescued by her family who were able to bring documents to identify her. Once the police finally let her go after having called her employer, who confirmed that she was indeed employed at a large supermarket. The police let her go ultimately in all three instances. However, they did not apologize about her spending the night at the police station; about the possible damage done to her relationship with the employer; or about the nightmare of her and her family imagining that she would return to prison without having committed any crime.

about both worlds; and I was still listening[99]. This again was my unique differentiating feature. Although these helping factors did not eliminate the stubborn differences between the researcher and research participants in so many ways, but I believe that these offered possibilities for overcoming many boundaries; and provided many opportunities for self-reflection and discussion with the women even on the barriers to understanding each others' experiences.

[99] Most women maintained only very few, selected contacts with other prisoners or ex-prisoners after their release; and had no desire to speak with anyone else associated with Kalocsa. While they may not have spoken with other ex-inmates; and may not want to discuss everything with family members; they could speak with me, because I was not associated with the prison, neither with their family. Speaking about the prison was important: some women were haunted by dreams and memories of the prison. Others wanted someone to watch them change; e.g. they kept on asking me whether they now look different and act different then they used to. In short: I was a living proof for their progress and change; and I was an unthreatening audience if they wanted to speak about those difficult years.

CHAPTER FOUR: STRATEGY IN GEOGRAPHY - PLACEMENT TO CELL AND UNIT

The notion that physical locations in a total institution represent different hierarchical positions, has been raised by Goffman. He posited that different hospital wards signify different positions in the ward system from very bad wards to those from which people can be eventually released; and the inmate's position in the ward system reveals his mental state/ his characteristics. He also emphasized that moving inmates among wards is linked to internal disciplining, to their being rewarded or punished; however he did not make this more explicit (Goffman 1961). Goffman did not explore the internal stratification within the inmate world which results from differences of their locations in the ward hierarchy; neither its links to larger social inequalities. This is where the current chapter aims to contribute to the literature on total institutions. As mentioned previously, the literature on women's prisons so far did not address this issue, apart from passing references by Diaz-Cotto to the existence of 'honor dorms' in the California prison she studied (Cotto 2006).

This chapter focuses on presenting women's placement to their cell as one of the most important organizing processes for the inmate world in Kalocsa. I will demonstrate that it is a key process for the individual women, and it is a process to which the prison pays special attention as well. Through placements, several different worlds are created within the prison, in which women experience different living conditions and differences in in-prison status/ position as well. These worlds represent different levels in Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy. The hierarchy among the units is reinforced through symbolic differences among the units e.g. through access to better/ different clothes in the most prestigious unit. Furthermore, the different status of various units is reflected in women's self-representations and in their discussions about the inhabitants of other units as well.

I will argue that such a hierarchy in Kalocsa is intimately linked to the prison's show-and-hide strategy, which ensures that women judged to be presentable and reliable are placed in certain units and cells; while women judged to be unpresentable and unreliable are hidden in yet other units and cells. I will argue that this strategy is linked to the prison's building a strict boundary between presentable and reliable inmates versus unpresentable and unreliable inmates; which, according to my hypotheses, serves both internal/ organizational as well external purposes as well.

This chapter will explore one of the possible explanations for such a strategy, linked to an externally oriented goal: to maintaining a reasonable PR profile in a new, dangerous, media-dominated world. The following chapters will explore other, internal/ organizational explanations for Kalocsa's boundary-building work.

I will also demonstrate that placement to cell is a key process in Kalocsa's production of inequalities among inmates. The resulting separate worlds represent strong divisions among inmates, in particular, along ethnicity and sexual orientation. With other words, using Tilly's expression, placement to cell and unit functions as a sorting mechanism that produces inequalities along ethnicity and sexual orientation. The chapter will demonstrate that ethnicity and sexual orientation are categorical inequalities that mark strong internal boundaries in Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy.

The analysis below will start with exploring why the placement to cell matters for women and what kind of cellmates and cells women are looking for. Women's preferences regarding cellmates will give insight into the most common labels and stereotypes used to distinguish good cellmates from bad ones, as well as insights into women's self-presentations as well. This part of the discussion below will be used in other chapters as well. The second part of the chapter proceeds with presenting the placement mechanism and the various units of Kalocsa along with their tangible and symbolic qualities. The chapter continues with the discussion of Kalocsa's show-and-hide strategy and its implications for the prison's boundary-building work.

4.1 Why Placement to Cell Matters for Women

The idea that the worst part of being in prison is having to put up with the other inmates, is generally shared by women in prison (Ward and Kassebaum 1965), especially in overcrowded prisons (Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 2001). Kalocsa's significant and lasting overcrowding problem[100], and the many problems of the obsolete, more than a century-old building impacted all aspects of women's life both within and outside the cells. It is striking that virtually all women with whom I spoke

[100] The lasting overcrowding in Hungarian prisons was discussed in the Hungary chapter. As mentioned, Kalocsa's overcrowding was at 172% in 2000. Nevertheless, in the past few years the overcrowding has somewhat decreased to about 120-130%. Currently Kalocsa houses 331 women, according to data provided by the Central Prison Administration for this research, on August 25-th, 2009.

in or about Kalocsa over the past six years commented on overcrowding and the problems it caused in their relationships with each other.

> Conditions are catastrophic. There's overcrowding everywhere, at line-up, on the job, in the canteen. The cells have toilets, but in some places just a curtain separates the toilet from the cell. Where we are, 11 people use one WC. (Iner, 38 years)

> There are 15 beds, two of which by the WC are unused. I slept there for the first time... What's bothersome is that the WC is only separated by a curtain from the cell, and it is very unpleasant when somebody is eating there while somebody else is using the WC. (Okidli, 56 years)

Most women admitted that it is very difficult to remain tolerant with each other due to the lack of privacy and space in the crowded cells. A broad range of issues may lead to tension and conflict under these circumstances, sometimes manifested in loud arguments among cellmates. Especially in large cells, constant noise, tension, arguments and disagreements poison women's lives.

> The cell holds 19 persons. Right now there's 15 of us but numbers vary. The cell is usually full. Being imprisoned is not the greatest challenge, it's tolerating each other. I've no patience with others, often I'll put ear-plugs in and read the whole afternoon. I don't even talk to anyone these days. I've no patience for the complaints of others. To listen all day to arguing and hostile behavior is just too much. But even inside the cell everybody often speaks all at once and, because they're hard of hearing in the first place, they all shout. Sometimes it really just gets on my nerves, and I can hardly wait for a bit of quiet. I'd gladly even take solitary confinement — if I could do so without collecting a penalty, of course. I would then be able to get some decent rest. (Akiram, 37 years)

Women differentiated between good cells and bad cells, and tended to define good cells by their size as well as their composition. Indeed there are large differences among cells. Their size varies between cells for 3-4 to over 20 inmates, with the majority of inmates living in larger cells, just like Akiram, as described by her above. The largest cell houses up to 38 people. The great majority of women believed that it is much easier to work things out with 3 other people than with 13 or 23 others in the same cell.[101] Naidni has lived for years in a cell with 38 women.

[101] There were only a few exceptions who said that they liked big cells, because the space was bigger despite the many people in the cell. These people found the small cells suffocating, and pointed out that the cells currently housing 4 people were originally constructed for two people only. Apart from these exceptions, most women preferred small cells and found large cells difficult to put up with.

> It was a cell with 38 inmates, all of whom worked. As you very well know, three-quarters of the inmates there were Gipsy[102]. One was more ruthless than the next. And they were cruel. One was more nagging than the other. When one of them wanted to sleep, the other danced, the third wanted to watch TV, and they fought with each other. (Naidni, 42 years old)

However, apart from the size of the cell, what equally matters is its composition: the issue of cellmates. When women talked about good and bad cells, the use of labels was very common to distinguish good cellmates from bad cellmates. For instance, in the above quote, when describing the difficulties of her large cell, Naidni blamed her cellmates and emphasized their Roma ethnicity. Interestingly, she also identified herself as a Roma woman.

I was interested in understanding what labels and categories women use when they describe people with whom they are in conflict: the troublemakers, the difficult roommates; and what categories women use to describe themselves. The use of the term "primitives" has been rather frequent in describing bad cellmates:

> In our cell there are more educated and intelligent women living together. There's no fighting, no problems. In the bathroom I saw that there are inmates who remove the shower head. These are low-life types who've never seen a showerhead. (Okidli, 56 years)

> I have changing and varied relations with the others. Some are primitive, some more cheerful, others more serious. It is difficult here, you must learn to tolerate the others. Some don't understand each other, some argue, some fight. Imagine all these people inside the cell with the smell of smoke and the noise, and me just watching it. It also kills love. (Itak, 45 years)

The use of the terms “primitive” and “low-life types” above is meant to indicate that, despite the general reputation of women in prison, the speaker is of a

[102] The term “cigány” that is “Gipsy”, had been broadly used before the word "Roma" started to replace it in the 1990s, at least in language used by officialdom and the elite. Nevertheless, "cigány" continues to be broadly used. While some Roma feel that “cigány” is a demeaning term, other Roma people apparently insist on using it and argue that “Roma” is artificial. In Kalocsa “cigány", that is, the term “gipsy” was generally used both by Roma women, other inmates, and staff, while “Roma” was not in use. Ethnic Hungarians were referred to as "magyarok", that is, “Hungarians”, creating a dichotomy between Roma and Hungarians. This dichotomy is not specific to Kalocsa, it is common in other contexts as well. I will use the term “Roma”, and “ethnic Hungarian” in the analysis, however, in the quotes I will keep the terms as used by the women.

higher social status. Okidli is an educated, elderly, ethnic Hungarian woman, sentenced for white-collar crime, who constantly talked about her family background, her education, her middle-class life; and wanted to differentiate herself from other women in prison who do not know what showerheads are for. Using coded langauage, Okidli was referring to Roma women through invoking a widespread stereotype about Roma women being dirty and not used to regular baths.[103] However, the term "primitives" was used very commonly by all women including Roma women as well, just like in the above example of Itak. In summary, "primitive" was used generally to refer to women with very low social and class status, from whom the speaker wanted to differentiate herself – while in some cases, it was used as coded language to refer to Roma women.

Another frequently used label for bad cellmates was "vamzers", that is, informants/ snitches. Snitches were probably the most despised of all. Women discussed at length about snitches, with great determination. Every single woman I met in Kalocsa was fully convinced about the widespread existence of snitches around her; most were convinced that at least one of their cellmates is an informant. Snitches were often made responsible for the lack of trust among inmates. It was a common belief that in order to gain certain privileges in the prison, one must become a snitch. Women often told me whom they suspect, because of her regular contact with prison administration and the goods and privileges she supposedly received in exchange. On the other hand, none of the women I met thought of herself as informant, even if she had regular contact with various prison officials, and even if she was in a privileged position. Ave, for instance, had one of the best jobs in prison and regular contact with prison administration, yet she was accusing someone else, her cellmate, with being a snitch.

> We, the office cleaners are together in a cell. But we have a person involved in cultural stuff who doesn't belong. We office cleaners keep

[103] This was not only Okidli's stereotype: it was part of the organizational history and culture of Kalocsa. Stereotypes about Roma women being dirty, unhygienic were openly discussed by many staff members, including guards and educators alike. A high-level prison official told me about an earlier practice of forced bathing of Roma women inmates who were not willing to bath. If and when cellmates complained about untidy cellmates, the guards accompanied the woman to the shower room, and made sure that she took a shower. Several staff members in Kalocsa during the interviews discussed openly the need to educate Roma women about hygiene during their imprisonment. In each of these discussions being dirty and ignorant about hygiene was strictly connected with Roma women.

> together and help each other. We can be happy for each other when, for example, somebody manages to get a home leave. The person who does not belong with us is envious and reports on us because she's a snitch. (Ave, 25 years)

Kep consulted with a high-level prison official regularly, but clearly did not think of herself as being a snitch.

> I go and meet her (the high-level prison official - HT) from time to time. She is the only one around here who has some brains. When I was really down, she was there to listen to me, I will never forget that. Of course this does not make me a snitch. I would never tell her anything about the others. She understands that and does not even ask me. She has her own snitches. (Kep, 36 years)

The condemnation and verbal rejection of snitches was universal and very strong. However, similarly to several other women's prisons (Owen 2001, Diaz-Cotto 2006) this rejection did not lead to violence, and women were able to maintain regular contact with prison staff.[104] Kep for instance, was popular among inmates, despite her well-known regular meetings with the high-level prison officials, although some inmates considered her to be a snitch. However, the concept of the snitch was used to differentiate the speaker as an individual with high moral standing, from other women who are selling information to prison staff. The chapter that discusses the production of inequalities will explore an alternative explanation for the very widespread references to snitches.

For many women, especially for those who worked, the issue of work seemed to differentiate between good cells/ cellmates and bad ones. People who do not work often appeared as trouble-makers in these accounts, and their cells were presented as difficult and chaotic; while cells with working women were presented as unproblematic:

> I don't like large cells, I can't stand them. When I asked Madam Lieutenant-Colonel to transfer me into a small one, they immediately did so. There are many women with problems, including those who don't work at all, and their days are very difficult indeed. The guards and staff

[104] In fact, according to high-level prison officials, the great majority of women are very easy to communicate with. Women inmates in Kalocsa were considered to be talkative by prison staff. Some prison officials actually believed that inmates turn to prison staff with information about others all the time without considering themselves to be informants. However, some prison officials were known for buying information from inmates, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

> always have problems with them. They who don't work, fight and argue, but we workers have no problems amongst ourselves. (Ailuj, 49 years)

Ailuj was proud of her worker's status and was glad to explain in detail her good work performance and her ability to meet the expectations of Madam Lieutenant-Colonel, one of the most powerful prison administrators. Ailuj is an elderly Roma woman who was working at the sewing workshop. She focused on maintaining a good relationship – which she described as a relationship that rests on mutual respect - with the Lieutenant-Colonel. The next chapter will explore in more detail the reasons behind the importance of work for Ailuj and many other women in Kalocsa.

One of the most common complaints concerned the fact that in large cells women had to listen to others' lovemaking, which many found very difficult to tolerate. Some felt so ashamed about the subject that they actually avoided any direct expressions related to having sex, homosexuality or lesbianism; however, from their narratives it was clear what they were talking about:

> In a cell where you can find women aged 16 to 80, not everyone will have the same lifestyle. Though they (the homosexuals - HT) used a large beach towel to create some privacy for themselves, and we did not even look anyway, we could still hear (that they were having sex - HT). Often I was unable to sleep and I could never really get used to it. I cannot help it, but I developed such a disgust. (Iga 46 years)

> They ought to come up with something to maintain marital or conjugal relationships. The way we see these women just mount each other is no way to be. At such times I'm ashamed to be a women. Sometimes I cannot forgive them for only caring only about their girlfriends and not for their families. You could say that ninety per cent of women in prison (are homosexual - HT). You have to maintain your distance because, if you don't, then rumors will start about you. (Banoli, 44 years)

These complaints were articulated by women who, through these narratives, not only shared a difficult aspect of prison life, but they also stated their firm stand as heterosexual women and their firm commitments to their families outside the prison. Both Iga and Banoli were middle-aged Roma women whose main purpose was to keep the relationship to their children and their reputation as good mothers intact, and both of them were very concerned about being associated with homosexual activity or homosexual women. Iga for instance, although always wore very short hair before prison, started to grow her hair already during pre-trial detention, when she learned

that eventually she may get imprisoned in Kalocsa, hoping that her long hair would protect her from being mistaken for a lesbian.[105]

Some women identified good or bad cellmates based upon the crime they committed. During group sessions heated debates emerged about the relative position of various crimes. For example, women imprisoned for theft argued that they only stole to feed their children but would never hurt anyone. Women imprisoned for serious bodily harm or homicide often argued that they would never steal and that, unlike those imprisoned for theft or drug-related crime, they have always held steady jobs. Nevertheless, women's debates about which crime was better or worse were in fact ritual performances where participants knew their parts by heart and nobody expected anything new to happen.[106] The common ground reached in such ritualistic debates about the relative position of their crimes was, that there was no excuse for those women who killed their children. Many women did not want to share a cell with a women convicted for such a crime. This special and vulnerable position of "baby-killers" in women's prisons was found in a number of other studies as well (Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 2001).

> There was a lot of bragging. Those committed for fraud, for example, pretended as though theirs was a more elite crime. The child murderers

[105] Often such complaints were coupled with suggestions from heterosexual women on how to resolve "the issue". Some women, like Banoli, wanted the prison to create special visiting rooms for male partners' visits (so-called conjugate visits), the argument being that if women's husbands could come for these visits, less women would engage in same-sex relationships. Others, like Iga, wanted the prison to segregate homosexual women into separate cells. Yet others preferred the most dramatic solution: that the prison should notify inmates' families about their lesbian relationships. This, according to some women, had actually been practiced by the prison in the past. I was told terrifying stories about Roma women who were killed by their families after their release because of the shame that the women's in-prison lesbianism had brought on the family. According to rumors, a woman was murdered upon her release by her husband just outside the prison. The story holds that due to that brutal murder the prison changed the release time from midnight to early morning hoping that in the morning hours the city center would be less deserted than it is at midnight. I was unable to verify this story; but the fact that I heard it from several women indicates that such stories circulated among the women in Kalocsa.

[106] In fact, there seems to be no status hierarchy among inmates along the crimes committed. This is also supported by László Huszár's unpublished study, in which he found that in contrast to some men's prisons, there are no strong hierarchies among inmates in Kalocsa (Huszár 1992).

> were at the bottom of the food chain, and that's why it was so good for me to have had Johnny to protect me. (Kiralk, 43 years) [107]

Kiralk spent almost 10 years in Kalocsa for having murdered her daughter.[108] She survived seven years by becoming the partner of one of the most feared inmates, Johnny. Johnny had a track record of three homicides. This extremely rare criminal record of Johnny assured Kiralk's safety. Kiralk was convinced that without Johnny's protection, she would have been a subject of exclusion, comments and harassment.

Good or bad cellmates were typically not distinguished based on their ethnicity, although when describing a person, her ethnicity was often mentioned as well, as one piece of information just as significant, or insignificant, as other pieces of information about the person. In interviews and in group sessions women talked very openly about their own or other people's ethnicity, and often volunteered information about these.[109]

It is only during fights that parties' ethnicity was raised in the group discussions in a hostile tone, yet also in a rather ritual and predictable way. In these occasions, Roma women were presented as having irresponsibly too many children and no work, while ethnic Hungarians were referred to as being rich and selfish murderers.[110] These heated discussions were similar to those about the hierarchy of crimes: participating women knew exactly all the arguments that need to be said, and nobody expected anything new to happen. Usually these ritualistic debates ended with

[107] Officially inmates are not informed about each others' crimes. However it is rather rare in practice that an inmate can spend years in prison without others learning about her crime. Some of these women asked for protection, which was either provided by the prison authorities or fellow inmates.

[108] Kiralk, like many other "baby-killers", suffered from chronic depression – she was undergoing treatment - and has had several suicide attempts. On one of these occasions, she also gave pills to her daughter, who died; while Kiralk was eventually saved.

[109] Roma women did not constitute one homogenous ethnic group in prison; women distinguished at least three ethnic groups. That is, some women identified with being "oláh cigány", "beás cigány", and "romungro". Yet, these categories were not used by others, who simply described themselves as Gipsy, or as half Gipsy, half Hungarian.

[110] As mentioned before, although there are no official statistics available that break down crime by ethnicity, it is a widespread belief that most Roma women in Kalocsa are repeat offenders imprisoned for theft and robbery, while most ethnic Hungarians are there for homicide and white-collar crime. Patterns of criminal careers identified among women prisoners in the WIP study that was introduced in the Hungary chapter, seem to reinforce this (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

women agreeing that there are good and bad people both among Roma and among ethnic Hungarians.[111]

Nevertheless, apart from these largely ritualistic fights, in women's relationships with each other, ethnicity did not represent a source of conflict. Indeed, friendships and sexual relationships between ethnic Hungarians and Roma women were very common. For instance, Kiralk was an ethnic Hungarian woman, while Johnny was a Roma woman and their relationship lasted for 7 years. I learnt about these relationships because women, when they talked about their best friend or lover in prison, routinely added her ethnicity, just like they mentioned her age or crime committed as well.

There were certainly no signs of ethnic tension, which finding is similar to what was found by other studies on women prisons. (Bosworth 1999; Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 2001). While the great majority of women believed that there were no ethnic differences in their treatment in prison and all women were treated equally, as we will see later, this was not supported by the evidence collected during the research.

Although prison administration decided about cell placements upon arrival at the prison, inmates often tried to change cells. Women asked for transfers because of the many problems associated with overcrowding, as well as because of the individual requests and preferences they were trying to accommodate. Some women, for instance, wanted to be in the same cell with their partner.[112] But others could not get

[111] Another example for a conflict situation where stereotypical labeling was used is the issue of not sharing food packages. If an ethnic Hungarian refused to share her food package with others, she earned the title "grande dame", which was again referring to her being relatively rich and selfish. Ethnic Hungarians believed that they are routinely being referred to as "peasants" by Roma women, which again refers to a position associated with growing food, yet it also reflects a judgment about being stupid and selfish. The use of this label for ethnic Hungarians was, however, typically denied by the Roma women.

[112] From women's accounts I learned that prison management sometimes fulfilled their request and moved the couple in the same cell; while in other cases it may have been denied or made difficult. When I asked a high-level prison official about their practice of dealing with such requests, I was told that they decide on a case-by-case basis about such placements. I learned that prison management gets several requests and complaints every week – sometimes from couples who want to move together, in other cases from couples who broke up and want to be placed in separate cells, and yet in other cases from cellmates who complain about lovemaking. In summary, apparently the problem of having sex in large, overcrowded communal cells caused so many problems that the prison chose a pragmatic approach and tried to resolve conflicts as much as they could.

used to listening to other people's lovemaking, and were therefore trying to get into a cell where there were no couples. Smoking was also an important issue. As the majority of women smoked, non-smokers tried to get into one of the few non-smoking cells. But transfers depended on many issues, and were generally not easily achieved. Most inmates thus spent years in cells that they disliked or found difficult to live in.

In summary, in the overcrowded and obsolete building women were trying to get into relatively good cells, as determined by their size, location and by the cell composition. While women often relied on labels and stereotypes when describing good or bad cellmates, much of these descriptions tended to be ritualistic, and/or meant to define and distinguish the speaker from the crowd. Nevertheless, - especially on the issue of work, and sexual orientation - women's self-definitions, as well as the "othering" expressed through the use of labels, in some cases were very strong. The next section will explore how the prison allocated women to good and bad cells and units, amid the many individual requests for transfers. First the end result of the allocations will be introduced, which will be followed by a possible explanation for the logic behind allocation practices.

4.2 Worlds of Their Own

I gradually learnt that being placed in a given cell and unit was also important because there were more prestigious and less prestigious units and cells in Kalocsa, and thus belonging to the various units and cells carried important consequences for women's life in prison. I learned that the prison's various units were defined as very different locations: both good and bad cells were concentrated in particular units. Good cells tended to be concentrated on the so-called "hospital floor". In contrast, in the largest unit of the prison, in the so-called "cell house" there were very few good cells. The third unit, the so-called "corridor unit" was a mixture, with some good cells. The units offered not only different living conditions for the various groups of women, but also represented very different positions within the prison. They were almost worlds of their own.

4.2.1 The hospital floor - the elite unit for medium-security prisoners

The top floor was the so-called hospital floor, where only people with a medium-security sentence could be placed. The hospital floor had a high concentration of good cells in several aspects of the word. First, the cells offered better living conditions than cells in other units of the prison. Most importantly, the toilets in the cells of the hospital floor were separated by walls not just curtains, as in the other cells of the prison.[113] Also, the concrete floor of the cells was covered in the cells of the hospital floor, unlike in some other units. In addition, several cells on this floor had special equipment – e.g. a hairdryer -, that no regular cells had in the prison.

Women who lived on this floor enjoyed privileges that no other inmates had. Some women on this floor wore a different uniform, looking slightly less like a prison uniforms, than all the other prisoners. Also, several women in the hospital unit - those who worked in the kitchen and in the laundry - were entitled to take a shower every day, unlike all other inmates allowed to shower only twice a week. Officials said that after these difficult cleaning, laundry and kitchen jobs, women simply need to have a shower every day - which was probably true. However, all the other jobs in the prison, e.g. in the sewing workshop, were equally difficult and dirty, yet women in those jobs were only allowed to take a shower twice a week. Some of these privileges were related to these women's high work status, that will be discussed in the next chapter in detail.

However, other women in the hospital floor enjoyed different sorts of privileges. A separate cell was reserved for women who enjoyed the privilege of regular visits home. This was a very special privilege earned only by a handful of inmates. Also, women in the so-called 'transition group' were also placed in the hospital unit. Women in the transition group were those gradually being prepared for release after lengthy – over 5 year-long - prison sentences. They were placed in the

[113] This may sound like a small issue, but it has been a very important matter for inmates. Every single woman whom I met in the past six years in Kalocsa has complained about the unbearable situation faced in cells with just a curtain for the toilet. Independent monitoring bodies like the Committee for the Prevention of Torture (CPT) of the Council of Europe also addressed this situation. I learnt from a high-level prison official in July 2009 that after many years of complaints, the Kalocsa prison recently decided to replace the curtains with walls in all other cells as well.

transition group two years before their release, where a range of benefits gradually became available to them.[114]

Women who lived on the hospital floor were proud of living in the elite unit and were proud that they were able to earn this privilege. Their accounts reflected that they were happy about the cell composition, and talked about these cells being carefully selected.

> This was one of the best cells in the prison. It was on the hospital floor. Everybody was easy to work with, everybody was intelligent, and we had the same interest. It was all high-quality, selected people, we had really no problems at all. (Ave, 25 years)

I gradually understood that the overwhelming majority of women in the hospital unit were ethnic Hungarians; and women who would not engage in same-sex partnerships. In fact, during the many years of the prison's history that interviewed women were able to remember – several of whom spent there well over 10 years -, there were only one or two Roma women in these elite cells of the prison, and no lesbians were remembered to have lived in the elite cells. The analysis across the empirical chapters will try to explain the reasons for this exceptionally strong ethnic segregation; and the exclusion of lesbian women from the elite unit.

4.2.2 Selected cells in the corridor unit for the cream of the high-security crowd

The corridor unit was reserved for high-security prisoners, but other high-security prisoners were also living in the largest unit, in the "cell-house". Nevertheless, the best cells for high-security inmates were located in the corridor unit, next to the offices of the prison administration. A number of cells in the corridor unit were carefully preselected, and consisted of the cream of the high-security crowd. These cells were also in a better shape than cells in the cell house – e.g. the concrete floors

[114] For instance, they may be released home on a short visit in order to prepare their return after many years. Or they may go out into the city of Kalocsa (with supervision). Their cells offer a bit more openness, flexibility and comfort than the standard cell. The rationale for the transition group has been that people after lengthy sentences need gradual adjustment/ exposure to the world outside before they are released.

in this unit were covered by plastic, which as we will see, was not the case in the third and largest unit of the prison.

The inhabitants of some cells were carefully preselected: the media star prisoners lived here, among other selected prisoners. Media star prisoners are those who enjoy media attention because of their crimes, and therefore have good media contacts. For instance, Bonnie was 17 years old when, together with her boyfriend, she robbed a bank. They continued with other robberies for another 5 years before the police caught them. Bonnie and Clyde, as the couple was called in the media, were very popular because of their love story, their reputation that they only rob money from banks, and their success in not being caught for several years. Their love drama ended when, after their eventual arrest, the boyfriend committed suicide in detention. Bonnie wrote a book, and recently -during her imprisonment - a movie entitled "Bonnie and Clyde from Miskolc[115]" was made based on the book. The young woman left the prison in 2009 after approximately 8 years. Despite the lengthy time passed she was still so popular that several TV teams recorded the moment of her release.

Mainly ethnic Hungarians were placed in these few selected cells which, according to the women who lived there, did not include lesbian couples either. Lesbians lived in other cells of the corridor unit, which were not preselected, and tended to have mostly Roma women inmates in them. Just like in the case of the hospital floor, women talked openly and with pride about living in special cells, in preselected company.

> We had a good crowd in the cell, it was a selected group. Everybody was easy to get along with. Thankfully, we did not have any lesbians in the cell. They tended to be in other cells of the corridor unit. We did not have any Roma women usually. As far as I can remember, during all those years, there was probably only one Roma woman in the cell, and she was easy to get along with. (Aci, 40 years)

4.2.3 The cell-house - the prison within the prison

The largest unit of the prison, the cell-house, had three floors. It had both high and medium-security cells, often next to each other. The floors of the cells were made of

[115] Miskolc is a city in North-East Hungary, where Bonnie and Clyde met. I did not change Bonnie's nick name, because she published her book with the title "Bonnie", and with her real name as the author of the book. She liked the media and eventually wanted to become a journalist.

bare concrete, and toilets were separated from the rest of the cell only by a curtain. The cell-house was generally not the part of the prison shown to outsiders. In fact, inmates who lived in the cell house were convinced that most of its cells, except for a few considered decent enough, were never shown to civilians.

> The cell house, where we also were, was the poorest part of the prison. Even if they took visitors there, they only showed them certain cells, just like with a factory visit where you don't show visitors the run-down maintenance unit. (Kiralk, 43 years)

Some cells in the cell-house were known as Roma-only cells, even prison staff referred to them as "Gipsycells" when they talked to me[116]. The fact that staff members were fully comfortable using this expression in front of me, shows that they did not think of ethnic segregation as inappropriate or questionable; and it also hints that the existence of Gipsycells was highly likely not a new phenomenon in Kalocsa, which was also reflected in women's accounts. When I asked staff members about the reason behind Gipsycells, they explained to me that gipsy women are more comfortable in each others' company; and that other prisoners – that is, ethnic Hungarians – would find it difficult to live in those cells because of the differences in customs, culture and standards.[117]

But even apart from the Gipsycells, the cell-house tended to have mostly Roma women in most cells, with only a few ethnic Hungarians here and there. None of the media stars lived in the cell-house. A number of reasons for this division and segregation will be explored throughout the empirical chapters, starting with an explanation below in the next section.

In summary, women in good units such as the hospital floor, and in selected cells of the corridor unit, enjoyed relatively better conditions and, just as importantly, a selected group of inmates. The three units and their cells formed a hierarchy: the

[116] Instead of saying "Gipsy cell" which would be – at least grammatically – the correct way to say it, they referred to these cells as one word "Gipsycells", creating a new noun. This resembles the use of Gipsycriminality, which was mentioned in the Hungary chapter.

[117] Prison staff used these arguments to rationalize the ethnic segregation. Conversations and interviews with inmates did not reflect the kind of ethnic hostility or distance among inmates that staff was referring to. Reference to culture and customs was often used as coded language for lower hygienic standards among Roma. Naturally, when inmates had a choice between joining a selected cell and a standard cell, most of them preferred the selected unit. As mentioned, selected cells carried with them a range of advantages.

hospital floor was clearly on the upper end of the hierarchy along with the selected cells of the corridor floor; while the cell-unit was largely considered to be at the lower end of the hierarchy. We will see later in the next chapter, that the cell-house itself was stratified into further units.

Nevertheless, the hierarchy between the units and cells also carried consequences for the composition of cells. The selected cells tended to accommodate no lesbians, and no or very few Roma women inmates. Living in these cells came with a degree of prestige: all women who lived there, were fully aware of their privileged and selected status. Women in all other cells – the majority of cells in Kalocsa – had to put up with the heterogeneity of inmates and with the lack of status.

4.3 Show and Hide: The Prison's Official and Unofficial Allocation Practices

Officially the key logic applied in placing inmates into cells and units had to do - apart from the security section to which women were sentenced - with workplaces and work schedules. Thus, the official reason for accommodating people in separate locations was to follow their respective work schedules and simplify the organizational aspects of moving women within the prison according to their separate schedules - which can be a challenge with hundreds of prisoners in an overcrowded prison. However, the differences in work schedules and security sections do not explain well the separations between the various units: there were several examples for the prison mixing both dimensions within the same unit.[118]

Moreover, these reasons alone do not explain the straightforward differences between the units in terms of living conditions, privileges and symbolic qualities; and certainly not the significant segregation along sexual orientation or ethnicity. I will argue that the prison administration consciously created a status hierarchy among the various units. In fact, as we have seen, staff members and inmates openly discussed

[118] Those who worked in regular jobs had to get up at 4 a.m. on weekdays, and work from 6 a.m. until 2 p.m. But women who worked for the prison's operation (such as in cleaning, laundry and kitchen jobs), got up at 5.30 a.m., and usually worked from 7 a.m. until 4 p.m. These women lived together in a few cells of the hospital unit, where regular workers also lived in other cells. Similarly, in the hospital unit there were workers with different schedules, e.g. in one cell people got up at 4 a.m., in another cell at 5.30 a.m. The security regime was not a reason for separation either, as shown by the fact that in the cell-house there were both high and medium-security cells next to each other. Nonworking inmates lived on a separate floor of the cell-house, including both high and medium-security prisoners.

the existence of Gipsycells, and as we will see below, they also talked about selected populations and 'reliable/ trustworthy inmates'. My hypothesis is that the creation of a status hierarchy among various units and groups of prisoners has had both internal organizational objectives; as well as externally oriented goals. While the organizational background will be discussed in the next two chapters in more details; the discussion below will focus on the externally oriented goal.

I will argue that there were large differences among the various units in the level of attention dedicated to the inmates and to the units concerned by the staff, and in the level of outside contacts and attention allowed them. Women judged to be presentable and reliable, were placed in the hospital unit and in the selected cells of the corridor unit; while women judged to be unpresentable and unreliable were hidden from the public eye in the cell-house. I will call this the strategy of "show-and-hide".

Prior to entering the discussion, I would like to refer back to the discussion in the Hungary chapter about prison's radical opening up following the democratic transition. In the case of the Kalocsa too, the prison had to get used to a range of visitors: religious groups, human rights groups, researchers, schools etc. entering their premises. In addition, the media's interest presented the prison with new challenges; as a recent scandal has demonstrated, the prison can no longer conceal awkward stories such as an inmate getting pregnant during her imprisonment.[119]

4.3.1 Boundaries between presentable – unpresentable, and reliable - unreliable inmates

Prisoners in the hospital unit had the most contact with visitors. These women were in a way Kalocsa's public relations unit: it was them who usually met visitors brought to the cultural center – including the library, a few classrooms and the main event room - which was in the same floor where the hospital unit was located. All educational activities, including group sessions for women on preparation for release, and research interviews etc. were organized in the cultural center. The cultural center, in contrast to other parts of the prison, has had plenty of plants, its windows were decorated with hand-made lace produced by inmates; and its' corridor housed an exhibition from the

[119] This story will be presented in the next chapter.

products prepared by the women, embracing several decades and carefully arranged behind glass windows.

Selected prisoners who lived in the hospital floor volunteered frequently and attended a range of clubs, events, workshops organized by prison staff, so they were the likeliest participants in any event that involved outsiders; and they were always readily available on the same floor when their assistance was required. For instance, office cleaners may have been required to work at any time when ordered to do so by staff - which was given as the reason that only the most reliable women could qualify as office cleaners. These women cleaned prison administration's offices, therefore they were likely to be in touch with civilian staff of the prison and with other civilians who had to do business with the prison, therefore they had to be presentable.

> I asked to be assigned to an office cleaning job. I had to wait a long time for this, but in the end I succeeded and I was very happy that at least I was able to support myself. There were two floors, and an office cleaner on each floor who did everything from six o'clock a.m. to two o'clock p.m. I would have not complained if the office cleaner on the second floor hadn't gotten sick and I was alone for 6 months for both floors. I told the educator that I couldn't cope alone, but she said they didn't have the right person. Very few people were eligible for this. This was a position of trust. (Sakraf, 35 years)

Sakraf's role was apparently so important that the prison could not find a replacement for the other office cleaner job for six months, from the several hundred inmates of the prison. Sakraf was an ethnic Hungarian woman, who worked hard to get into the elite, and was prepared to do everything to keep her position. In short, the prison had to ensure the high quality of inmates who had direct exposure to visitors, outsiders, civilian workers etc., therefore they had to select the most reliable and most presentable women to live in the hospital floor.[120] A question that will have to be explored, is how and why Roma women and lesbian women were practically excluded from being presentable and reliable.

The corridor unit was not only geographically but also symbolically between the hospital floor and the cell house. It was situated next to the prison administration's offices so it was impossible to hide from prison officials. However, inmates here did

[120] Women who lived on the hospital floor enjoyed relatively more attention from and contact with prison staff than the great majority of women who lived in the cell house. As we will see later, this direct contact with staff was very instrumental in ensuring access to privileges.

not have as much everyday contact with prison staff as did women on the hospital floor. Nevertheless, mainly due to the presence of media stars, cells here did get some outside attention. TV interviews were arranged from time to time, and a few times reporters were allowed to spend some time within the cells. A few years ago, the arrival of a TV crew - led by the stepdaughter of the then-Prime Minister – was unique given that she was allowed to spend three days in Kalocsa, and staying overnight in one of the selected cells of the corridor floor. In order to maximize impact and minimize risks the prison decided to temporary remove the more talkative and straightforward inmates from the cell.[121]

In contrast, the cell house was a prison within the prison. It was much less accessible to visitors/ civilians. As mentioned, women were convinced that even if some visitors were ultimately taken to the cell house, only a few carefully chosen and relatively well-maintained cells were shown to them. There were certainly no instances for allowing TV crews in the cell house. During the six years in which I visited the prison about 40-50 times and I was shown several floors and units, yet I was never invited to the cell-house. In the end, I had to specifically request being taken to the cell-house, only to be shown one of the few cells that were judged to be presentable. Most inmates in the cell house also received less direct attention from prison staff, and also had less regular contact with them.

From the prison's perspective, the cell-house was the place where an entire floor of non-workers was housed. As we will see in the next chapter, work occupied an important role in Kalocsa's value system. It was the glass-walled exhibits with women's work products that the prison wanted to show to outsiders. Non-workers were considered not to strengthen Kalocsa's reputation and thus did not deserve to be seen and shown. Also, in the cell house — unlike on the hospital floor and in the selected cells of the corridor unit — a number of lesbian couples lived. Kalocsa has already developed an unfortunate image in the past as a place where women engage in

[121] The cell was painted a few days before her arrival, and new, pretty blankets arrived which inmates had never seen before. Cleaning, painting, and fixing the prison prior to important visits was routine practice in Kalocsa. Some inmates reported that they were told to remember what could be said to journalists. And women were convinced that those who were interviewed were preselected. Years after the show with the prime minister's stepdaughter - and several prime ministers later - I was still reminded by inmates that everything on that show was a lie.

same-sex partnerships[122]; thus the last thing prison management wanted to show outsiders was women having sex with other women. Neither non-workers nor lesbians would contribute to the reputation of the prison, therefore the prison decided to hide them from the public eye as much as possible.[123]

The first part of the chapter showed that both women's self-presentation and "othering" was very strong in their expression of sexual orientation and work-status. When describing difficult inmates, homosexual activity/ lesbian women and nonworking women were leading the way, while nobody mentioned heterosexual women or working women as difficult or bad inmates. In these discussions, women's own opinion about bad or difficult cellmates, and the prison's preferences were often collapsed: working women and heterosexual orientation were presented as appropriate and non-problematic, while homosexual women and nonworker women were presented as inappropriate and problematic, both for the prison and for other inmates. This is an example for adaptation with Tilly's terms: about how certain images become integrated into organizational members' conceptions about the self and about others, reinforcing the boundaries communicated by spatial divisions, boundaries or hierarchies.

[122] Women inmates were certainly aware of Kalocsa's reputation already prior to their arrival to the prison., as Iga's example demonstrated before. This reputation of Kalocsa apparently has a long history: a Hungarian journalist-writer who wrote about prisons in 1989 has discussed women's sex life in Kalocsa and has referred to Kalocsa's nickname being "Nyalóka", (lollipop), a sexually loaded term. (Moldova 2007) Prison officials in interviews tended to avoid the subject, however, when asked specifically, they explained same-sex relationships with women's being deprived of their primary relationships due to imprisonment, and with their longing for emotional relationships; or alternatively, argued that these are short-term relationships motivated by economic interest.

[123] Yet, the cell house was both hidden from visitors' eyes and a hiding place at the same time. The cell house was unusually heterogeneous compared to other units. It had both medium and high-security cells, workers and non-workers, lesbian and heterosexual women, Roma women and a few non-Roma women and even a few model prisoners. The cell house's atmosphere was less controlled and more chaotic due to its relatively hidden position and heterogeneity. In fact, the cell house was an ideal hiding place for inmates who just wanted to disappear from everybody's eyes including the outside world and prison staff. However, hiding did not mean that inmates could hide from each other. In fact, a number of women felt that the cell-house was a very difficult place because of the strong internal dynamics that resulted from being hidden. We are going to return to these strong internal dynamics and the necessary additional disciplinary mechanisms implemented by the prison.

However, for now it still remains unclear how and why Roma women and lesbian women are largely excluded from being presentable and reliable. Although the chapter has documented a number of examples for stereotypical presentations of Roma women by staff – particularly about hygiene - and by some inmates who wanted to assert their higher social status; as well as homosexual women featuring in "othering" exercises; it is still unclear why strict segregation was introduced at least in the elite cells and units. The following two chapters will continue to explore the mechanisms and possible explanations for Roma women's and lesbians' exclusion from the elite units. While this chapter focused on exploring an externally oriented explanation for the creation of boundaries and inequalities within the inmate world, the next two chapters will offer possible explanations for internal/ organizational roles and functions beyond the significant hierarchies and inequalities within the inmate world. The next two chapters will further refine and separate from each other the reliability and presentability criteria that were introduced in this chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE TYRANNY OF WORK - PRODUCTION OF HIERARCHIES AND BOUNDARIES

Prison work continues to be one of the most controversial subjects in the prison literature.[124] While the still generally widespread obligation to work in prison is seen by some scholars and commentators as a form of forced labor, exploitation by the state or by the private companies engaged in prison industries, or as a potentially harmful practice that opens up possibilities for manipulation, favoritism and discrimination (Davis 2003; De Jonge 1999; Wacqaunt 2009); others – some of whom may even agree with the above concerns - emphasize inmates' right to work, the potential benefits of engaging in purposeful activities as opposed to idleness, and prison work's role in preparing inmates for reintegration (Jacobs 1999).

While in some countries such as in the U.S. such debates often draw on different theoretical approaches to crime and punishment and step outside narrowly defined professional circles; typically in Hungary and in Eastern Europe the topic attracts interest only from criminologists and criminal justice actors, and the discussion tends to be overwhelmingly pragmatic; largely emphasizing the value of prison work in providing purposeful activity for inmates, which stems from commentators' concerns about their countries experiencing a sharp reduction in prison work after the democratic transition (Holda 1999; Nagy 1999). The lack of scholarly or activists' interest in prison work may be partly explained with the fact that prison labor is still largely state-controlled, with no or very little involvement of private capital.

However, I will argue that despite its state control, exploitation of inmates through prison work needs be studied. I will argue, using Tilly's framework, that exploitation of working women in Kalocsa is taking place; and the prison relies on categorical inequalities when producing it. With the Kalocsa research I would like to

[124] The study of Rusche and Kirchheimer as early as in 1939 connected reliance on prison labor with economic development, and argued that there is a direct link between the two: in times of economic prosperity prison conditions improve while during economic recession, prison conditions deteriorate (Rusche and Kirchheimer [1939] 2003). The connection works through the "principle of less eligibility", which demands that prison conditions have to be worse than the living conditions of the working class; and through the supply of workers in the labor market. Decades after its publication the study was rediscovered and inspired studies about the labor market and the growth of prison populations e.g. the work of Bruce Western or John Sutton (Beckett and Western 2001; Sutton 2000).

demonstrate that prison work plays a key role in disciplining women inmates; as well as in creating clear boundaries and divisions within the inmate world; and ultimately establishing an order in which inequalities along class position, ethnicity and sexual orientation are produced and maintained within the prison.

As discussed in the Hungary chapter, the concept of prison work was central to state-socialist understandings about the prison's role to create good socialist workers. In addition, from the late 1970s the importance of prison work in preparing inmates for reintegration was also recognized. This latter understanding, and the importance of prison work has been carried over to the prison system after the democratic transition. The prison system was unable to maintain earlier very high levels of work in prison due to the transition to market economy and the low effectiveness of prison work: the average employment level of approx. 85-90% was reduced to approx. 55-60% ten years after the transition (Lőrincz 2003, Nagy 1999). Currently, still a relatively high ratio of inmates, approximately 60-65% of the imprisoned women work in Kalocsa. Although various types of forced labor as penalties were removed from the law after the transition; prison work itself continues to be defined by law as a duty/ obligation of the prisoner. (Nagy 1999)

According to the findings of the WIP study, prison work in Kalocsa has failed to prepare inmates for reintegration, given that women in the prison worked in low-skilled, typical women's jobs that focused on household-based tasks (e.g. cooking, cleaning, washing) and sewing, which skills most of them already had in the first place, and were typically unable to use in the labor market after their release (Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005). The focus on providing stereotypical women's work in women's prison has been reported elsewhere in studies on women's prisons (Carlen 2004; Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 2001). Previous studies on Kalocsa found that most women work practically for nothing; yet work is an important part of the prison's programming and women's identity. (Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005; Haney 2008) This chapter will explore the central role of work in creating hierarchies and inequalities in Kalocsa.

I will argue that work in prison has great significance both for the women and for the prison as well. This chapter will discuss both the importance of work for the women, as well as the central place of work processes in the prison's organizational culture. I will demonstrate that prison work is at the core of Kalocsa's value system: it is a powerful norm that is not supposed to be challenged or violated by inmates. The

discussion about the work-nonwork boundary will show that women who refuse to work, are seen as hopeless, bad girls, who are failing the system; and therefore do not deserve attention and any of the basic and limited rewards/ privileges available in Kalocsa. There is indication in other research on women's prison that work was encouraged by the prison and was linked to a system of rewards (Bosworth 1999, Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 2001) and that those who refused to engage in programming activities including work, were considered as problems; however, Kalocsa's drawing a strict boundary around work and stigmatizing nonworkers, seems to be rather unique. I will argue that the few women who refused to work, were fully aware of the weight of this action and created a rebel identity around their "nonworker" status.

However, access to work has stratified the inmate world even beyond the work-nonwork boundary, and has resulted in creating three groups of women with very different levels of living conditions, and access to privileges. I will argue that the single most important issue to determine one's access to resources – both financial and human relationships - and to a range of privileges, was the quality of prison work one was engaged in. It was prison work that determined whether one is part of the elite. Women who were successful in gaining entry to elite jobs, were able to secure better living conditions for themselves: they were placed in good cells and units, and had cellmates who were also disciplined and hardworking. In the next chapter on rewards and privileges we will see that women in elite jobs were able to access further important privileges. The idea that elite jobs existed in prison work, was touched upon by a few researchers (Diaz-Cotto 2006; Owen 2001), however those ethnographies did not examine whether such boundaries actually translated into a clearly stratified inmate world and whether the work status had an impact on various other aspects of life and one's position in the prison.

Apart from the few women who had access to the best jobs of the prison, two other groups are created. As mentioned, women who reject work are considered to be bad and hopeless. The third, largest group of women in Kalocsa, consists of women who work, and are thus considered good inmates, however, usually gain very little money or access to privileges. In the next chapter the discussion will return to the question of what makes these women disciplined workers under these circumstances.

The chapter will demonstrate that strong selection mechanisms were in place upon determining access to elite jobs: mostly ethnic Hungarian, heterosexual, religious and relatively educated women were able to get into this privileged group.

The analysis will explore some of the official and unofficial selection mechanisms, as well as the few exceptions to the rules. Although a few researchers mention women's accounts about racial discrimination in accessing good jobs, in particular in the U.S (Diaz-Cotto 2006) and in the UK (Sudbury 2005), however, these practices and processes were not studied in these or other ethnographic accounts on women's prisons.

The chapter will discuss some consequences of in-prison poverty: at the start of the chapter the individual-level consequences will be reviewed, while the last section of the chapter will introduce organizational-level consequences, such as the institutionalization of prostitution and the commercialization of relationships.

5.1 Why Work Matters for the Women

Work in prison is a topic about which women had a lot to say. Discussing one's work in prison often constituted the most important part of one's introduction in group sessions or in informal conversations. The great majority of women believed that prison work held several advantages. There was strong consensus among the working women – who constituted the majority - that work helped them get out of their cells[125], pass the time, and make a little bit of money. This section focuses on the financial motivation, and on the various consequences of in-prison poverty. I will demonstrate that access to work – and the quality of work – made all the difference not only in women's living conditions, but also in their relationship with their families. The section will also show that certain prison policies clearly disadvantaged poor women and contributed to their isolation from family members.

Apart from the basic items and services provided by the prison - which included food and, in recent years, a basic monthly hygiene package - women had to cover their needs from their earnings in prison or from family resources. These needs typically included hygiene and cosmetics, clothing (permitted items that could be worn in addition to the compulsory uniforms; e.g. underwear), tea, coffee, cigarette, food, money to call the family, stamps, paper, pens, envelopes, money to travel home, and occasional gifts for the children. Some products, especially coffee and cigarettes,

[125] Those who were sentenced to the high-security section had to spend 23 out of 24 hours in a day within their cell with the door closed — unless they took up work. Therefore for women in the high-security section taking up work was a way to ensure that one could leave the cell every day for substantial amounts of time.

were considered vital for survival; and they also were used instead of money to convert the value of other items into a common currency.

While most women mentioned occasional packages received from their families, many emphasized that they did not want to take away from their families' limited resources. Those who received and sent regular packages even had special names[126] in prison slang, suggesting the importance inmates placed on the packages. Everybody knew those women who regularly received packages. They were expected to share their packages with their cellmates, which was indeed the routine practice. I gradually understood that only a small group of women regularly received packages, because the cost of monthly packages was too high for most families. Many women were reluctant to admit that they do not receive packages on a regular basis, probably because they felt that not receiving packages suggested that their families either did not care for them or were too poor to help them.

Most women, therefore, could only rely upon their prison earnings. As we will see, a small group of women in elite jobs made about 70 USD/month. In all other jobs the pay was incredibly low, and it was not extraordinary for some women not to be paid any money at all at the end of the month.[127] Several women decided to send their money home to support their families, who were in even greater need. Most women ended up with nothing or with a few thousand forints that they could spend in the - very expensive - prison shop. If it was not enough to cover basic needs and the costs of cigarettes or coffee, women had to find creative ways to meet their needs - as discussed below.

> You don't want to know what can be used to roll a cigarette when you've run out of tobacco. When there was nothing else we scraped off timber scraps from the bed and the table and smoked that. Then we had a huge laugh about sending the jail up in smoke, bit by bit. (Itak, 45 years)

[126] "Csomagos" means “the one with the package” and it was used to refer to inmates who received packages on a regular basis; while “csomagol” means “the one who packs”, which was used to refer the people who send the regular packages, e.g. family members.

[127] While research in other countries, e.g. in the U.S. has shown that not all work is paid work in U.S. prisons and that many of the paid work is similarly low-paid as it is in Kalocsa, still the majority of women there receive financial help from their families or other sources – e.g. according to Barbara Owen, about 75% of women receive financial support. (Owen 2001) As we will see, in the case of Hungary, generally very low in-prison earnings are coupled with no or very little support from families. As mentioned, several inmates actually sent money home to support the families.

> I have not had a cup of coffee for over two years, and I save a great deal this way. I smoke a lot, but I can't give it up. I sell things. Recently Kep sold her watch, and we fought a bit over this. (Iner, 38 years)

In-prison earnings not only determined women's ability to cover their various needs, but also had other consequences that impacted their families as well. One of the consequences of poverty in prison, combined with the poverty of family outside, was that many of the women did not manage to have regular visitors. As mentioned before, the WIP research established that inmates arrived to Kalocsa as the only high-security prison from all over Hungary and the costs of regular travel were not affordable for many women's families[128]. Many women with large families were among the poorest, and their failure to be able to pay for the visits directly impacted their relationship with their children. (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005). However, poverty and lack of earnings in prison impacted women's ability to meet family members in yet another way: through limiting their access to regular leaves home. Access to regular leaves home - as we will see in the next chapter on rewards and privileges - was among the most desired privileges for the women. Because the prison wanted to guarantee that women return from their monthly leaves, they introduced the criteria that women had to have enough in-prison earnings to cover the costs of regular travel. Only women in the best paid jobs were considered to have sufficient

[128] The majority - about 60% - of women inmates in Kalocsa have children. Most women tried to keep in touch with their children, typically through prison visits, on the phone or in writing. But not all were able to actually meet with their children during their time in prison. A few women decided that it would be better if the children did not see them in prison. In other cases the families denied women access to the children - mainly in cases of domestic violence. While most women and children wanted to see each other, prison visits were often too expensive for the family. Once a month every inmate had the right to invite family members and other officially listed contacts, e.g. friends, to a 2-hour meeting in Kalocsa. But only a small portion of inmates' families and friends used this opportunity for regular meetings. For many families the cost and difficulty of travel to Kalocsa was hardly affordable on a regular basis. Given that Kalocsa is the only high-security prison for women in Hungary, inmates arrive from every corner of the country, including locations from which it is impossible to visit Kalocsa on a daytrip. Although Hungary is a small country, the unfavorable location of Kalocsa, the limited availability of means of transportation, and the travel costs make regular trips to Kalocsa a luxury for poor families. These findings for Hungary were presented in the WIP study. The comparative research found that the relatively small number of women's prisons and the resulting large travel distance for families is a common problem in several countries of Europe, limiting or eliminating visits for many women inmates (Cruells and Igarada 2005; Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005).

savings to cover the cost of regular leaves, while women in all other jobs were at risk of being rejected on financial grounds despite the fact that they worked in the prison. With this, many working women were excluded from regular home leaves.

Considering the above examples together, one may conclude that class position matters. For the majority of inmates, their class position, coupled with in-prison poverty, not only impacted their everyday life in prison, but also impacted their ability to meet with their family members. Ironically, while many women took up work in order to make some money, even women who worked in prison did not escape neither in-prison poverty, nor its consequences regarding their inability to meet family members. However, women who worked still enjoyed some level of status within Kalocsa, - and had a little bit of money - while those who refused to work, as we will see below, were clearly cut off from all privileges, rewards and status: they were the black sheep of the prison.

5.2 The Work-Nonwork Boundary

Members of prison staff, from guards to educators and high-level officials, were all convinced about the importance of work in prison, and were clear about its central place in Kalocsa's value system. Apart from listing the various advantages that work carries for inmates in prison that were also shared by the women – such as a way to get out of their cell and make some money – officials often emphasized that women learn new job skills.

In fact, some officials went so far to suggest that many women need to be taught to work in the first place. This idea that women need to be taught to work; as well as prison officials' concern about the recent difficulties in providing work for all or the overwhelming majority of women, is linked to the understanding of prison work as central to the role of prison in shaping criminal's personality. As discussed in the Hungary chapter, this is a state-socialist legacy.

> There are very many inmates whose first work opportunity happens to be here in prison […] Here a great number of inmates must be taught to work in the first place. And we have succeeded in some cases in teaching women to work […] I think that it is a particularly good practice in the sewing workshop that there is a special so-called student-line set up in the workshop, this is where all new workers start. They have six weeks to familiarize themselves with the sewing machines on this student-line. Those who fail in the sewing workshop, can still get packaging work. (high-level prison official)

> I regret that we can no longer give work to all inmates. This is because the prison company operates on a free market, where there is a lot of competition, and prison work is not very efficient, despite our best efforts. (high-level prison official)

Women made it clear that work was strongly expected by the prison administration. Some inmates asserted that work was compulsory. Others said that they just wanted to avoid being stigmatized as a non-worker. A very strong boundary between workers and non-workers emerged from women's accounts. Women referred to people who do not work as "nonworkers" in one word ("nemdolgozó" in Hungarian), creating a new noun.

> I respected my work leaders who likewise respected me. From them I got used to working well, and I could no longer imagine myself in a cell and not working. I was not a nonworker even for a minute. (Ailuj, 49 years)

> I also worked because I didn't want to be moved in with the nonworkers on the first floor, which we just called Jurassic Park. (Tigram, 29 years)

The strong division between workers and nonworkers is reflected in Tigram's description of the first floor as "Jurassic Park". Strong references to nonworkers indicate that the issue of work was heavily loaded and has occupied a crucial part in Kalocsa's value system. Being at work was an integral part of fulfilling the prison's expectations and a key condition for achieving access to the few privileges available to some inmates by Kalocsa. Thus it should be no surprise that a very high portion of inmates in Kalocsa has worked. Apart from women who were unable/ incapable or not advised to work for medical reasons, only a small minority of women dared to reject work. These few women were very outspoken about work in Kalocsa:

> The work here was working like robots. Here you're penalized if you're not ready with your work. Under the house rules working is mandatory. I tried to evade work as much as possible, I thought I'd be an idiot to work for pennies when I have everything I need. (Kep 36 years)

It was common knowledge that the few people who rejected work had to face numerous consequences, in addition to being placed in the "Jurassic Park". Most importantly, those who did not work qualified as bad girls and, therefore, were not to be allowed to go on home leaves, or be moved to a lighter-security sections, etc. The few women who decided not to work despite these well-known consequences were usually under sustained pressure to take up work, before they were eventually

stigmatized as hopeless nonworkers. In order to withstand the pressure, determined nonworkers had to devise resistance strategies, as explained by Ikin below. Her example also shows that she was categorized as a bad girl because she refused to work.

> I worked in the beginning. I was told that if I did drugs they would take me off work. I tried this and it worked. I didn't regret not having to slave away for nothing. I spent 8 years and 2 months in prison, and I was never allowed home leave, even though there were two funerals in the family, one of them my father's brother's. I know they did not let me go to the funeral because I was a nonworker, but I was given the reason that I was badly behaved. (Ikin, 28 years)

These women knew that they were going against the prison's expectations, and presented themselves frequently as rebels. Some of these rebels actually used the prison's insistence on work as a way to negotiate certain benefits, e.g. Ilguam said that she would work if they put her in the same cell with her partner, Ikin. Ilguam and Ikin were two young Roma women, both sentenced to very long sentences; who were lovers for several years during their imprisonment. After a few months of negotiations, Ilguam achieved what she wanted by relying on this strategy.

> I said I would not take up work, Madam Lieutenant-Colonel, even though I know I was a good worker on paprika. Once I said I'd take up work if Ikin and I were locked up (in the same cell - HT). Then I took up work for a bit. But, seeing that it was meaningless, I stopped working again. (Ilguam, 28 years)

Eventually, Ikin and Ilguam were categorized as hopeless, and were left alone. Every staff person I met talked about Ilguam and Ikin as shameful, uncooperative, and likely recidivists. They were clearly not considered to be presentable nor reliable, so they lived in the cell house and were not allowed to leave the prison during their very long sentences. Nevertheless, unlike them, some of the rebels were eventually convinced to work, as explained by Kep, who resisted the pressure for years, nevertheless, gave in ultimately. Kep was an educated ethnic Hungarian woman, who was offered a good job which she could not resist.

> The tug of war went on for years. They constantly tried to convince me and, in the end, I caved and was given a very good job in the kitchen. (Kep, 36 years)

As we saw above and in the previous chapter, many working women strongly identified with their worker's status and were very proud of it. Also, as mentioned

before, women often presented working inmates as unproblematic and nonworkers as problematic for fellow inmates and for the prison, in which the prison's perspective was often collapsed with the speaker's perspective. However, the few inmates who refused to work, also used their nonworker identity in their self-presentation, in order to demonstrate their rebel nature. These women frequently presented themselves as the black sheep of the prison, and had long stories to tell about their resistance. Interestingly, even these rebels often presented themselves as good workers under other circumstances, just like Ilguam in the above quote. Their freedom fight, however, although succeeded at the individual level in a few cases, and often just temporarily; produced a small group of nonworkers who occupied the lowest position in the prison: they became the bad girls of Kalocsa. As we will see in the next chapter, they were excluded from all privileges the prison had to offer, even from the most basic ones.

In summary, the issue of work was defined as central both by prison staff as well as by inmates. The boundary between workers and nonworkers was very strong. Apart from all the known spatial divisions and other consequences; it carried very important symbolic qualities: it basically separated good inmates from bad inmates. The importance of work status was also reflected in women's self-presentations, both in the case of workers, who tended to present themselves as proud of their worker status, as well as in case of nonworkers who created a rebel identity around their nonworker status. The above section also demonstrated that the issue of work was so central in Kalocsa that the prison administration tried to recruit all healthy inmates to work, regardless of their ethnicity, sexual orientation, or any other characteristics. However, as we will see below, this equal treatment did not apply to the quality of jobs distributed in the prison.

5.3 Another Boundary: Elite Jobs Versus All Else

Kep referred to her kitchen job as a very good job. Indeed, kitchen jobs and other jobs that served the everyday needs of the prison, e.g. cleaning, laundry, warehouse and library jobs, were considered to be elite jobs. These were referred to as "state" jobs. Other jobs were provided by a prison company – referred to as "company" jobs – e.g. sewing and packaging, and the few jobs outside the prison: mainly agricultural work

in the paprika fields.[129] Prison jobs were mostly inspired by previous centuries rather than the 21-st century, e.g. they were linked to either housekeeping, sewing or traditional activities like lace-making. It is rather striking that all jobs available to the women were clearly stereotypical women's jobs, required few skills, and built very little new skills that could have been valuable in the labor market after their release. (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005)

The difference between state and company jobs was enormous: it concerned pay, prestige, and access to goods and high-level contacts. State jobs came with a fixed monthly pay of approximately 70 USD on average, which was 4-7 times higher than pay in the company jobs. State jobs offered not only better pay but an opportunity to acquire food, clothing and other goods which could be sold or traded for other goods. State jobs also offered first-hand or confidential information about prison matters because these jobs involved direct work contact with prison staff. In addition, such a direct working relationship with high-level prison staff - the doctor, head librarian etc. - could be relied on in situations when additional lobbying power was needed. As we will see in the next chapter, sometimes these contacts were crucial for gaining access to certain privileges. In some jobs women even had occasional contacts with civilian outsiders - e.g. suppliers - which offered further possibilities for the exchange of information and goods.

The prestigious status of these jobs was also communicated through their special uniforms: women in the important state jobs such as the so-called office cleaners, wore a nicer, colored uniform, in contrast to the standard grey-blue uniforms. Furthermore, women in these jobs were housed in separate cells, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Pay in company jobs was based on performance. Most people in company jobs received about 2.000-4.000 HUF, that is, 10-20 USD/month, while some women in company jobs received no pay at the end of the month, if they did not meet the so-

[129] The term ‘company job’ refers to jobs provided by state-owned companies that were set-up specifically to provide prison work. Since 1948 the division of prison work into maintenance jobs and production jobs was the feature of the prison system; the only change has been that after the transition the production units were organized into state-owned companies (Nagy 1999). The low effectiveness and continued crisis of these state-owned companies has led to a series of audits and reorganizing efforts throughout the past 20 years.

called performance norm[130]. The only jobs at the company where it was possible to make 70-80 USD were the supervisory positions in the sewing workshop, where the supervisor was responsible for the work of up to 20-30 other inmates who were working on the same line.

In order to reflect the great differences between standard jobs and the best jobs in the prison, I will use the term "elite jobs" for the latter category, that is, for state jobs and for supervisory jobs for the company. Women who worked in elite jobs were fully aware of their privileged status, and often said that they were selected for these jobs because the prison trusted them for their reliability and hardworking nature. Iner, for instance, proudly talked about her responsible job as a supervisor for the biggest production line in the sewing workshop, the weekend work that it required, and the fact that she did not have any days off for years.

> I was the manager of a large assembly-line. They trusted me with anything and everything. The work was important for the money. Another reason was to attain early release. And time went faster, too, this way. I worked so much that I had 22 days off work, which I was unable to use. I was only able to rest when they painted the assembly-line. I went to work even when I was sick. The administrative part of the job is very boring. I often did it after work or over the weekend. I also filled out the work diary, which took up my weekends and free afternoons as well. (Iner, 38 years)

Ave also proudly told a story about her exceptional status as a cleaner in the doctor's office, and the fact that she was treated as if she was not a convict.

> I got the medication distribution job when the Lieutenant-Colonel yelled at a convict who was carrying the medications chest in the corridor, as well as the nurse, saying that it cannot be done in this way. It's not possible to pay attention to so many things, and a prisoner may not carry it. So she sent her back to her cell. The medical director – the doctor - then said that Ave should carry it. The doctor is also a Lieutenant-Colonel, and does not report to the other Lieutenant-Colonel. The convict from whom this job was taken away was angry and said `why,

[130] These are net amounts, that is, what is left after the contribution to costs of the prison stay - approximately 25 USD a month - is deducted from the gross pay. According to the law, inmates can be provided with gross salaries amounting to at least one third of the minimum wage (Kádár 2002). While the minimum wage grew from 7.000 forints in 1991 to 69.000 forints in 2009, that is, nearly ten (!) times; the data collected in Kalocsa – although it is not representative - suggests that practically there is no change in the remuneration for company jobs in Kalocsa over these years despite the very significant inflation and radical change in the minimum wage.

> isnt Ave also a convict?' I told her not to argue with me. If I'm told that I can do this I will not say no to it. (Ave, 25 years)

The perplexing question is: how come that the women in elite jobs formed a very homogenous group? How come that the overwhelming majority of women in these jobs, including Ave, Iner and Sakraf and many others, happened to be ethnic Hungarians, heterosexual, religious and most of them relatively educated? The discussion below will focus on the official and unofficial selection criteria applied in the distribution of elite jobs by the prison, and in particular, on the exclusion of Roma women from these positions.

5.4 Is it Lack of Education — or is it Being Unfit for the Elite? Official and Unofficial Job Placement Policies

Initial decisions regarding job placement were taken upon arrival at the prison, and placements tended to be rather stable. Officially, at the placement decisions previous work experience and educational background were taken into account. Prison officials explained to me that the women who arrived to the prison with higher than basic education, or with relevant work experience, were likelier than others to get into the elite jobs. Prison officials explained that they used these criteria to ensure that only capable and reliable individuals could get these responsible positions. However, one may wonder why was educational criteria and previous work experience necessary in order to qualify for cleaning jobs, kitchen aid jobs, warehouse jobs etc.? The level of education and previous work experience may be important for the supervisors' positions such as Iner's job, or for the few library jobs. But it is less clear why the level of education would be an important requirement for household-type jobs most women were more than qualified to do.

In reality, I learnt that it is wrong to consider these as cleaning jobs or kitchen aid jobs. These were by far the best jobs in the prison, and as discussed, came with a range of advantages including pay, placement to good cells and prestige. In order to emphasize the exceptional status of these jobs, the prison administration wanted to set high standards, and wanted to select the cream of inmates, and thus used criteria applied outside the prison walls; that is, education and previous job performance, even if these were not actually necessary in order to fulfill the given jobs. This requirement was partly responsible for the fact that elite jobs were very clearly dominated by

ethnic Hungarians and that very, very few Roma women were working in them, given that the educational filter screened out the majority of Roma women (and many ethnic Hungarians as well). The previous work experience did exactly the same, given the almost complete exclusion of Roma women from the formal labour-market (Babusik 2004). During the many years that the research spanned, I only learnt about two Roma women ever having had access to elite state jobs – one of them acquired an office cleaning job, the other became a supervisor in the sewing workshop.

Nevertheless, education alone cannot explain the strong ethnic imbalance in elite jobs, given that there were some Roma women in Kalocsa with a medium-level education who were not given elite jobs, while there were ethnic Hungarians with basic education who were recruited into these positions, such as Sakraf for instance. Dozens of Roma women had the same educational level as Sakraf – elementary education – who were never considered for an office cleaning job, not even when Sakraf had to do two jobs, because prison management was unable to find appropriate replacement for Sakraf's colleague.

As Iner and Ave explained above, these jobs were considered to be positions of trust, for which prison management only appointed inmates who were seen as reliable and trustworthy. Is it possible, that when the prison administration was looking for reliable and trustworthy inmates, they ended up with a highly disproportionate number of ethnic Hungarians? Is it possible that the prison set different criteria on how to earn the title of reliability? The only two Roma women I am aware of who received such elite jobs did so after lengthy stays, and after having demonstrated to the prison administration that they were trustworthy. They thus had to work for several years in other jobs in order to prove their loyalty. Among ethnic Hungarians many women received the jobs because they were indeed better educated. However, in addition to relying on these women, the prison administration was also using attractive jobs as a tool to motivate some of the difficult ethnic Hungarian inmates to find the right path.

Kep, for instance, who was sentenced for 10 years and placed in the high-security section of Kalocsa, spent the first few years of her sentence rebelling against the system and trying to ensure her supply of drugs. Although she was a nonworker in those early years, she was eventually convinced by a senior administrator of the prison to take up work in the kitchen, as mentioned in a previous quote by her. So with this move, prison administration was using a good job to motivate a difficult

inmate in order for her to stop her drug career and rebellion against the prison. She worked in the kitchen for several years and was eventually fired following charges about stealing. She nevertheless started to work in a laundry job soon after that, which was just as prestigious and well-paid.

> I cooked for 6-7 years, but was then fired. Now I work in the laundry. Both jobs were 8 hour a day jobs. I earned a fixed income of 18,000 Forints. In the entire prison the best pay is in the kitchen and in the laundry ... Three-quarters of the inmates work for pennies in the prison. This is awful. They work for 500 Forints, 1,000 Forints, which is not enough for anything. (Kep, 36 years)

No other inmate would have had a second chance after being fired from the kitchen. But keeping Kep motivated was apparently very important for the prison management, possibly because of her special relationship with a senior prison administrator.

> She kept on talking to me about the importance of family and children, and kept on telling me that I must return to them and stop fooling around in prison. She told me that I must be grateful for my husband who is waiting for me. From others, I would not have tolerated this, but she was a smart woman, and I enjoyed talking to her. (Kep, 36 years)

This officer - one of the most powerful and feared administrators in the prison - regularly devoted time to counseling her on various dimensions of life, including the importance of work, leading a proper life, marriage and family life, heterosexuality, and religion.[131] Kep - despite her rejection of work, rebel years, series of homosexual relationships, drug career within prison – was considered to be someone who could

[131] Despite the very unusual relationship between the senior administrator and Kep - which was largely motivated by the administrator's desire to convince Kep to stop having sex with other women and the value of family life, and Kep's desire to speak with "someone who has brains" regularly - Kep continued to challenge the prison. For example, she filed a complaint with the prosecutor stating that the prison discriminated against her because of her lesbian relationships in the prison. Kep spent her whole sentence in the high-security section. Her request for transfer to a lighter-security section was rejected because of her bad behavior. Nevertheless, this relationship had become so important to her that after her release she attempted to stay in touch with the prison administrator - who did not, however, welcome her attempts, because of a strong ban on communication with former inmates. But every time I met either one of them they asked me about the developments in the other person's life. So I became in a way a communication channel between them. I remember a Christmas message sent through me from the prison administrator to Kep: "Tell her that I will personally put her on ice if she dares to leave her family."

change her ways with appropriate support. At the same time the great majority of inmates in Kalocsa had difficulties in even speaking with their overloaded educators.

Kiralk was also another educated, ethnic Hungarian woman who had an elite job - she was a supervisor - but she lived together with a Roma woman for six years during her imprisonment.[132] In their case, lesbianism was considered to be temporary, and something from which they can "recover" with necessary guidance. Although they both believed that they suffered from a number of disadvantages because of their lesbianism, however, their otherwise high social status allowed them to work in elite jobs. None of the other known homosexual women that I met were given access to good jobs, home leaves or any other privileges.

Thus, we have identified a difference in the use of elite jobs by the prison. The great majority of Roma women were excluded from the best jobs. The very, very few who obtained them did so only *after* they had proven their loyalty and reliability. On the other hand, while the prison administration was relying in most cases on very disciplined ethnic Hungarians, they also in some cases used these jobs to *motivate* difficult ethnic Hungarian inmates. This shows that the prison administration used its limited staff capacity and motivation tools selectively. They not only gave elite jobs to better educated ethnic Hungarian inmates, but also *invested* time and effort into some ethnic Hungarian "bad girls", seeking to motivate them through good jobs. At the same time, Roma women were effectively excluded from these opportunities, irrespective of whether they were hardworking, loyal or difficult. Elite jobs, limited staff capacity and motivational tools were not invested in their favor.

We can thus conclude that selection to elite jobs was done very carefully. The most educated women were selected, even for cleaning jobs, in an attempt to build a reliable and loyal elite. The prison not only selected the cream of the crop, but ensured that the elite's prestigious image was communicated in many different and visible

[132] In some cases, before their release, women who had girlfriends within the prison were told by the prison administration that they should terminate their relationships and return to their families, as Kiralk's story will show below. "It occurred to me to tell my family that in prison I had a long-term relationship. We were together for six years. We were the model couple, proving that such a thing was possible. We never ever fought. My family never even thought it possible that I, too, could be approached. When I told the educator that I wanted to tell my family she said I should forget about the whole thing. She said that this was here in prison, but now I'm leaving to continue my life on the outside, that these are not "my circles". This is another world." (Kiralk, 43 years)

ways, such as significantly higher and fixed pay, selected cells, special uniforms, etc. Separating out an elite and creating strong boundaries between the elite and all other inmates also made women in elite jobs a live demonstration of what 'good behavior' means and what benefits such behavior could eventually carry. The range of additional unofficial criteria – ethnic Hungarian, heterosexual, religious women – used and the consistency of such a criteria in a very heterogeneous population, indicates that the prison was carefully selecting the women for these jobs. The chapter suggested that the prison applied different criteria for ethnic Hungarians and Roma women when measuring their reliability. The section also discussed that although lesbians were usually excluded from these jobs, exceptions were made for some educated ethnic Hungarian inmates who were considered reformable. In the following chapters the discussion will return to this careful attention paid to selecting women to elite jobs, and their role in disciplining other women.

5.5 Institutionalized Prostitution and the Commercialization of Relationships

The significant pay difference influenced women's ability to cover their needs, and their position in the prison as well. While women in elite jobs were more or less able cover their basic needs, women with no money had to rely on fellow inmates' generosity or look for other sources of income. One of these alternatives was a form of prostitution - an exchange of goods for sexual services - that I will refer to here as institutionalized prostitution. This term refers to its relatively widespread and routine nature, and the power inequalities embedded in the institutional setting which facilitated its development.[133]

The prison in theory forbids sexual relationships between staff and inmates, and in some cases prison staff have been fired or moved to a new location following the discovery of a relationship. Women left no doubts about the existence of sexual relationships between prison staff and the inmates. Every inmate I spoke with knew about such relationships. They always emphasized, however, that these relationships

[133] This phenomenon – often referred to in the literature as sexual abuse of women in prison – has been documented in other women's prisons. A 1996 research by Human Rights Watch found that various forms of sexual abuse and harassment took place in women's prisons in California (HRW 1996), and other research arrived to similar conclusions (Diaz-Cotto 2006).

were based on mutual benefits rather than on violence or threats. The emphasis was on the fact that women got paid for sexual services.

This conviction was likely to do with Kalocsa's loaded history with "Doctor M", a high-ranking prison official who had sex with dozens if not hundreds of women throughout his two decades in Kalocsa as the prison doctor. I met at least a dozen women who had sex with the doctor in exchange for goods, that is: money, medication used as drugs, cigarettes and perfume.

> My cousin said she got money from M, but some will have sex with him just for chewing gum. (Ilguam, 28 years)

> I regularly talk with the prison doctor, who was my lover, and he still does what I tell him. We were together even on the day before my release. At one time we even had feelings between us, though more in the early days when I first got here. He helped me a lot, both emotionally and financially. And it was from him that I could get drugs. (Kep, 36 years)

I also talked with dozens of other women who knew about these affairs, including women who helped with organizing the exchanges. Iga was in charge of watching out if anyone approached the doctor's office, in which case she had to warn her friend and the doctor.

> M left me alone because, fortunately, he found me too fat. He told me that I must lose weight. However, M regularly screwed my friend Akire. Sometimes I had to cover for them. When they went into the back room of the doctor's office I would sit outside, and if something came up I would start coughing loudly. I got medicaments in exchange for this. M was not choosy. He had sex with the old and the young, the beautiful and the ugly, and so forth. Not only did the doctor screw the girls, the guards did too. Many would have done anything for a cigarette and Rivotril. This is why they had sex with the doctor as well. I had to laugh when I saw the doctor because Akire, of course, told me everything about their sexual acts, showing me her little finger. (Iga, 46 years)

Naidni, a woman who spent almost 25 years in Kalocsa, told me that she had been acting as the doctor's pimp, recruiting women for him ever since 1987 until her release a few years ago. Even years after her release, she was very upset with the doctor who refused to examine her for years – according to Naidni, because she was a well-known lesbian – which resulted in her developing a large tumor.

> The doctor told me to get women for him because he knew I was this boyish girl who knew many women. If I sent girls down to him, I told

> them that he would give them this and that. He liked me while I did that for him. He took the girls into the sick room and screwed them one after the other. I've known him since 1987. There's no one who knows him and his little goings on more than me. But he hated me, and I owe it to him that I have a huge tumor because he was unwilling to examine me for four years even though I was continuously bleeding. He was that kind of an asshole. (Naidni 45 years)

Ultimately one of Doctor M's lovers became pregnant, and the news went public about her pregnancy in 2005. It was rather awkward for the high-security prison, and the prison had no choice but to produce a father. The doctor was the number one suspect, but he denied the charges until the DNA test left no doubt about him being the father. It was only for this reason that Doctor M was forced to leave his position as prison doctor. There were no further consequences for him or the prison, apart from a small fine that he had to pay.[134] Although the prison officially denied it, women were convinced that the prison administration was fully aware of what was occurring for almost 20 years in the back room of the medical department, given that everybody else knew about it.

> Yes, I, too, had an affair with the doctor, as did my friend. We got into trouble when my friend became pregnant. We had to be very careful about who said what because if the prison found out that I also had an affair with him, I also would have been punished. I was in fact interrogated, but I denied everything. (Akinom, 26 years)

> How many people he kept there after his surgery hours, even some you'd be surprised to see there! He would give them drugs, perfume, trinkets. All the girls were into it, using this opportunity to obtain some advantages. It had been like this for ages, at least twenty years. Everybody must have known about it from the guards to the chief nurse, since they had to have seen all those women there even after surgery hours. They had to have seen how he called in all the attractive women, one after the other. They knew he had power, since he was also a Lieutenant-Colonel. Sometimes he would visit the cells and stop by to see these girls, to stroke them, which we all saw. Do you think if the prisoners saw it the guards did not? (Kiralk, 43 years)

[134] He was fined 200,000 HUF (approximately 1,000 USD) and his contract with the prison was discontinued by mutual agreement. He went on continuing his profession outside the prison in regular practice.

Unofficially, several high-level prison officials told me that they, and many other prison officials across the country knew about Doctor M's practices: it was sort of a well-known joke.

> The scandal with the pregnancy was actually not the first scandal around him, there were at least 2-3 smaller scandals in the past already, but nothing ever really happened. He always denied the charges. This time too, he kept on denying. I heard the story that when he was called into the warden's office and the warden had the DNA test in his hand and asked again whether it was him, he still denied it vehemently. Then the warden told him that they have the DNA evidence, but he still denied it. Than the warden let him see the actual DNA result, after that he just said very laconically: yes it was me. But even two minutes earlier he denied it all. (high-level prison official)

> Of course this was an open secret, not only in Kalocsa, but in the whole country. Once there was a national meeting for high-level prison officials. Doctor M was there too. Some others went to greet him when he entered the meeting room. I saw that one guy touched the doctor's shoulder with a friendly gesture and asked him, laughing, "So I hear you are still treating the women well, aren't you? (high-level prison official)

In short, Doctor M turned the high-security prison in Kalocsa into his private brothel. The fact that he managed to do this for such a long period shows that prostitution has become institutionalized practice in Kalocsa: it was a well-known aspect of life in Kalocsa that was known by inmates and staff alike in Kalocsa, as well as by others in the Hungarian prison administration.

According to Tilly, sexual harassment is a form of adaptation to gendered inequalities in organizations. The Kalocsa research demonstrates Tilly's point: sexual services for doctor M were largely unproblematic and were seen as a fact of life. As part of the adaptation to its lasting reality, most women interpreted these services not only as normal, but also as one of the ways of acquiring certain goods. As we saw, the practice was institutionalized to the extent that regular routines and services – e.g. pimps, security/ alarm service – were established.

However, exchanging goods with services was not limited to sexual services. As mentioned, women believed the practice of informing to be very widespread in Kalocsa. All women were convinced that the prison is filled with informants who report on other women in exchange for coffee, cosmetics, or other material benefits.

> The officers in charge have a lot of coffee, cigarettes, shower gel. They said I'd get some if I told them about this-and-that. I told them I'm not a

> snitch. I had to stay quiet because otherwise I would have had problems. (Ilguam, 28 years)

Going further, many inmates said that such prostitution and a more generalized commercialization of relationships was not limited to inmate-staff relations. It was a widespread belief in Kalocsa that relationships among inmates are defined by self-interest primarily, that behind every relationship there is some kind of calculated material interest. There was general agreement that all of this is because of poverty, and because people needed to use each other to acquire the goods they needed. Some people were so poor that they were prepared to do anything to please those who had goods. Others used their power to humiliate or exploit those who did favors for them. Yet others were accused of buying and selling goods among inmates for a profit.

> There is some sort of mutual exploitation like, for example, with my buddy Isram. I felt that they're using me, that they're trying to figure out the advantages to be had from this friendship. They often insulted me, put me down, were unhappy with me for anything good in my life. People use each other as puppets. Whatever they give they also take back emotionally. I believe prison makes people like this. But still, they ought not kick their friends to the curb. (Iner, 38 years)

> Inmates are often tense because there's not enough money to buy things. The toiletry case contains a little shampoo and a packet of cotton wool. But, after all, we're women. Working in the storeroom we handed out these toiletry cases. But there were women who sold theirs. They are tense because if there are 12 women in a cell, some have a toiletry case while others don't. Those who don't have it are forced to do everything for the other just to get a little shampoo. They wash their dirty laundry, will do anything for them, anything at all, just for a little coffee and shampoo. (Sakraf, 35 years)

A few women went so far as to suggest that some women had sex with other women because they were so desperate that they were ready to sell their bodies. These stories were only told by heterosexual women, some of whom were very concerned about the high incidence of homosexual relationships in Kalocsa.

> Just think about it. If somebody was abandoned by their family, then what did they have? They could not buy food. But they should have at least been paid enough money for their work to be able to buy cigarettes. They're capable of fighting over a cigarette or a cup of coffee. I saw such things day in and day out. They get angry with each other, bicker, provoke, just for one cigarette or a coffee [...] In prison you become selfish, and also have to defend yourself against others. Mainly those

> abandoned by their families are the ones who become selfish. You don't know their intention when they move toward you: is her intent honorable or does she want a share of your package? In prison people also become sexually different, and after that they just drift into this. It is mostly those whose families have abandoned them. Or they became strong and aggressive and exploit those who are easy prey and have packages. They were capable of anything. (Iga, 46 years)

Despite the fact that these beliefs about interest-driven relationships were very strong and quite bitterly articulated, most women managed to form strong and lasting friendships and alliances, some for years, to provide mutual support. Almost everyone had at least one or a few relationships that they wanted to continue after prison. Also, it was common practice to share packages with roommates, and many shared whatever they received. Last but not least, solidarity with the most unfortunate or uneducated women was very strong. People during the group sessions – the workshops that I organized about preparation for release - were very supportive about helping these women to read, write or understand something difficult.

Nevertheless, discussions about the commercialization of relationships was very strong among the women. The strength of the commercialization discourse shows that women commonly fear - and some have certainly had bad experiences as well - that the prison destroys trust and human relationships. In addition to this general concern, as mentioned, some heterosexual women used this discourse to provide a rational explanation for how some women are turning to same-sex relationships in the prison. This is also certainly related to Kalocsa's values regarding heterosexuality and its disapproval of same-sex relationships that will be discussed in the next chapter in more detail.[135]

5.6 Summary of Key Findings

This chapter reviewed the strong boundaries that Kalocsa is putting around the issue of work. First of all, Kalocsa is pressuring inmates to work in the name of a strong

[135] Kalocsa applied a double standard in its reactions to women's sexuality. In practice, Kalocsa tolerated heterosexual relationships maintained with the doctor. But women engaged in same-sex relationships were - at best - lectured about morality, heterosexuality, the family, etc. At the worst, as some have claimed, they were excluded from prison privileges because their relationships disqualified them as good girls. Such instances will be discussed in the next chapter.

work ethic aimed at reforming women, while at the same time requires them to work in low-value, gendered, household jobs, for practically nothing[136]. One's class position and in-prison poverty influences not only life in prison, but also women's ability to stay in touch with their families. Even working women can be excluded from being considered for home leaves because of the lack of funds, or cannot afford a family visit. As one of the consequences of in-prison poverty, an institutionalized form of prostitution emerged in Kalocsa. Although a few inmates rebel against the expectation to work, the great majority of women are disciplined workers.

However, the exploitation of working women is certainly an intriguing key feature of Kalocsa. This is rather striking especially because the prison emphasizes its mission to teach women work; apparently without recognizing that making work practically compulsory without pay comes very close to slave labor. This example of Kalocsa demonstrates that prison labor, even in the absence of profit-oriented companies, may create clear exploitation and may resemble slave labor. This is not necessarily in contradiction with the fact that most inmates preferred to work: many of them did not want to be stigmatized as nonworkers; spend the day in the locked cells; and were in need even of the few hundred forints made. Yet, mechanisms of that produce discipline in Kalocsa will be investigated further.

The chapter demonstrated that Kalocsa has a strong work hierarchy. A strong boundary is created between workers and nonworkers, as well as between women who work in elite jobs and those who work in standard jobs. Along these divisions, a hierarchy is created: workers, nonworkers, and elite jobs. The members of the three groups experience many differences during their imprisonment. Elite jobs are inaccessible to the majority of inmates as a result of a number of official and unofficial criteria applied in the selection process, as a result of which occupants of

[136] The fact that people work for nothing is not only true for their actual pay, but also for their pension. Since no social security is paid after their work, even for working ten years in the sewing workshop, this will not be taken into account in entitling her for a pension. Although this issue has been already brought up by several studies (Kádár 2002, Tóth, Zentai, Krizsán 2005), the prison system argues that due to their poor financial situation, they are unable to pay social security after the work of prisoners. Should the prison system be required to pay social security after inmates' work, the financial burden would be so heavy that a significant part of work in prison would be discontinued. This threat has so far prevented organizations like the Hungarian Helsinki Committee from turning to the Constitutional Court. (personal communication, Balázs Tóth, Hungarian Helsinki Committee, 2008.)

elite jobs are a very homogenous group. Similarly to the sorting mechanism discussed in relation to placement to cell, this chapter also demonstrated that Kalocsa relies on several categorical inequalities: on the Roma-ethnic Hungarian, and on the heterosexuality – homosexuality categorical pair and matches these with its work-related boundaries; particularly around the category of elite jobs. The chapter identified differences in the prison's definition of reliability among ethnic Hungarians and Roma women; and suggested that Roma women's practical exclusion from the best jobs may have to do with their being unfit for the elite, rather than with their educational background.

CHAPTER SIX: THE DISTRIBUTION OF REWARDS AND PENALTIES IN KALOCSA

The distribution of rewards and penalties is a central tool in the hands of prison management in Kalocsa and in prisons generally: it is typically designed to maintain control over inmates by providing incentives and motivation as well as punishment. As Goffman defines the system of rewards and penalties: "[…] a small number of clearly defined rewards and privileges are held out in exchange for obedience to staff in action and spirit." (1961:51) He continues: "The third element in the privilege system is punishments: these are designated as a consequence of breaking the rules." (1961:53) Goffman considers the rewards, privileges and punishment system to provide the framework for inmates' assembly of their new selves, and as such, an important element of prisonization. His ideas about the role of the rewards, privileges and punishments as being at the core of prisonization have continued to determine the literature on this subject until today[137]. (Crewe 2005; Garland 1997, Hannah-Moffat 2001; Liebling 1997, 2004; Ward and Kassebaum 2007)

Even though Goffman clearly understands that identification with rewards and privileges occurs in an organizational context, he does not analyze what organizational structures, processes, dynamics, agents etc. are used to achieve cooperation from inmates. I will argue that what he describes primarily as individual-level processes, are actually greatly influenced or achieved by organizational processes, structures and dynamics. For instance, in case of Kalocsa, I will demonstrate that certain groups of agents as well as certain organizational processes have a key role in maintaining the rewards and penalties system. This chapter will focus on the actual operation of the system of rewards and penalties in Kalocsa, aiming to understand how it relates to other key processes, to the internal structure and power relationships among different inmate groups. I will argue that one of the various organizational components that constitute the system, is a strongly stratified

[137] Some of these writers, especially Garland and Hannah-Moffat talk about governmentality and discuss prison rules – such as the system of rewards, privileges and punishments – in their capacity to bring inmates in line with the prison' expectations (Garland 1997, Hannah-Moffat 2001). Nevertheless, the idea that such systems are at the core of making inmates focus on the internal rules of the prisons, clearly remain there and can be linked to Goffman's description of such systems.

inmate world which helps to maintain discipline and the operation of the disciplinary system.

Goffman does not consider whether some of the goals that inmates try to achieve through the rewards and privileges system, may actually link inmates to the outside world and effectively go against prisonization.[138] I will argue that while many women tried to set goals within the possibilities of the system, a few of these goals had the potential of providing them escapes from the total institution's grip. In practice, only a small group of privileged women were able to use the potential of the system this way; while the great majority of inmates were not in the position to set such goals. This chapter will start with summarizing the key goals women were hoping to achieve by relying on the system of rewards and penalties, and will follow with analyzing inmates' ability to achieve these. I will demonstrate that privileges were divided into two groups: the achievable and the unachievable privileges. The prison defined achievable only one privilege – while all other privileges were in practice only achievable for a very narrow group of women. As in the previous chapters, the analysis will explore whether inequalities were produced in the distribution of rewards or penalties along women's class position, ethnicity or other factors such as sexual orientation.

I will argue that the system of rewards and penalties has worked remarkably well in Kalocsa. That is, the overwhelming majority of inmates followed the prison's expectations and responded to the - extremely limited range of – privileges and worked towards achieving these by collecting impressive amounts of rewards and by avoiding penalties. Most women in Kalocsa set objectives within the possibilities of the system, and designed strategies in order to maximize rewards and minimize the risk of penalties. Remarkably, even those groups of inmates who were effectively excluded from most of the privileges, responded to the system. The discussion below in this chapter will explore the range of disciplinary mechanisms, processes and actors

[138] I believe Goffman does not really consider this possibility because he focuses on what he calls the system of secondary adjustments as the place to provide inmates with a degree of motivation, secret satisfaction, self-expression and autonomy. He considers the rewards, privilege, punishments system to be the formal system set up by the prison, while the secondary adjustments system as the informal system "set-up" by inmates. I think he is wrong in failing to consider that inmates may actually use the formal rewards, privilege, punishment system as a place for motivation, satisfaction, self-expression and autonomy; and as a place where resistance may also takes place.

that assisted in ensuring that such a limited, biased and subjective system may have still worked in the Kalocsa prison.

6.1 Why Rewards Matter for the Women: A Framework for Women's Key Goals

Officially, rewards and privileges were understood by prison management as their main tool to motivate women during their imprisonment, a tool that encourages them to find purposeful activity. Under purposeful activity, in addition to work, prison management also included educational activities and cultural activities. Purposeful activities were meant to help women prepare for reintegration, and also to fight idleness. The prison wanted to encourage women's educational and cultural activities by granting reward points for those who participated in such activities. Penalties were interpreted as a way of disciplining women who misbehave. Below I will demonstrate that women indeed used the system of rewards, privileges and penalties as a framework for defining goals during their imprisonment; although not exactly focusing on the purposeful activities as envisioned by prison management.[139]

Rewards and penalties occupied an important role in inmates' discussions of prison life and their experiences of imprisonment as well. Women discussed at length the number of rewards and penalties they collected, and the way the system worked - e.g. whether particular decisions were fair or not - and the outcomes they wanted to achieve by collecting rewards and avoiding penalties. Practically all women with whom I talked in Kalocsa, regardless of their crime, sentence, age, level of education or ethnicity, were very much aware of the significance of rewards and penalties. Most women knew well not only the system and their own performance in it, but also what they wanted to achieve by collecting the rewards and avoiding the penalties: they set concrete goals around rewards and penalties.

At the minimum, avoiding penalties was a major concern for the great majority of women – penalties made one look like a bad girl; and even a single penalty has jeopardized the achievement of key goals. The shortest possible stay in

[139] The Hungary chapter presented earlier research results about the importance of elementary education in Kalocsa. The results of the WIP research on this will not be repeated in this section; however, it is noteworthy to remember that Kalocsa insisted on enrolling women into elementary education; and that prison staff – educators – actually were employed as teachers (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

Kalocsa was one of the most attractive goals, usually achievable through early conditional release and/ or a combination of transfer to lighter regime and early conditional release, as will be discussed shortly below. Others included getting a good job and a good cell, and obtaining as many home leaves as possible. Work assignments and cell placements are complex processes of their own, as we saw in the previous two chapters. Given that access to work and placement to cell was discussed already, this chapter will focus on the other key goals and privileges women were focusing on: early conditional release, transfer to lighter regime, and regular leaves home.

As the example of Iner shows below, some women were extremely strategic about setting objectives for their time in prison using the few officially available possibilities, and even setting priorities among them.

> I accepted prison just the way it is, just to survive. Reward, reward, I wanted reward points. I earned so many that after 4 years I received even the warden's reward as well. My goal was transfer to lighter regime, and that I be released to go home as soon as possible. I therefore did not receive any home leave - except for now, just 10 days before my release. But I never asked for it, either. I did not want my request to be denied, and preferred instead to go for transfer to lighter regime and a reduced prison term. (Iner, 38 years)

Iner was working as a supervisor in the sewing workshop, which was certainly an elite job. Despite her excellent work record, Iner did not ask for any leave home during her approximately 10 years in prison, so that her ultimate objective — the shortest possible stay in prison, through the transfer from high-security section to a mid-security section, and early conditional release — would not be jeopardized by a possible negative response to a request for a leave. She considered a home leave to be a nice but not vital element of survival, as compared with the potential of reducing her sentence by almost two years in total[140]. Officially there was no negative consequence

[140] Kalocsa, as mentioned, had both high-security and medium security cells. Promotion to a lighter security regime not only meant easier living conditions — e.g. less time spent behind the closed doors of the cell - but also a shorter time in prison. Conditional release is granted sooner for those in lighter-security sections, e.g. one needs to spend three-quarters of the sentence in the high-security section, and only two-thirds of the sentence in the medium-security section, to become eligible for early conditional release. Thus the shortest stay in prison can be achieved through first being promoted to a lighter-security section, and then aiming for early conditional release. This route was taken by Iner and by several other women to achieve the shortest possible stay in Kalocsa.

linked to a possible rejection of a request for a leave. Iner, nevertheless, did not want to take any risks when it came to the grand objective that kept her going for years. Instead, she focused on collecting rewards and avoiding penalties with great diligence. Iner, in addition to having a responsible job, attended countless prison activities — including many that she disliked - and volunteered for any additional work assignment within her reach. She was measuring the value of all prison activities with the number of rewards they collected:

> Only one reward is awarded for each course. On the other hand, 4-5 rewards are awarded for craft workshops. These involve hard work. Perhaps that's why more rewards are awarded. And rewards are important because they make home leave and a reduced prison stay possible. Workshops were held at least twice a week, but more frequently if something was needed. We made small dolls, which could be used as keyholders. We also made bookmarks, bracelets, stitching for boxes, figurines, computer mice - all sorts of things which visitors were given as gifts. (Iner, 38 years)

Iner was extremely strategic and disciplined in setting objectives, in prioritizing among these objectives, and building up her many years in prison only working towards these objectives. Not all women were as strategic and as disciplined, however, the great majority of women were determined to work towards early conditional release, and inmates generally believed that it was an achievable goal for everyone who complied with the prison's expectations. It was not only women with long sentences like Iner who focused on getting early conditional release, but also many others with shorter sentences who seemed to believe that even a single day less in prison was worth fighting for.

6.2 The Boundary Between Achievable and Unachievable Privileges: The Definition of Early Conditional Release as the Only Achievable Target

Early conditional release was generally considered an achievable privilege that only required one to keep on collecting rewards and avoiding penalties throughout her jail-term. In fact, the prison administration was even willing to consider women who had earned a penalty, if they had enough rewards to compensate for the penalty - which was eventually "written off". The presence of a single penalty was a clear barrier to other privileges, such as home leaves or transfer to lighter regime. And there was no guarantee of achieving them even without penalties. The fact that this generous

accounting was only possible in relation to early conditional release, while for other privileges no such accounting was allowed, also shows that prison management defined early conditional release as the one broadly accessible reward for good behavior. Indeed, early conditional release was achieved by the majority of women in Kalocsa. Thus - with the exception of bad girls - most women were indeed setting a realistic target when they were focusing on gaining early conditional release. Yet there were a number of other goals that were only achievable for a narrow group of inmates, as we will see below.

As mentioned by Iner, the avenue that led to the shortest time in prison, was transferring to a lower-security section prior to achieving early conditional release. Being transferred to a lower -security section was thus often mentioned as an objective as well, although it was seen as awarded less frequently and more selectively.

A young woman with a short prison sentence, Ave, felt betrayed because her educator failed to transfer her to a lower-security regime prior to granting her early release, and she had therefore 'lost' about 25 days that could have been cut, had she first been moved to a lower-security section. Apparently there was a conflict between the work supervisor's expectations and the educator's expectations regarding Ave's commitments, and Ave chose to follow her work supervisor's instructions. She was as an assistant nurse in the medical department, she had one of the best available jobs in prison.

> The educator kept encouraging me to sing in the choir and make bead necklaces, etc., because she led these activities. But you really have to think about it when your boss tells you that duty comes first and recreation only after, that you can only go to these activities outside working hours, and that you must choose to do this if you want this good job - which I do believe is the best job in this place. It's possible I'm now paying the price for this, because I would have liked to get transferred to lighter regime. But they say that the educator did not adjust my status because I didn't sing in the choir. It's the educator's doing that my status was not adjusted. Right now, we're not on speaking terms because I don't talk to her, though we were never on very good terms to begin with. I could now be going home Friday this week. (Ave, 25 years)

The fact that Ave did not sing in the choir has upset the educator, who therefore refused to recommend her transfer to lower-security section. The educators' role in allowing or blocking access to privileges will be discussed in more detail later

in this chapter. However, for now, it is worth remembering that Ave was so set on getting a transfer to lighter regime that she effectively stopped talking to her educator when this was denied. In her case this loss meant a few days, however, for women with long sentences the difference can be measured in months and years.

I was rather surprised to note that transfer to a lower-security regime was never mentioned as a goal by any of the Roma women inmates. When I asked Roma women about the reasons for this, they assured me that such a transfer was not within their reach, and there was therefore no point in worrying about and discussing it. Roma women's lack of aspiration for transfer to lighter regime is an example for managing one's expectations in line with constraints set by the organization, or with Tilly's terminology, for adaptation to organizational inequalities.

In contrast to many Roma women's experience of not being in a position to even discuss transfer to a lower-security section, it was regularly discussed as a goal for by many ethnic Hungarians. Although similarly to Iner and Ave, mainly women working in elite jobs were eventually eligible for transfer to lighter regime, nevertheless other women also aspired for it: clearly many ethnic Hungarians did not fear that it would not be within their reach.

Going home for a few days was another important objective for women, especially for those who had children. As mentioned before, for the great majority of women being separated from family members - especially children - was a major source of deprivation and pain. The prison had the authority to award women one-time leaves or regular leaves home if certain conditions were met, including good behavior and other conditions linked to the length and severity of the sentence, and time already served. First regular leaves will be discussed below, followed by one-time leaves including funeral-leaves.

The few women who had access to regular leaves, were allowed to go home either a few times during the year, or, for a weekend every month. Being allowed to go on regular home visits was a major source of energy for the very, very few women who were given the privilege to do so. Nevertheless, only a very small portion of the theoretically eligible women managed to gain access to regular leaves. As of August

2009, altogether ten women were allowed on monthly leaves home out of the 340 inmates in Kalocsa.[141] Adnilem was one of the lucky few:

> Every home leave kept me going for months. Several weeks before the home leave we started planning it with my son and my mother who took care of him. As the time approached, we got more and more excited. In those days I was totally focused on planning the time at home, I was practically not here in my mind. When the leave came, I enjoyed every minute of the stay with my family, and we used every minute. My mother cooked my favorite meals and I tried to help as much as I could while I was home, because she was getting old. When I returned, I lived off the memories for a while and I kept on talking to the girls about it. *(Adnilem, 32 years)*

These women were fully aware of their extraordinary status and made sure to overperform any expectation – which routinely necessitated taking on additional work assignments, volunteer work, and attending activities organized by the prison. None of these women developed depression, or other mental health problems during their time in prison. They apparently found something that has defined their entire stay in prison.

> If you can leave for even just one hour it can be so fulfilling! I could not risk losing my home leaves. I worked like an angel throughout and did three courses, volunteer work, cleaned, and just kept collecting reward points. (Iga, 46 years)

When I realized that Iga was the only Roma woman among all the women I talked to who gained access to regular leaves, I started asking questions about Roma women's access to regular leaves. I learned from Kiralk that: "During the 10 years that I was inside, Iga was the only Roma woman who was regularly allowed home leave to visit her children. It was like she wasn't really a Roma". Roma women

[141] The weekend leave every month is part of the so-called LER (Lenient Executive Rules), a motivational tool that allows a number of benefits, introduced for inmates demonstrating good behavior. As discussed in the Hungary chapter, LER was introduced in 1993 and used intensively for about 5 years, before a dramatic conservative turn in 1998, when the use of LER dropped by 90%. (Lőrincz 2003) In the Hungary chapter several high-level prison officials were quoted saying that ever since the 1998 rule which declared that it is the personal responsibility of the warden that no inmate is on unauthorized leave, they are very reluctant to award LER or any other leave. According to data from the Central Prison Administration received on August 25, 2009, altogether ten women inmates were on LER in Kalocsa, and twenty women in all prisons in the country.

confirmed this and again asserted that they did not aspire for regular home leaves because it is not within their reach.

The only Roma woman who succeeded in gaining regular leaves home during Kiralk's ten-year stay in Kalocsa spent years organizing a tactful and sensitive campaign to achieve access to regular leaves, as she told me after her release. Iga was a good worker and disciplined woman who followed all prison rules, but that was not enough. Her repeated attempts to go on leaves failed. She was, however, supported by a very experienced, ethnic Hungarian inmate nearing her 80th birthday, auntie Izig, a regular client of the institution. Auntie Izig earned respect from the prison management for her substantial prison experience and unique ability to create media attention, which was built on her many decades of being the most well-known thief in the country. Auntie Izig advised Iga on tactics: how to look and act convincing, whom to approach when and with what arguments.

Iga was also helped by her mother who was looking after her three sons while she was in prison. The mother collected medical documents to show that both she and one of Iga's sons needed surgery, and that Iga's temporary leave home was thus vitally important. When all of this was not enough, and Iga's request was declined again, she attempted to meet the warden by filing an official request for a meeting. Her request, however, received no response. Iga was losing hope but was advised by auntie Izig to approach the warden unofficially during a religious ceremony to ask politely for a hearing. Iga was terrified, since inmates have no direct contact with the warden, but eventually overcame her anxiety and approached the warden during the ceremony. The warden agreed to the hearing. At the hearing Iga was given a one-time leave for a few days. After her return – during her leave both her mother and her son underwent successful surgeries -, she was finally given access to regular leaves. She went home nine times during her 54-month sentence, and is convinced that it was these visits that kept her alive and motivated. “I am extremely thankful for Auntie Izig, without her I could have never achieved this. I remember the Leutenant-Colonel also remarked that, she said: “I see you are doing fine in the shade of the big old tree.”” (Iga 46)

As mentioned in the previous chapter, class and economic position played a role in the exclusion of many women from regular leaves. Several women were told that they did not qualify for regular leaves because they could not afford to pay the costs to travel between the prison and their homes. In several cases the prison decided that the inmate and her family were unable to pay without asking them about it. This

exclusion from leaves on economic grounds included women who worked throughout their stay in Kalocsa but who, because of the meager pay for many of the low-profile jobs, were unable to make sufficient money. In addition to this, as discussed above, Roma women were practically excluded from regular leaves home. The fact that Iga was the only Roma woman during approximately 10 years of Kalocsa's history, and the saga that she had to go through in order to gain it, shows that Roma women in particular had to not only comply with all the official expectations, but had to overperform expectations, and had to be able to recruit additional supporters, such as in her case auntie Izig and ultimately the warden.

Prisoners who were not among the few on regular leaves found even a single leave home very difficult, if not impossible to achieve. Commonly, the only time a woman left the prison was for the funeral of close family members, a leave that is allowed under the law. As Kep noted, "In the over ten years that I was inside, I was outside only twice. But even on those two occasions I was in shackles, on one occasion at my father's funeral, the other at my mother's." (Kep 36) But even requests for leaves for funerals were sometimes turned down, as the earlier example of Ikin demonstrated it, when the prison denied a funeral leave referring to her bad behavior.

In addition to funeral-leaves, the law authorizes prisons to enable single visits home as and when they deem it appropriate. But in inmates' experience, single visits were almost never granted. Those whose requests for leaves were rejected - despite having collected rewards and avoided penalties - were often very disappointed, as was Akiram when she could not attend her only son's wedding despite her many rewards.

> I never had a home leave. I tried to get home leave from the educator, but failed. In four and a half years I was not deemed to have earned a single home leave. This feels bad. I was always disciplined, and never had any penalties, yet I was not deemed to have earned a 3-day home leave. This, too, is a matter of subjective judgment by the educator. Once I asked for an interruption of my prison term when my flat was broken into. I didn't even know what they took. But my request was denied. Last year I would have liked to go home for my son's wedding, but my request was again denied. (Akiram, 37 years)

Despite their good behavior, inmates may have spent as much 10 years without a single leave home, as explained by Kiralk below:

> I kept collecting reward points. Five reward points made up a commendation. I earned twenty or thirty commendations by the end, and I never had any penalties. My sister and her family last visited three years ago because they cannot afford visits. What hurts most is that as a

> prisoner with a heavy sentence I wasn't allowed home leave even before my release to prepare for it. I was in prison for nearly ten years, and was not allowed home leave even once. (Kiralk, 43 years)

Some women believed that Roma women's access to single leaves was even more difficult, because the prison did not trust them. As Naidni explains, based on her 25 years of experience in Kalocsa:

> They did not give me a home leave because officially I had no registered home to which they could have sent me. Even if I had a registered home to go to, they would have refused anyways because I am gipsy. With gypsies the prison tends to think that they will not come back after the leave. All the inmates who were allowed on home leaves were Hungarians. If and when gypsies went, they were only funeral-leaves and even than people were allowed only with guarded supervision and wearing shackles. (Naidni, 45 years)

As mentioned in the Hungary chapter, several high-level prison officials, unofficially, explained to me that ever since the restrictive policy change in 1998 regarding home leaves – which introduced wardens' personal responsibility for every instance of no return from a leave - wardens were indeed reluctant to award leaves.

> So what happens? Wardens only let home those women whom they would practically hire as their own housekeeper. (high-level prison official)

> I tell you upfront: when I was an educator, nobody went home from me, period. Not even for funerals. I knew so much about the inmates that I was able to find a security risk in everybody if I tried hard. (high-level prison official)

The idea that wardens would allow home only women inmates whom they would practically hire to lead their household means that indeed a very high amount of trust was required; which was only achievable for an extremely narrow group of inmates who were considered to be extremely reliable.

In summary, although many women did pursue objectives linked to the system of rewards and punishments, only one of these - early conditional release - was broadly accessible for those women who followed prison rules and behaved well. Other privileges were typically unavailable to most inmates. The few women who were able to go home regularly, or were transferred to lighter-security sections enabling substantial reduction of their sentences, were mostly working in elite jobs, or had found another way to recruit high-level support. These women were able to define

and follow goals through the rewards and privileges system that gave them sufficient energy throughout their often lengthy sentences. These women were able to sustain strong and living contacts with the outside world through their families, and were able to consider their prison stay as temporary. They did not suffer – as much as others – from the most common mental health problems in prison. In a way these women were able to resist prisonization by mastering the rewards and privilege system.

But the overwhelming majority of women were in practice excluded from the privileges other than early conditional release. The analysis has demonstrated that many Roma women adjusted their expectations to the systemic constraints and did not aspire for privileges that were not within their reach – such as regular leaves home or transfer to lighter regime – while indeed set objectives that were realistic, such as early conditional release. Most people did not believe that there was any discrimination taking place in Kalocsa, although a very few women talked about the role of ethnicity and poverty in getting access to the privileges - Kiralk and Naidni were two of these few exceptions. While other women did not talk about such systematic bias, many women understood that privileges were selectively available and that their educators played an important role in these decisions. In order to better understand the true function and rationale behind the distribution of rewards, penalties and ultimately that of privileges, educators' role in distributing rewards will be further explored below.

6.3 The Distribution of Rewards and Privileges: The Role of Educators

When it came to the crucial question of who actually holds the power to distribute rewards and penalties in the prison, women listed a number of agents such as high-level officials - including the priest, doctor, warden, his deputy – as well as workplace supervisors and educators. As the person primarily responsible for the inmate's development, the educator was the main link between the inmate and higher-level prison administrators.[142] To receive support for any privilege, inmates had to first

[142] As discussed in the Hungary chapter, according to the law, prisons should develop individual development plans for and with the inmates for the duration of their imprisonment in order to facilitate their future reintegration. However, as the WIP research has found, educators were responsible for working with up to 55-80 inmates, and were thus unable to develop individualized plans for inmates. Educators frequently described their jobs as administrative in nature. (Tóth, Zentai, Krizsán 2005)

convince their educators. Inmates discussed in detail the educators' power to influence their overall stay in prison as well as other important goals such as their placement in jobs, cells, and ability to gain rewards. Akiram and Kiralk continued the story of their rejections:

> I did not have a single penalty, and I had 13 rewards. So I asked the educator to let me go home for the wedding. However, she said I had not done anything 'extra'." I asked what kind of 'extra' the educator meant since everyone was satisfied with me, and I had never made any missteps. The educator said that I hadn't attended any crafts workshops. So I requested to be signed up for one, but this no longer made any difference. I'm telling you that here only those can go home who attend crafts workshops and are able to — and I'm going to say this straight — lick in every direction. It's not good behavior that counts. (Akiram, 37 years)

> The deputy warden said that if I wanted home leave, then I'd have to complete two courses. I completed the leather craft and computer courses. But they still wouldn't let me go home, even though I'd never had a penalty and I'd completed the two courses. After the two courses everyone except me was allowed to go home. This is how things work here. A lot of things just stink. At the end of my sentence I asked the educator why I wasn't allowed to go home after ten years and so many rewards. She replied, 'I'll be honest with you, it never even occurred to me'. The educator dared say this to my face, that it never occurred to her. It boggles the mind, doesn't it?! (Kiralk, 43 years)

Women believed that apart from general expectations regarding behaving well and collecting rewards, there were no clear and transparent criteria regarding the number of rewards needed to achieve a certain privilege. Inmates had no alternative but to accept that ultimately it is the educator and high-level management who decide how many rewards were enough to gain privileges. Therefore inmates believed that their ability to achieve a desired privilege came down to - in addition to fulfilling all requirements and demonstrating good behavior - their ability to please the educator and/or higher-level officers.

Educators were perceived to have various expectations for good behavior, and according to inmates such expectations varied from educator to educator. Women thus constantly learned through informal channels - primarily from each other - about the likes and dislikes of particular educators. Above all, most educators seemed to value participation in cultural and educational events which were, in actuality, organized by

educators.[143] Inmates participated in these activities in order to strengthen their relationship with the educators and acquire rewards. These cultural activities legitimized the educators' role and served as a way of disciplining women and making them follow the educators' expectations. Participation in cultural activities and workshops was thus relatively high in Kalocsa, because both inmates and educators had a vested interest in maintaining them.

Some women, while acknowledging the educators' power and even the inevitable subjective elements in their decisions, believed them to be reasonably fair. Many were convinced that educators did not discriminate against any group of inmates.

> The priest urged the educator on my behalf that I be allowed to go home at this time, to prepare for my release. Educator P. is the most reluctant to allow home leave because she wants to comply with the highest standards. But it is possible to ask her for help and she doesn't abuse her power. It is possible to honestly discuss everything with her. She gives, but also demands - 'alright, you should have a reward, but don't get any penalties'. It is harder to achieve transfer to lighter-security regime with her because she demands a great deal for it. (Iner, 38 years)

Nevertheless, other women were convinced that educators' expectations varied from inmate to inmate and that ultimately it all depended on educators' preferences and personal sympathy or antipathy. A few women went so far as to claim that they were discriminated against because they were known for having sex with other women. Others talked about strong preferences in educators' support for women who attended religious service. Some of the disappointed inmates also talked about informants being among the very few who can gain access to privileges.

> The educators are masters of life and death here. A great deal depends upon them. Due to my drug use and being a lesbian I had problems with them from the beginning. They oppressed me. One of them told me once, 'my dear you shouldn't be thinking. You're not here to think but to

[143] Apart from the prison choir, joining those who perform at various occasions (e.g. at Christmas parties) in theatre or dance performances was typically based on invitation by the educator. That is, inmates can join if they are invited, and those who join are rewarded. Also, there are regular sessions of the so-called creative club or crafts workshop, where women prepare small handmade gifts, and this is also rewarded. Educators are convinced that cultural and educational activities are at the core of the prison's reintegration-oriented work. As discussed in the Hungary chapter, this is one of legacies of the state-socialist system. However, most women thought the activities tended to be boring, old-fashioned, of no use, and hardly linked to reintegration.

> serve your punishment. The goal is to get you off the habit of thinking'. This same educator told me 'your kind must be exterminated, not released. (Kep, 36 years)
>
> According to the educator, women who have such a (homosexual - HT) relationship will get a red dot by their name. That is, they are marked. (Iszusz, 44 years)
>
> Yes, it does affect decisions whether you're religious, go to church, etc. But everything counts, not only these things. Anything subjective can count, anything the educator likes or dislikes. (Iga, 46 years)

Some women, however, recognized that other high-level personnel could be recruited to soften educators' resistance to their requests. It was risky and complicated to turn to high-level management — for the simple reason that requests for meetings with the warden had to go through the educators. But some women were able to meet and convince higher-lever officers to support their cause. In the example discussed above, Iga, the only Roma woman who managed to gain access to regular leaves, turned directly and unofficially to the warden after many unsuccessful attempts to convince her educator. Yet such successful attempts to reach the warden or his deputy were extremely rare. In most cases educators effectively blocked these initiatives. It was more common to rely on other high-level officials who could be approached while at work or at free time activities. The priest, the doctor and workplace superiors were the most common targets.

In the example discussed above Iner asked for help from the priest - for whom she volunteered to play the organ every weekend, cleaned the chapel, and attended Bible classes in German - in convincing the educator to give her a home leave. Other inmates relied on the influence of the prison doctor, who, as discussed, was known for helping women in exchange for sexual services. Alternatively, women asked their workplace supervisor to help in lobbying for a privilege. These women had to be in a position that gave them access to high-level potential supporters such as workplace supervisors, the doctor, the priest, the deputy warden or the warden himself. It is women in elite jobs primarily who were working directly with high-level prison officials: women in the library were working with the head educator, women in the healthcare unit were working with the doctor, and women in kitchen, laundry and office cleaning jobs were also reporting to high-level prison officials. In contrast, women in regular company jobs were not in touch with any prison official: they were

typically reporting to their supervisor in the sewing workshop who was also an inmate.

In summary, educators contributed to the creation and reinforcement of inequalities: with Tilly's term, they were engaged in opportunity hoarding. Educators controlled key resources such as access to powerholders (prison management), and access to rewards and privileges. Using their monopolistic power over these strategic resources, they were able to ensure a number of goals for the prison, and for themselves at the same time. Firstly, the selection of appropriate inmates was ensured for the prison, e.g. educators screened and selected inmates so that visitors only meet presentable inmates; and organized gifts for visitors from the products of craft workshops that they were running. They also protected top prison administrators from the myriad requests and problems of inmates; they were very effective in this gate-keeping role, even at the cost of playing the "bad cop" and letting prison management keep its "good cop" image.[144] At the same time, they were able to reinforce their own organizational power: by encouraging inmates to take part in various activities in exchange of rewards, they ensured continuous demand for outdated cultural and educational activities; in which they had a vested interest as teachers, choir leaders or workshop facilitators. Thus educators had a key role in ensuring that the selection systems work smoothly and towards accomplishing strategic goals; and they were able to assert their own particular perspectives into the system.

So far the discussion has primarily focused on the role of rewards and privileges in encouraging good behavior. Next, the role of penalties will be explored in maintaining control and discipline.

6.4 The Role of Penalties in Disciplining Women

Penalties and the threat of penalties were meant to maintain discipline among inmates in Kalocsa, just like it is routinely done in other prisons as well. According to several researchers of the topic, women in prison tend to face more disciplinary action than men face. (Carlen 2004; Irwin and Owen 2005) By punishing bad girls all other inmates are reminded that their standard or privileged status is not written in stone. As mentioned before, as little as one penalty may jeopardize obtaining privileges in

[144] This is in line with Goffman's assertion that inmates tend to consider the leadership of the total institution to be relatively well-meaning (Goffman 1961).

Kalocsa. This section will explore what it has meant for women to avoid penalties, and what kind of social control this has produced. The experience of the few women who did not avoid penalties, and their role in creating bad girls, will be explored as well.

I will argue that, apart from conditioning women to the exercise of everyday discipline, the main function of penalties was to reinforce staff power and to separate bad girls from the others. I will also argue that many of these bad girls turned out to suffer from depression and other mental health problems. These women were labeled bad girls because the prison was unable to treat their mental health problems, and continued to apply the good girl/ bad girl distinction to them.

Although in theory the instances/ behavior that leads to penalties should be straightforward; there are both clear and ambiguous examples of the use of penalties in Kalocsa. Clearly, for example, if a physical fight takes place among inmates all people involved will be penalized; and if a staff member is attacked by an inmate, the inmate will certainly be punished. Both types of incidents are, however, very rare. When they did occur they resulted in more serious forms of penalties such as solitary confinement.[145] Less obvious instances of violating discipline, however, could also be punished. For instance, if inmates talked to each other while at work, or broke silence when they walked in line together to and from work, in the dining room, or while waiting in line, they could be punished for violating the rules. Also, educators could gave penalties if inmates expressed disagreement, protest, challenged or complained about an issue, or if the educator believed that the inmate's behavior was disrespectful.

An educator told me that if during class an inmate unintentionally touched her leg under the table or touched her while walking by on the corridor, she could give her a penalty since it could be interpreted as an attack against her. Of course, she added, that in the great majority of cases these issues - many of them constituting routine behavior - would not be punished. Both staff and inmates expressed that many of

[145] Apart from solitary confinement which was clearly considered to be the most serious punishment, getting a penalty in one's record was also taken very seriously both by staff and inmates. Its consequences included no access to privileges as mentioned before. In serious cases the offending inmate may have lost privileges she had already earned, e.g. regular leaves. In addition to these serious punishments, there were a number of minor ones - including restricting one's ability to purchase goods at the prison shop or such arbitrary punishments as having to clean the stairs of the prison with a toothbrush.

these “soft” rules were not interpreted strictly; nevertheless, it was possible that routine behavior could be punished any time. Aeb's example illustrates the arbitrariness of such decisions:

> Something happened yesterday, I believe the guards wanted to do somebody in. Generally everyone knows that when the doors are open here (in the medium-security prison) during the day, it is allowed to go over to the neighboring cells to talk. Technically, permission must be requested from the guard. But it is not practical to ask permission since there is continuous coming and going at such times, and nobody ever observes this rule. Yesterday one of the girls went over to the other cell to talk. But the guards made such a great fuss over the fact that she had not requested permission that they screamed at her and even penalized her. They either went mad or wanted to punish her for something else. (Aeb, 28 years)

Other examples show that some forms of disciplining women were practiced every day. For instance, in theory it was forbidden to speak to each other during line-up, in the dining room, or during work. While sometimes this rule was taken flexibly, on other days women were punished for talking to each other while standing in line. The permanent, everyday stress and frustration, and the possibility of being punished and humiliated for these small everyday things, has caused a lot of pain. Some women talked to me about the line-ups and collective punishments with horror, even years after their release.

> It would be good to change the lineup, because it happens that everyone starts walking together in the morning and evening, and sometimes two to three hundred of us are walking together at the same time in the lineup without being allowed to talk. If you talk, they can send everybody back. This has occurred before, and not just once. (Okidli, 56 years)

> What I didn't like were the lineups and when we were moved around together as a large group. Sometimes, just for kicks, we were not released from the lineup because somebody had done something. We were just left standing there, in silence and for a long time, though we were dead tired after work. (Iner, 38 years)

The strict rules, and the possibility of the application of penalties even in routine situations, serve to discipline women and also to demonstrate the staff's power. Some inmates thought that educators use this power to punish in order to block

any complaints or dissent from emerging. Several women suffered from the strong language and verbal abuse used by staff when disciplining them.[146]

> If you talk back you get penalized and then they have gotten to you. Many kill themselves because of the way people are treated there. They talk to women much older than me as though they were 18. 'I'll kick you in the cunt if you're not careful.' And if you say anything they immediately say 'What business is it of yours? I'm giving you a penalty for disrespectful behavior. (Itak, 45 years)

> Here you can't suggest anything, this doesn't even come up. Whatever they say goes. Our job is to implement orders. I never made a single complaint. It wouldn't improve the situation anyway. It all depends on them, we just carry out instructions. (Akiram, 37 years)

> To get something out of an educator you have to scream. Here even sane people are made insane. And you can't say anything because if you do, you get penalized. Whether you speak nicely or meanly, you get penalized. (Tigram, 29 years)

A further, somewhat bizarre, use of penalties is linked to the prison's intention to reduce suicide attempts and incidents of self-harm in the prison. After such attempts the inmate receives a penalty which is hoped to deter her and other inmates from further attempts, and to communicate the message that good inmates do not commit suicide or try to harm themselves. The consequences of such penalties can be very serious, as the story of Anide shows.

---

[146] Verbal abuse by prison guards was perceived by most women as a part of everyday life in prison which they had to get used to. But for some women, the use of dirty words, the lack of basic respect, the yelling, and the arbitrary nature of these verbal attacks was extremely painful, stressful and terrorizing. It is usually elderly women and women from small communities - including many Roma women - who could not get used to the strong language. Some of them were convinced that this verbal terror has destroyed their personhood. Other women did not take the verbal abuse as an attack against their personhood, and/or yelled back. (This however, may have resulted in disciplinary action for disrespectful behavior.) The threat of physical abuse was also clearly present in women's experiences, although serious beatings were perceived to be rare and thought to occur in the solitary confinement cell in the basement that women called "anger-room". The few such stories about beatings were repeatedly told by the inmates, although usually not in their first meetings or conversations. Some women only told me these stories years after their release. What I learned is that brutal violence by guards is very rare. Nevertheless, in addition to the few legendary stories known by everyone, the threat of physical abuse is maintained through less serious, minor incidents, e.g. guards grabbing women's hair or pony tails in the corridor where there are no cameras.

Anide, a young women in the group that I met with regularly, had a nervous breakdown in spring 2009 and told me that she wanted to die because her long-awaited early release was withdrawn at the last moment. She was hoping to leave Kalocsa after ten years - of an eleven and a half year sentence - in the summer of 2009. She was hopeful that - given that she had been a good girl for the past seven years with no penalties and a few rewards collected - they would give her the early release. However, the early release was not granted to her because she had collected a few penalties in 2002 for attempting suicide during the early years of her imprisonment. This rejection meant potentially 18 more months of imprisonment for Anide.

Penalizing self-harm and suicide attempts is probably not an effective form of suicide prevention. Among the interviewed women those who engaged in suicide attempts and self-harm, tended to do so repeatedly, despite the well-known penalties. In addition, this practice illustrates the problem of treating suicidal and self-harming women, who often suffer from serious mental health problems, as bad girls[147], instead of ensuring their appropriate treatment. Women in Kalocsa did not receive effective treatment for their mental health problems. They were generally heavily medicated and, in the most serious cases, transported to the prison system's forensic psychiatry unit in Budapest where they received even more medication.[148] Even though several prison officials talked about the high ratio of traumatized and depressed women,

[147] When I first asked the very depressed Anide about what was wrong with her, she kept on repeating "I was bad, I was very, very bad". So I expected to hear about her evil behavior. It took me some time to understand that this "very, very bad" behavior referred to her suicide attempts made seven years ago.

[148] Kalocsa primarily relies on resolving mental health issues with strong tranquilizers such as Rivotril and Xanax. It was common to develop dependency on Rivotril, and/or Xanax, which women were often able to have prescribed by the Kalocsa doctor or by the prison system's forensic hospital. The pills were also available through informal prison channels. The prison's only psychologist was aware that Rivotril should not be the only treatment available for women's mental health issues. But, being the only psychologist for several hundred patients he was unable to offer any kind of therapy. As he told me, his only professional goal was to prevent as many suicides as possible. The prison has had a so-called "therapeutic-educational group" for those who had an alcohol or drug habit at the time their crime was committed. However, various participants told me that therapy consisted of complete withdrawal and nothing else. In addition to the lack of therapy, the prison failed to provide some of the most basic solutions that could have significantly reduced mental health problems, e.g. women were unable to do any sort of physical exercise in the Kalocsa prison; and many were unable to meet their family members for years.

Kalocsa was unable to "treat" such women outside the good girl – bad girl dichotomy. Because these women were clearly not performing as good girls, they were necessarily classified as bad girls. These women were the victims of the overemphasized and dichotomic disciplinary regime: they were kept in Kalocsa without real treatment, and without access to any of the privileges – such as contact with the outside world - that may have helped them get better.

I argue that apart from disciplining women in general, penalties also had a function of separating out the few hopeless women: the bad girls. It is these few women who usually did not get early conditional release and certainly any of the other privileges, and usually spend some time in solitary confinement or under some other form of punishment. Among these were some of the more depressed or traumatized women, and the women who refused to work, and a very small group of inmates who were actually misbehaving in a true sense: attacking others, or going against the order of the prison.[149]

However, even the few rebels were typically aware of their penalties and often sought to avoid them. The few rebels I met in Kalocsa were eventually convinced to change their ways. One of them, Kep, eventually stopped rebelling after several years of attempts by the prison administration trying to convince her to work; and has actually received an elite job. The other rebel, Ilguam, has also calmed down after some time and was given some power herself: she became a so-called cell manager. Ilguam was convinced that she received early conditional release despite the rules only because the prison wanted to get rid of her after so many years of her making trouble in Kalocsa:

> I'm telling you that Lieutenant-Colonel. lied at the trial just to be rid of me. She said I had not been disciplined, even though we both knew that I'd received two penalties. So I just told the judge 'your honour I've two penalties, I've no idea what the Lieutenant-Colonel is talking about'. She just shook her head and, of course, got what she wanted. I was given

[149] The two rebels whom I met in Kalocsa both had certain periods when they were going against the system. During these periods they rejected work, refused to cooperate with staff, engaged in physical fights with other inmates, and attempted to maintain a drug habit (e.g. Kep convinced family members to smuggle her drugs under the wing of a grilled kitchen during a family visit to the prison, which was found by the guards and resulted in a general ban on bringing homemade food during visits by families. Other inmates never forgave this to Kep). Nevertheless, these periods were temporary for both of them. Eventually both of them stopped rebelling, and were able to obtain certain privileges and positions in the prison.

> conditional early release even though I didn't want to leave because my girlfriend was still inside. (Ilguam 28 years)

In summary, the system of penalties, including the threat of penalties, seems to work rather effectively. That is, most women are very conscious of trying to avoid penalties in order not to risk losing the possibility of early conditional release or other privileges. The threat of penalties is effective because a very broad range of routine behaviors can be treated as potentially offenses, especially if the informal agreement about what constitutes a routine activity is suspended. Educators' power is reinforced by their subjective and arbitrary potential use of penalties, e.g. that any disagreement or complaint can be interpreted as disrespectful behavior and thus may result in a penalty. Moreover, the practice of everyday disciplining through such basic but powerful activities as the need to silently stand in line several times a day, and the public humiliation of those who misbehave, constantly remind women of their place. In addition, separating out women with mental health problems and a few nonworkers and rebel inmates creates a small but visible group of bad girls. Their existence reminds everyone that even the most broadly accessible privilege, early conditional release, could be lost.

6.5 Unofficial Control for Locations Where Official Disciplining Fails: Roma Women Tough Girls to Control the Chaos in the Cell-House

As mentioned, the general reputation of the cell-house was rather poor: most women described it as crowded, noisy, full of action and scandal. I will argue that many women in the cell-house were sentenced to hopelessness and thus had not much to loose; and I will show that the prison introduced additional informal controls for those locations where official controls failed. I will also argue that ultimately the demonization of certain locations and women was useful for Kalocsa's disciplinary system since it created, from the heterogeneous and lively cell-house, a tangibly messy and stigmatized place that most women tried to avoid.

The cell-house, according to many women, produced difficult internal dynamics: it was noisy, crowded, with heated arguments and conflicts among inmates. I will argue that in addition to the basic problem of overcrowding, the internal dynamics have a lot to do with the fact that the great majority of women who lived in the cell house were in practice excluded from the prison's systems of privileges. They

had to live years without any real chance of getting a good job in the prison, gaining access to regular home leaves, and being transferred to a lighter-security section. This exclusion was clear and straightforward in the case of women who were nonworkers. They knew that they had violated the sacred work-rule, and that they would thus have to face the consequences. Also, the cell-house had many inmates who were considered to be bad girls because of suicide attempts and self-harm attempts, and women with other mental health problems. They also knew that they have no chances to qualify as good girls, and thus no chances for gaining any of the privileges. It is these women – nonworkers and those with mental health problems – who were even frequently denied conditional early release, which was otherwise the only broadly accessible privilege in Kalocsa. In short, these women had not much to lose, and not much to keep them disciplined.

As mentioned, the cell-house was hidden from the public eye, since Kalocsa really did not want to be known after the cell-house. However, given that in some sections and cells of the prison inmates were not responding well to the traditional forms of control – such as prison work for instance - prison management relied on selected tough girls to provide some form of control in the cell. Every cell of the prison had a so-called cell manager, an inmate with some responsibility to coordinate affairs of the cell. In most cases this role was minimal, e.g. it consisted of arranging the cleaning schedule within the cell. In a few cells, however, the role of cell manager was often much more controversial. As the examples below will show, in these cases the cell managers used their power - sometimes by relying on physical force, in other cases on threats, yelling, blackmailing, etc. - so as to ensure some degree of discipline, as required by the prison administration. In these cells, Roma women were put in charge of restoring order, probably because the majority of inmates here tended to be Roma.

> I was a cell manager. As soon as I went to prison the prison warden said that I would be cell manager when the jobs were assigned. It was in vain that I said no. The warden said that she would then write a report that I refused to obey orders. I was compelled to accept it. […] It was a cell with 38 inmates who worked. As you very well know, three-quarters of the inmates there were gipsy. One was more ruthless than the next. And they were cruel. One was more nagging than the other. When one of them wanted to sleep, the other danced, the third wanted to watch TV, and they fought with each other. Sometimes I simply had to restore order. (Naidni, 45 years)

> I was a cell manager. It was a cell with 13 nonworking inmates. I had to keep order among them, which was very difficult. Sometimes I had to restore order among them. Sometimes the guards told me to just go ahead and do it, and then we threw some clothes or a blanket on the disorderly person and started giving her some treatment. Some were afraid of me, even though I never hurt anyone without cause. But there were a lot of mentally ill people there. Also, we had quite a few people suffering from epilepsy in my cell. (Ilguam, 28 years)

These selected cell managers all had a reputation for being strong and, indeed, tough girls. They were inmates with very long sentences. They were often repeat offenders who knew Kalocsa and its rules very well. All of them were so-called "boyish girls", that is, lesbians with a masculine profile. None of them had families outside. I was unable to determine how often they resorted to violence in the cells when "making order", but it is certain that their cell-mates were afraid of them, and often they relied on threats to make things happen. Apart from keeping order, they also acted as representatives of the cell's interests, as women in charge of protecting and taking care of their cellmates.

> So many of the cellmates had epilepsy, that often I had to look after them. I was checking whether they are taking medicaments, and sometimes I had to make sure that the doctor gives them enough attention. (Ilguam, 28 years)

> There was always trouble with some women who had the suicide mood, or just wanted some attention. I had to keep on saving them. Once I was so tired of this, that when I saw one of them getting ready for another cutting-of-the-vain[150], I told her: "Look, let me show how to do this properly. If you do it as you did the last time, you are not going to die. But if you are serious, you have to stop fooling around and do it the right way." She got really scared. (Naidni, 45 years)

Despite the fact that the prison was relying on these tough girls, the prison did not reward them with any privileges - after all, that would have been an official recognition of the fact they are part of the prison's disciplinary system. These women had no resemblance to model prisoners: they were lesbians, repeat offenders, and

[150] There is a word for this in prison slang, "farcolás/ falcolás", which refers to cutting the veins with a sharp object. Some women's arms were full of cuts from their wrists up to the elbows. I was starring at the strangely uneven surface of tattoos on someone's arm trying to figure out what I am looking at, when the woman said, laughing, "Are you looking at my smoked ham?" She was unable to remember how many times she cut her vain. It was common to put tattoos on these arms to – at least partly – hide the scarves.

Roma. They often gained little by being a cell manager: they were left alone, and their lesbianism was tolerated. They also gained some power over their cellmates. In summary, the prison was using selected and reliable tough girls to ensure a degree of discipline on floors and cells where the prison itself failed to do so. However, these women were not awarded for their work, and officially their role was not recognized. They were not eligible for the elite, despite their being reliable; they were not presentable enough.

I argue that the demonization of inhabitants of the cell-house, reflected in references such as 'Jurassic Park', further strengthened their definition as hopeless, bad, evil and amoral. Eventually the distinctions between the otherwise very heterogeneous group of women in the cell-house were reduced, and one group of evil and amoral group of women was created: the group of primitives, or animals. I argue that in this demonization larger social inequalities and stereotypes were relied on: associations of uneducated/ Roma women with "primitives", and lesbian women with "animals" were rather straightforward. Because of this demonization, it did not matter that that women in the cell house - especially on its first floor - were excluded from all privileges and therefore had nothing lose, and that the prison did not invest attention in these units, on the contrary: has given power to a few tough girls to discipline others. The broader function of the demonization was achieved: many women worked hard to avoid being placed together and associated with "the primitives/ the animals".

To conclude, the chapter demonstrated that a strong boundary divided the only achievable privilege in Kalocsa – early conditional release – from all other privileges that were only achievable for the small group of extremely reliable women: those who would be hired by the warden as housekeepers. In reality it was mainly the group of women in elite jobs who were able to gain access to these privileges – and those few other women who managed to recruit additional high-level support against educators' resistance; while for the great majority of women early conditional release was the only achievable goal. Most Roma women adjusted their expectations accordingly and did not aspire for transfer to lighter regime or home leaves. As this demonstrates, the boundaries around the distribution of rewards and penalties matched the earlier discussed categorical inequalities along ethnicity and sexual orientation.

From the perspective of the prison management, the system of rewards and penalties fulfilled its function and succeeded in producing a large number of disciplined women. Although some realized that they were destined to collect rewards

indefinitely; most of the inmates kept on collecting rewards and avoiding penalties. The chapter introduced the large arsenal of tools that Kalocsa employed to discipline inmates. The above-mentioned early conditional release as the only achievable privilege; and the threat of penalties constituted the standard tools for providing some motivation. The perspective of early conditional release alone did not motivate inmates serving sentences as long as five to ten years or more. At best, it kept them out of trouble - that is, disciplined. I argued that in addition to the group of women in the elite; the prison also created the group of bad girls and demonized the cell-house; despite the very small number of actual troublemakers. Educators played an important role in keeping discipline: their main function was to manage women without awarding them privileges and keeping them away top prison management. Rivotril and Xanax also featured in keeping control; and finally, tough girls were unofficially employed to provide control in locations where official disciplinary systems were failing.

The next chapter will focus on understanding the mechanisms through which Kalocsa's internal boundaries were often matched with categorical inequalities; and their significance in strengthening discipline. That chapter will narrow down the above arsenal of disciplinary tools in order to better understand whether and how the stubbornly repeating patterns of categorical inequalities may have contributed to Kalocsa's strict discipline.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE PRODUCTION OF INEQUALITIES IN KALOCSA

This chapter has two key goals. First, it aims to summarize and complete what has been learnt about the inmate hierarchy and the various dimensions of inequalities along which the inmate world of Kalocsa has been stratified. This chapter will offer a discussion about the internal categories along which inmates have been positioned: reliability, presentability and reformability. These internal categories were matched with categorical inequalities and together have resulted in the almost complete exclusion of whole groups of inmates from most rewards; in particular, Roma women and openly homosexual women.

Second, the chapter discusses the organizational work that Kalocsa undertakes through the various inequalities. It will examine inequalities in Kalocsa's larger social context, in order to understand the connections between Kalocsa's internal processes and larger changes in prison's environments. I argue that the Kalocsa prison, which experienced a soft legitimacy crisis over the past decade, was able to integrate key changes from its larger environment, and has stabilized its discipline by reproducing the Roma-ethnic Hungarian categorical inequality and by relying on the powerful discourse of Gipsycriminality. Kalocsa was also able to identify new allies such as religion/ the church.

The discussion starts with reviewing and completing the internal structure of the inmate world by taking a closer look at the selected group of model prisoners and other subgroups, in order to discuss the organizational work that Kalocsa undertakes through such a stratified inmate world: the stabilization of discipline.

7.1. Structure and Hierarchy within the Inmate World: Three Subgroups: Model Prisoners, Bad Girls and Disciplined Women

In the previous chapters the analysis demonstrated that all three processes examined – those linked to the distribution of cells, work and privileges – benefit a very narrow group of inmates in each case, and exclude large groups of women at the same time. Furthermore, I argue that there is a very significant overlap between those groups of women who gained access to the best positions within the various examined processes; as well as among those who tended to be excluded from the best positions. As discussed, often times the women who worked in elite jobs, were placed in the best cells and units of the prison, and were the only people who were able to gain access to

regular home leaves. Similarly, women who did not work at all, certainly had no access to good cells and none of the privileges the prison had to offer. While there is a very strong overlap in the membership of the most privileged and least privileged groups produced along the three processes; the overlap is not absolute.

This is because several internal categories determined the inmate structure and hierarchy, not just one. Reliability was a key determinant of one's position in the work-based hierarchy which in turn heavily influenced one's position in other hierarchies including for instance placement to cell as well. However, work was not the only determinant of placement to cell: presentability also influenced one's position in the cell placement-hierarchy. For instance, media star prisoners were able to negotiate access to selected cells even though they often only held regular jobs. Also, there were a few women who were considered reliable enough to have elite jobs but were not presentable enough because of their homosexual orientation – therefore they were not allowed to live in selected cells, and had no access to other privileges either. Women who aspired to become model prisoners had to be both very reliable and presentable. There were a number of women who were either only reliable or presentable with which they were able to reach some positions in either hierarchies, yet without the possibility of having access to all privileges.

Nevertheless, the overlap between the groups created along the various processes has been very significant, hence we can claim that Kalocsa's inmate hierarchy consisted of three large subgroups. On the top of the hierarchy were the model prisoners of Kalocsa; a relatively small group of privileged inmates who typically held good jobs, lived in selected cells and had access to several further privileges including home leaves or transfer to lighter regime. On the bottom of the hierarchy were the women who were excluded from all privileges of Kalocsa. In the middle of the hierarchy was a large group of women who typically worked and aspired towards achieving early conditional release, the only broadly available privilege in Kalocsa.

This section takes a closer look at the small group of model prisoners in order to determine what values the Kalocsa prison promoted by putting these women at such a display. Taking a closer look at people in privileged positions will assist us to understand Kalocsa's inequalities, just the same way as studying the characteristics of top managers in large organizations has contributed to revealing organizational inequalities in work organizations. The analysis will seek to uncover both the

messages that model prisoners may have communicated towards visitors/ the media/ the outside world; as well as towards other less privileged inmates. Following the discussion about model prisoners, a brief summary is included about the two further subgroups based on the analysis provided in the previous chapters.

As mentioned already, it was extremely difficult to become a model prisoner. The discussion below will explore in more detail the exceptional degree of reliability and presentability required from model prisoners; and it will seek to explore and understand why the group has been extremely homogenous. I will argue that model prisoners are a very homogenous group as clear and visible boundaries around them are vitally important: model prisoners have to provide an example/ inspiration for all other inmates, without suggesting that average inmates could also aspire for this status. The discussion below will start with the first statement about their exceptional reliability and presentability.

Model prisoners are basically responsible for running the prison. Key services such as cooking, cleaning, laundry, healthcare, warehouse and library operations depend on these inmates: they are the extended arm of the prison administration. Because of the importance of these services to the operation of the prison, model prisoners have to be extremely reliable; in practice they have to be so reliable that they would be considered "one of us" by the prison authorities. As I quoted a high-level prison official in the previous chapter, only those women were allowed on regular home leaves who would have been hired as the warden's housekeepers. His analogy is actually not far from reality: these women are in fact the housekeepers of the prison. As one of the educators explained to me about office cleaners, to whom she frequently referred to as "my little duckies"[151]: they may have been called in to undertake urgent tasks practically any time.

The idea that they are considered to be an extension of the prison administration was tangible in their positioning themselves when talking about the prison and other inmates, as we will see below.

> I was an office cleaner. This is a position of trust, it is a very difficult post to fill. It being a position of trust means that you need an

[151] The very same educator spoke about other inmates as "retarded, primitive and hopeless". She referred to homosexual women as "not normal". When I challenged that categorization, she added: "you are right, after all none of the women here are normal."

> understanding not loud-mouthed person, somebody who behaves normally, does the work, and doesn't steal. (Sakraf, 35 years)
>
> I was the manager of the assembly-line: I managed 27-28 women on the big assembly-line, out of the 35-40 in the whole sewing department. I worked standing the whole time. There was no time for thinking. I did this for 4 years ... It was a position of trust. They trusted me anything and everything ... They liked me. They told me `you don't have to do the work of three people, it's enough if you do the work of two. (Iner, 38 years)

As shown above, model prisoners use insider-talk; they refer to their job as being "a matter of confidence", a “position of trust” and defend the prison's practice of being very selective about who gets the best jobs, pointing out that one has to be “understanding” and not “loud-mouthed”. The reference to stealing by Sakraf is especially interesting: stealing is commonly associated with Roma women recidivists; thus Sakraf used coded language to explain why Roma women are not selected for the office cleaning jobs.

Producing a small group of model prisoners who act as if they were an extension of the prison has required the prison's application of a number of official and unofficial criteria. The official selection criteria – previous work experience and education - already screened out many Roma women and all uneducated women. Yet, further unofficial selection criteria was applied in to ensure the reproduction of the prison's organizational culture and value system - including an emphasis on heterosexuality, family values and religion. The discussion below will explore the importance of these additional unofficial selection criteria.

Earlier it was already noted that model prisoners are heterosexual. To be more precise: they assert their heterosexuality very frequently, and make sure not to be associated with lesbians in any sense. In conversations model prisoners usually discussed their heterosexuality as either linked to their commitment to their children and family, or to presenting the problems that lesbianism creates in prison. In fact several model prisoners told me that they discontinued friendships with friends who became lesbians in order to avoid being associated with them. Inmates were so much aware of the expectation that model prisoners cannot be associated with lesbians that

they (or sometimes their lesbian friends) sacrificed even the rare commodity of prison friendships.[152]

> I had a really good friend in prison. We were on good terms up to the very end, when she became homosexual. I received packages regularly, she less frequently. But if need be I gave her food or, say, a T-shirt or anything else. But at the end I got transferred to lighter-security regime so I was moved out from our cell, and she stayed. Soon after this, she turned (homosexual - HT). Perhaps I shouldn't have, but I turned my back on her because at the time I wanted to avoid even the possibility that my family should suspect anything. Later I regretted my rejecting her because of that, but in there this was all too important. (Iga, 46 years)

However, model prisoners made other sacrifices as well. For instance, in order to comply with another unofficial requirement for model prisoners – religious behavior – some of them got baptized during their imprisonment: Sakraf was baptized a few days before her release. Iner, who was formerly not a churchgoer either, also regularly attended religious service in Kalocsa and volunteered for the church. The church assisted these women both during their imprisonment and after their release.[153]

> Formerly I, too, was a believer. But I didn't have time for it. Now I have been baptized, I pray, and I'm a Christian. However, I approach it differently, I imagine the whole thing as inner peace. You can interpret books in so many different ways. Whenever I entered the chapel, I calmed down. I learned to play the organ and attended religious meetings and Bible readings as well. (Sakraf, 35 years)

> I was in the chapel Friday night for a religious meeting and played the organ Saturday morning. I attended a German-language Bible class, but here they didn't teach us the basics. We immediately started with

[152] In some cases lesbian friends of model prisoners interrupted the friendship because they did not want trouble for their model prisoner friend. As Kep explains below, as soon as all the important decisions were made in Iner's life – that is, she was transferred to lighter-security regime – they were able to be friends again, given that after the decisions their friendship did not jeopardize any more Iner's in-prison career. "I ended friendships because of this, because I didn't want to embarrass the others (their being friendly with a lesbian). Iner and l always liked each other, but we did not become friends for years because I'm a lesbian and we did not want her to get into trouble because of this. Now that she was transferred to lighter-security regime and both of us are in the transitional group, there are no obstacles any more to our friendship." (Kep, 36 years)

[153] Some time after their release I asked them about the role of religion in their lives. Both talked with respect about the assistance they gained from the church; however, neither of them practiced their religion. I met other women in Kalocsa who were religious before, during and after their release.

> Biblical stories in German ... I was a believer even before prison, but not a churchgoer. I enjoy being there, it is a serene feeling, I find peace there. True, we have Catholic ceremonies here and I'm a Lutheran. But the difference isn't all that great. It's just that our religion is closer to the ground. The priest, too, has helped me a great deal, and continues to do so. He used to call me on the phone (after release- HT), and also helped me financially. And he found my first accommodation outside the prison because I had nowhere to go when released. (Iner, 38 years)

I gradually discovered that the majority of women among the model prisoners were battered women who, usually after many years of abuse, killed or attempted to kill their husbands/ partners.[154] I was wondering whether this may have played any role in their becoming model prisoners. One obvious point is that these women are not career criminals. They are first-time offenders and are extremely unlikely to re-offend: they typically never return to prison, and the prison administration knows that from experience. Also, these women are usually sentenced for long sentences, which means that the time that could be cut from their sentence due to good behavior can be measured in years. Secondly, these women used to have full-time jobs and some degree of education, and lived in a nuclear family with their partner and children - prior to domestic violence destroying their families. Also, many of them could only rely on themselves, and these women were ready to make any sacrifice for their children. Their gender identity was therefore safe and "healthy"; due to their previous work and education they enjoyed relatively higher status and the social distance between them and prison staff was relatively small; and their motivation to support themselves and reduce their lengthy sentences was very strong.

In order to achieve shorter time in prison, these women were ready to put up with the system and comply with everything, even if they suffered from or disagreed with it. Model prisoners made it clear that they were ready to do any sacrifice,

[154] The great majority of office cleaners, supervisors in the sewing workshop and library staff were battered women imprisoned for homicide or homicide attempt. The only Roma woman who managed to gain access to regular leaves during approximately ten years of Kalocsa's history, was also a battered woman imprisoned for killing her husband. The brief discussion above regarding the characteristics of women imprisoned after a domestic violence-related crime is based on their life histories; however, also resonates with the findings of the WIP study (Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005), and a separate research conducted on the significance of domestic violence in the lives of women and men imprisoned for homicide. (Rédai, Sáfrány and Tóth 2007).

including jobs that they hated, or accepting and implementing any decision made by the prison without challenging it.

> I worked in the sewing department in prison. I hated it, and would have preferred to dig up anything else instead. But I didn't have a lot of choices here. In the beginning I cried a lot, but then I got used to it ... (Iner, 38 years)

> When you get into this kind of situation (prison), then you must look after your own best interests and behave as you're told. If you're told to stand on your head, then you must do that. Otherwise they'll do something so that you'll never go home. Good behavior means that you have to behave really, really well, and whatever they say it must be so. You cannot talk back. (Sakraf, 35 years)

> I never understood why some women complained about circumstances instead of accepting these conditions. Because we knew that if everybody gets up at 4 a.m. in the cell, there was going to be chaos and not enough room; therefore, Auntie Izig and I got up routinely at 3 or latest at 3:30 a.m. and by the time others got up, we were ready. (Iga, 46 years)

In short, some battered women who killed their partners became candidates for these model prisoners status due to their relatively high social standing and education, their perception as non-criminal, their heterosexuality, and their obedient survival strategies. This is of course not to say that being a battered woman was a selection criteria. Rather, the kind of characteristics envisioned for model prisoners often matched the profile of these women who were, in addition to their work- and family-orientation, willing to make sacrifices, e.g. take up religion if that was seen as expected.

Model prisoners not only had to be reliable and presentable in order to be seen as the prison's extended arm, but they also had to be clearly distinguishable from all other inmates. They had to be role models and examples, but in a somewhat distant way. It would be wrong if people believed that anybody could become a model prisoner, since it would be very difficult to manage unrealistic expectations of hundreds of women. Too many Roma women among model prisoners may have given the wrong idea that Roma women – probably the majority of prisoners – may get access to the selected group. Therefore prison management needed women who were inmates, but were very clearly distinguishable from the great majority of inmates. Thus in a way prison management handpicked women with higher social and ethnic status precisely to create a privileged group who is clearly different from the great

majority of inmates, in order to avoid giving mistaken ideas about the availability of these positions to average inmates. Religious behavior and strong commitment to heterosexuality among model prisoners signals that these values were promoted and expected by prison management, however, in order to understand their full significance, a discussion about homosexuality in Kalocsa, as well as an understanding of the re-emergence of religion in prisons is required. These will be covered in later sections of this chapter.

In summary, model prisoners were much needed to run the prison, and to be shown to other inmates and to the outside world. Their role, internally, was to serve as role-models and demonstrate to all other inmates that good girls may achieve privileges. It is in fact misleading to think of them as examples, since the majority of other women had no chance of joining them. They did, however contribute to demonstrating and strengthening the values that were at the core of the prison, and as a result contributed to discipline. Model prisoners could also be shown to the outside world as success stories, and were thus valuable for public relations purposes as well. And last but not least, model prisoners were needed so that prison staff and administration could run the prison. With their help, staff was able to prove to themselves that Kalocsa was more than just a human warehouse. Ironically, model prisoners were not good girls because Kalocsa had reformed them. They tended to be – already prior to their imprisonment – hardworking and disciplined. They were selected because they were already in line with the prison's expectations for good girls; and they fulfilled the unofficial selection criteria as well. Also, the incentive systems of various groups in the hierarchy reinforced these messages and influenced inmates' actual performances according to the expectations of the system: e.g. model prisoners were super-reliable because they had a lot to lose.

In conclusion, the prison's drawing of visible and strong boundaries around model prisoners accomplished at least two missions. On the one had, it contributed to disciplining other women: it sent messages about proper behavior (extreme discipline, work, religion, heterosexuality-motherhood) gaining its well-earned rewards; without providing ground for reasonable expectations from hundreds of women to aspire for these few positions. On the other hand, the homogeneity of model prisoners' group enabled them to be considered as the extended arm of prison management by other inmates and by prison management as well; and to be presented toward the outside world as Kalocsa's PR unit.

As presented in the previous chapter, the group of bad girls was far from homogenous; it was a collection of women who were seen unreliable and/ or unpresentable for various reasons. Firstly, nonworkers earned the title of unreliability by having refused a key requirement in Kalocsa: the need to work. The few people who engaged in open rebellion or physical aggression, were also considered to be unreliable and unpresentable. Women who suffered from mental health problems were unable to comply with the requirements for good behavior, and were therefore necessarily classified as bad girls as well. The high concentration of bad girls in certain floors and cells, and the stigmatization of such areas by expressions such as e.g. "Jurassic Park" assisted the demonization of bad girls. With Tilly's term, adaptation was also achieved by women unavoidably learning and repeating official messages, e.g. the stigmatization of nonworkers; the widespread references to 'primitives' and 'animals', etc. Women often repeated these messages in their effort to present themselves as reliable and different from these bad girls. The incentive system also reinforced their position: bad girls were acting bad because they were sentenced to hopelessness. Yet, as discussed before, these women were hidden in the cell house; which at the same time also served as a hiding place. In a later section possibilities for resistance will be discussed in some detail.

The group of bad girls had an important contribution to maintaining discipline: they reminded others that it is possible to lose access to early conditional release, the only broadly available privilege. Unlike model prisoners, the group of bad girls was rather heterogeneous. This was important, and it indicated that anyone can become a member in this group if she violates reliability or presentability requirements: downward mobility was possible in Kalocsa. The relationship between internal boundaries and categorical inequalities will be discussed below in more details.

The majority of women inmates belonged to neither of the small group of model prisoners and nor that of bad girls; they mostly followed the rules of the prison, including the basic requirement to work. Most women collected rewards and avoided penalties, and were working towards early conditional release. These women were the real clients of the institution, thus they had to be processed and reformed: they had to work, had to complete elementary school, acquire basic hygienic standards, and had to engage in basic cultural etc. activities to reach a minimum degree of civilization. For the overwhelming majority of women apart from early conditional release no other privilege of Kalocsa was achievable. Among other disciplinary methods applied in

Kalocsa, I have argued above that the fear of losing early conditional release and belonging to the group of bad girls was key; as well as the - largely illusionary - example of model prisoners contributed to the large number of women carrying on with collecting rewards infinitely.

7.2 Internal Categories and Inequalities: Matching Reformability, Presentability and Reformability with Categorical Inequalities

As discussed, several internal categories are in place in Kalocsa that determine one's position in the inmate hierarchy. I argue below that inmates are distributed into the various categories within these hierarchies according to how they "perform" in terms of reliability, presentability, and reformability. Along each of these key dimensions women may be allocated into standard, superior and substandard categories. Furthermore, I argue that these categories are matched with categorical inequalities in very specific ways, as it will be discussed below.

The key boundary that relates to reliability, is the work-nonwork boundary: women who do not work, are defined as unreliable. The standard work – elite job boundary separates out those who are super-reliable, that is those who become the extended arm of prison management; from those who only possess standard reliability. Standard reliability can be reached by anyone who works; while super-reliability cannot be reached by work performance alone. Standard reliability is a must for those who want to reach the standard privilege of early conditional release. As previous analysis demonstrated, some elements of super-reliability are linked to official criteria such as education and previous work experience which already exclude all uneducated women and most Roma women; while additional, unofficial criteria are introduced for super-reliability, in order to create a homogenous group with visible and clear boundaries (e.g. heterosexuality, ethnicity, religious orientation). The rationale behind such a clear and visible boundary around super-reliable inmates was discussed in the previous section on model prisoners.

Presentability is understood in Kalocsa as the degree to which prisoners/ groups of prisoners are allowed to have contact with visitors, with civilian outsiders and with the media; and the extent to which they can be associated with the prison. As discussed, presentability is closely linked to location/ cell placement in Kalocsa. Nonworkers, bad girls, and openly homosexual women are seen as not presentable,

and are therefore excluded from the hospital floor and from selected cells, and are mostly warehoused in the cell-house. Lack of presentability has consequences for their access to elite jobs and thus privileges as well: these women are practically excluded from elite jobs and from all privileges apart from the standard early conditional release, which is only available for those who at least perform standard reliability. Thus inmates who are not presentable but at least reliable, may aspire for early conditional release; while inmates who are neither presentable nor reliable, are considered hopeless/ not reformable, and are thus not eligible for any privileges.

Reformability defines the amount of processing/ work that is invested into an inmate. Model prisoners do not need to be reformed, they are seen as the extended arm of the prison, ”one of us” already. (The prison does not invest work into them; its them who invest work into running the prison. In fact these women are the housekeepers of the prison.) Unreliable and unpresentable inmates, if they insist on not working, or demonstrating rebel behavior, mental health problems, or openly homosexual behavior; they become unreformable who do not deserve investment. Most prisoners are seen as reformable, and therefore undergo the standard processing work: during which they need to work, complete elementary school, learn about hygiene and culture; avoid penalties and collect awards indefinitely. They ultimate award is early conditional release; which is separated from all other privileges that are unreachable for standard reformable inmates, and are reserved as incentives for model prisoners.

The hierarchies that are created along these boundaries are characterized by very significant inequalities along categories such as ethnicity and sexual orientation. Larger social inequalities have a greater impact on stratification of inmate groups than any crime-related factor, e.g. severity of crime, sentence. As we saw, those who committed homicide were over-represented among model prisoners. In fact, internal boundaries are matched with categorical inequalities rather directly in Kalocsa, as will be discussed below.

Roma women, even though they are not considered to be unpresentable by definition; are indeed associated with being unreliable in the area of work. As prison officials explained, most inmates have to be taught to work in the first place; and Roma women inmates’ lack of registered/ official prior work experience raise questions regarding their commitment to work. In addition, they are considered to be in need of reform in several areas including but not limited to work: Roma women’s

recidivism shows that they are in need of reform. Further areas of reform that Roma women inmates are believed to be in need of, are basic education (knowing that the majority of them did not complete elementary education); hygiene (knowing that some of the Roma communities have different standards and living conditions); and basic culture (knowing that they may need to learn poems, theatre performances etc. in order to be civilized). These all happened to be provided in Kalocsa.

With other words, Roma women are indeed the perfect clients for the institution who must be processed thoroughly. The question is not why Roma women are not entitled to super-reliability, or why they cannot be imagined as housekeepers in the warden's house. The real question, according to Kalocsa is, whether they are able to learn to work in any job, complete a few more classes of elementary school, learn discipline and a few poems, and stay out of trouble for a change. The best performing Roma women proved that the prison succeeded in its processing methods, and that she ultimately was taught how to work and was now considered reliable – yet this would certainly not indicate that she would be eligible for super-reliability.

Women who engage in same-sex relationships are by definition not presentable, therefore they cannot be placed in the elite units/ cells and are thus mostly excluded from elite jobs. As everyone else, they are expected to work, and thus they can achieve standard reliability. In most cases lesbians are considered unreformable, and are left alone, locked up in the cell-house. In exceptional cases, some women who engage in same-sex partnerships are considered reformable which could lead to some work by the prison invested e.g. in the form of counseling about the value of family, women's role in the family etc; but this is only done in cases who were considered 'temporarily lost' and otherwise deserving investment. If in terms of reliability an inmate exceeds expectations, than her sexual orientation is tolerated; although she could still not aspire for super-reliability. Intersectionality with ethnicity is relevant here: ethnic Hungarian lesbian inmates, in very exceptional cases, were considered as 'temporary lesbians' and were given counseling and access to elite jobs. At the same time, Roma women who engaged in same-sex relationships were never subject to such exceptional treatment: lesbianism in their case was never considered temporary. They became, at best, tough girls who were allowed to restore order in the most difficult cells of the cell-house, without being officially recognized for this work. But most of them were just simply processed; yet never invested in.

Class position, mainly manifested in educational qualifications, has influenced one's position and access to various categories in the above hierarchies in some cases, but mainly at the very bottom and at the very top of the hierarchy. Illiterate, uneducated women, regardless of their ethnic position and sexual orientation were treated as in need of reform and were processed, as mentioned above. The few educated women were noticed and in a better position to acquire good jobs or locations than other women. However, the majority of inmates did not belong to either of these extremes, and possessed basic education; for them it was indeed their ethnicity and sexual orientation which has influenced their 'performance' in terms of reliability, presentability and reformability; which in turn determined their access to standard, substandard and elite positions in the inmate hierarchy.

In summary, the translation between internal categories and categorical inequalities tends to be straightforward. Kalocsa's example supports Tilly's argument about the importance of categories. Roma women are not eligible for good jobs or super-reliability not because of case-by-case discrimination; but because as a category they are defined in need of learning to work in the first place therefore cannot aspire for super-reliability; they must prove that they earn reliability – as opposed to ethnic Hungarians who may aspire for super-reliability. I believe this translation is so straightforward because this is at the core of the prison's operation: the prison needs large numbers of disciplined women - Roma women in this case - to be processed and taught to work; without the promise of rewards or privileges. Due to the strict translations between internal and external categories, the prison is able to achieve its goal without a problem. As we saw, there is no resistance against the powerful ethnic inequalities; on the contrary, the overwhelming majority of inmates believe that there is no discrimination against Roma women in any sense in the prison.[155]

[155]As discussed, many women were aware that rewards and privileges are distributed selectively, even though most women denied systematic inequalities. Yet, when it was impossible not to recognize that a handful of women gain access to most privileges, the explanation was ready: they are snitches. I argue that with frequent references to the figure or snitch/ informant; women actually invented an explanation for the inexplicable and unjust decisions and policies. This was a convenient explanation which served to assert, on the one hand, that the speaker is not an informant (even if she has contact with prison staff); and also provided some kind of an explanation for the otherwise non-transparent distribution of privileges. I believe that in prisons with strong internal inequalities, such as Kalocsa, snitches are very frequently suspected to hide in every corner. The invention of snitches, in short, is a form of adaptation that was used to provide some explanation for inequalities and selective mechanisms.

Somewhat similarly - although as we will see, not at all identically - lesbian women are defined as not presentable, as opposed to heterosexual women who are defined as presentable. Kalocsa's concern about its reputation is a key reason for this boundary; along with its worries about women's motherly responsibilities. However, I will argue below that Kalocsa's goal of ensuring that at least its elite – model prisoners – are heterosexual women, emerged from its inability to control women's sexuality effectively. With other words, in this field, Kalocsa's expectation about how disciplined women should behave, was met by considerable resistance.

7.3 Resistance and Inequalities: Homosexual Behavior, Rebel Identity and Resistance[156]

As mentioned, model prisoners tended to make their heterosexual orientation very clear. Similarly, there was a group of women who were equally forthcoming about their homosexual orientation, which was usually declared upfront, in the very first minute of an introductory conversation – both in one-on-one conversations as well as in group settings.[157] These women often immediately volunteered information about their attractiveness and successes in Kalocsa; or about their long experience, usually going back to times prior to their imprisonment. Some clearly wanted to impress me with their promiscuity, while others emphasized their faithfulness and monogamy. In either case, they expressed a lot of pride in being homosexual, and made it clear that it's a strong part of their identity.

> I am so homosexual that it's not possible to be more homosexual than this. I've had at least forty women at Kalocsa, I can't help it, women simply adore me. I like to make it clear who is in charge. I expect my

[156] This section will not provide a full overview about actions that could be considered resistance in Kalocsa; it will only focus on those examples where women challenged or resisted the dimensions of inequality discussed throughout the research.

[157] Not everybody was so straightforward about discussing their homosexual relationships in prison. I met several women who first strongly identified themselves as heterosexual to me – sometimes even discussing how filthy lesbians in prison can be – and later, typically after their release, told me that they also had women lovers in the prison. Apparently these women during the in-prison interviews wanted to present themselves as decent, heterosexual women, and were only telling me about lovers once it was safe: outside the prison. This was likely to be the result of women's convictions about the prison management's clear preferences for heterosexual women.

> women to serve me, but I take care of everything for them. (Ogud, 42 years)

> I had been with women before my time in Kalocsa, even though I was married and had three children. Here I had many lovers, they all loved me like crazy. All kinds of women, beautiful ones and ugly ones, young and old, gipsy or not. There was a woman as black as it can get, and she had only one tooth, but I liked her, and once I am out, I am planning on visiting her in the Eger prison. With some of them I stay in touch, but I always make it clear that they cannot expect monogamy from me. I do care and I try to help them if I can, but I make no false promises. (Kep, 36 years)

Several of these strongly self-identified homosexual women were very clear about their sexual orientation in their dealings with prison staff. As the example of Ilguam shows below, some inmates were flirting with members of the staff. Another woman, Kep, was also flirting with female staff members, and she was convinced that some male guards disliked her because she would not even look at them. "They were mad because I was not interested in them, and they saw that I get on really well with some of the women on staff. Their little egos were hurt."(Kep, 36 years)

> It's now been 16-17 years that I've been so inclined (homosexual - HT). I'm the rather faithful type. I only had three relationships in prison, over 11 years. But I do tend to flirt. I flirted quite heavily with a guard called Mrs. L. for 3 years. We were on familiar `you' terms, and she was upset if I shunned her. The Lieutenant-Colonel found out that we were on good terms and she had to go away to another section for a few months ... However, I did not want her to risk her job or that she be subjected to criminal proceedings. I was very clever when I was there. My orientation being what it is, they could tell that I'm not interested in men. And though they're not living the life of a homosexual person, they're attracted to me. (Ilguam, 28 years)

Others were challenging staff about the prison's clear dislike of lesbians and lesbianism, e.g. as manifested in the use of names by staff. Several women had male nicknames, and even though all inmates used those names, staff refused to use nicknames. Under normal circumstances staff members insisted on using official family names; however, in these cases sometimes staff actually used women's first names. The women were convinced that staff used their first names – thus referring to them with a feminine name - instead of their last names only to humiliate them. I was once walking with a woman called Charles on the corridor when we saw her educator approach. Before the educator could have said a word, Charles told me, but loud and

clear: “I bet Katie is going to greet me in a second and tell me good morning Clarie”. In a second the educator replied: “I bet Clarie you are right, I will always call you Clarie, you have such a lovely name.”

Charles made a preemptive strike and called the educator “Katie” which was very disrespectful. The educator decided to enter the game and insisted on using “Clarie” knowing that Charles hates that. Had I not been there, the educator may have decided to stop and discipline Charles; although this seemed to be a fairly regular game between the two of them. Many women who were openly homosexual, were aware that the prison does not like homosexual relationships, however, they were clearly challenging the prison’s authority, by asserting themselves with insisting on using their nicknames, and in other ways as well.

Kissing and touching each other in the courtyard, in the shower-room, and in the chapel, was considered to be rather common, especially for women who were not able to meet otherwise. This, apart from provoking the prison administration, has caused a lot of frustration among other women, as mentioned before. Nevertheless, and despite knowing that the administration – and many other inmates – disapprove of women having sex or kissing etc. with other in public parts of the prison, this was routinely done[158]. I believe that at least for some women, their homosexuality was a way of openly challenging the strict discipline and control in Kalocsa. Other women like Naidni, has tried to keep a low profile; she did not want prison management to know about her private life.

> I am a lesbian ever since I can remember. I have always had a lover here too, but I tended to keep a low profile, not like many others. Often prison management did not even know with whom I am involved. I wanted to keep this as a private matter. (Naidni, 45 years)

Several of the women who strongly identified with their homosexuality, talked with disgust about those women who have sex with women in prison, but who are not

[158] I was rather surprised to notice that during one of the group sessions during which we were discussing preparation for release, two women in the back row started to have sex. Not knowing how to handle this situation, I simply went ahead with the discussion. The rest of the group also did not seem to pay attention. To my greatest surprise, one of them continued to participate in the discussion and was seeking eye contact with me. They never had sex during class again. As I later learnt, sex in religious classes or events was not permitted and provoked strong reactions. Later I concluded that they tested my reaction and the limits of flexibility or discipline in class.

"true homosexuals". These women were considered to be only pretending to be true homosexuals in order to be accepted in the prison; but otherwise, it was suspected that they will go back to their men as soon as they leave the prison. These women were called "púl-buzi", which could be translated as "fake-gay". Women who considered themselves to be true homosexuals, had a very bad opinion about fake-gays.

> So many of them here have a big mouth about being gay, they would tell you that they always have been gay, that they cannot imagine being with a man any more, but this is all just bullshit. They tell you this because they are here and they want to please you. Then you get out and meet them outside and they are with a guy, and they would take you to the side and beg you that you should not a say a thing because their man would kill them if they found out. That's how gay they are. They are nothing but fake-gays. (Naidni, 45 years)[159]

With other words, in certain locations of the prison – above all, in the cell-house – a strong sense of identity and resistance was built around homosexual behavior. Women distinguished between true homosexuals and fake-gays; thus the long stories about the length of one's history of relationships were meant to demonstrate that one is a true homosexual indeed. The fact that this identify was used as a form of resistance is shown by the clear and regular disobedience of prison rules by women who otherwise tended to respect the regulations of the prison; and the provocation of prison staff about the use of names, or open flirtations, etc. With other words, despite the well-known disadvantages that resulted from lesbians not being considered presentable enough in Kalocsa, a significant number of women developed strong identities and resistance around their lesbianism. As mentioned before, some nonworkers also seemed to have constructed a rebel identity around their nonworker status; but it was not comparable in terms of its power and intensity to this form of resistance.

[159] Even though Naidni and others may have called them fake-gays, I met many women who told me that they never had sex with other women before prison, and never seriously thought about it; however, in Kalocsa they developed strong friendships with women that – to their greatest surprise – in some cases turned into sexual relationships or love stories. "I always knew myself as a heterosexual woman, before Kalocsa I never had anything to do with women. Even in Kalocsa first I was convinced that I would not have a lover among the women. Than I met Johnny. She was so masculine, everything she did, the way she acted etc, it was as if she was really a man. She made me feel like a woman. We sometimes had sex, but for me it was more about belonging to someone. Now that I am out, I am fine with that memory, but I don't think it would occur to me to date a woman." (Kiralk, 43 years)

In conclusion, Tilly's argument about the invisible nature of matching internal boundaries with categorical inequalities is, on the one hand, supported by the Kalocsa research regarding the reproduction of ethnic inequalities in the prison: apparently the prison controlled and disciplined large numbers of Roma women excluding them from most available rewards and privileges, without provoking active forms of resistance against such systemic inequalities and without even having to fear from recognition. However, at the same time, although the prison also excluded large numbers of openly homosexual women from privileges; this was met with considerable resistance. In order to gain a better understanding of why and how Kalocsa is relying on these external inequalities in its internal categories, the analysis below will place these in the larger context of the recent history of the Hungarian prison system. The analysis below will provide very different explanations behind the prison's exclusion of Roma women and that of openly homosexual women, from privileges.

7.4 The Larger Context of the Production of Inequalities in Kalocsa

As it was shown in the Hungary chapter, the prison system did not undergo systemic reform after the transition, and did not develop a new understanding of its mission despite the dramatically changed political, social, economic etc. environment. At the same time, the grounds on which its earlier legitimacy was based – the punitive power of the communist state; and the need to create good socialist workers - disappeared. It was understood from the early 1990s that new principles have to be integrated into its work, such as openness, responsibility and normalization. Yet, no resources were provided for any meaningful transformation. Moreover, five years after the only significant change – openness – was launched in practice, it was suddenly interrupted by politics, which, ever since than has shown no interest in prison reform. Despite a few amendments, the prison system continues to operate on the basis of legislation created in 1979. The prison system has been largely left alone to figure out what can be used from its state-socialist legacy and from the few remaining buzzwords from the early 1990s – most notably, human rights and half-openness – amid an increasing fear of crime; without resources and political support for change. I call this a legitimacy crisis: whereas the grounds for its state-socialist legitimacy have clearly disappeared, no new meaningful role has emerged for the prison system. I have termed it as a soft legitimacy crisis because so far there were no dramatic or systemic breakdowns in the

system, although in interviews prison staff – including high-level prison officials - readily provided numerous examples and symptoms for what many of them describe as a lasting crisis.[160]

I will argue below, that for remedying its soft legitimacy crisis, the prison system has relied on existing social inequalities – most notably, on the social exclusion and stigmatization of Roma as criminals – and at the same time has looked for new allies to provide it with new legitimacy. The prison system turned to the only new-old partner who showed interest both at the level of values as well as of practical assistance: the church. The section first explores the emulation that has taken place as regards to defining Roma women as victims and co-producers of Gipsycriminality; and the second section focuses on the creation of a new unofficial criteria for model prisoners in search of a new ally against lesbians and other undisciplined women.

7.4.1 The soft legitimacy crisis and the responsibilization of Roma communities

Within the general context of corrections characterized by 'transition and neglect' in the past two decades, the Kalocsa prison has experienced a more direct crisis over the past decade or more. Mainly because of dramatic changes in the economy during the 1990ies, the Kalocsa prison's system of processing inmates became dysfunctional and obsolete. The idea that women inmates can be reformed, or at least prepared for reintegration, by relying on basic education, standard prison work in low-value women's jobs; and their being reminded of their children – has more or less failed, partly because gradually in the 1990s those industries and low-skilled jobs that women in prison were trained for, have collapsed; and women with no or little education and job training – including many Roma women - experienced a near complete exclusion from the formal labor-market[161] (Babusik 2004; Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005).

[160] Loss of direction; lack of political support for change; lack of resources; high-level corruption; devaluation of professional work; departure of knowledgeable top prison officials; burnout; disappointment with EU membership; lack of positive perspectives were mentioned in a great number of interviews with prison staff, especially by high-level of mid-level prison officials.

[161] I will not attempt to give here an overview about the position of Roma women in Hungarian society. Please see Babusik for a comprehensive review (Babusik 2004).

I will demonstrate below that instead of examining its obsolete processing methods, Kalocsa borrowed the popular image of Gipsycriminality and identified it as the reason for failure. By responsibilizing Roma Communities, Kalocsa has pushed away its own responsibility and managed to construct a half victim – half criminal Roma woman in further need of Kalocsa's processing methods. At the same time this exercise has reinforced the powerful ethnic categorical inequality applied within the prison.

In Kalocsa, a significant portion of inmates are recidivists, most of them imprisoned for theft or robbery. Although there is no ethnic data about recidivists, it is a widespread opinion both among inmates and staff that most recidivists imprisoned tend to be Roma, and that most Roma women in prison tend to be recidivists.

> About a third of women in Kalocsa are here for robbery, most of them are recidivists and are members of the (Roma - HT) ethnicity. (high-level prison official)

Some interviews with prison staff reflected a sense of awareness and concern about the changing realities outside prison walls, which make reintegration after release very difficult for uneducated/ unskilled women.

> Among the current conditions in Hungary it is impossible for the prison to do long-term planning or preparation for release. Back in the 1970ies we normally had to write a so-called job placement letter to arrange work; and in most cases housing was also arranged that way. For a particular group of inmates (Roma/ uneducated women - HT) it has been a dramatic loss that so-called workers hostels as well as demand for unskilled workers no longer exist. (high-level prison official)

Nevertheless, rather than examining whether the prison's processing system is up-to-date to respond to some of the changes outlined above; staff reactions unequivocally located the problem in the criminal and uncultured lifestyle of some Roma families and communities. Staff interviews, even though conducted separately and often with significant time differences, echoed the same judgments – often times word by word - and identified the problem in Roma women's return to their original environment.

> It is in vain that we train the inmate how to clean herself properly, or how to be cultured and have certain cultural needs, or to learn how to read and write, if she leaves the prison only to return to where she came from and where these values are not respected; well she will have an enormous problem and she will have to choose. She will either choose to

> try to follow what has been required here, or she will choose to follow the environment. (high-level prison official)
>
> It is in vain to prepare them in terms of hygiene, culture and education; after release they, the (Roma - HT) ethnicity, return to the same location and often they are not motivated either. (educator)

The best summary of the staff's position came from a concerned high-level prison official who was very frustrated about the prison's inability to assist women sufficiently; however, concluded a long conversation on this subject with these words:

> You have to understand: we are helpless. I believe what we do with inmates during their imprisonment is eventually fine and useful, and it goes in the right direction although I am sure we could still improve it if we had the resources and the political will, which we do not have. But the reason why I feel helpless is because we have no means to fight the criminal families and locations Roma women are returning to. (high-level prison official)

Thus Kalocsa is now reproducing the image of Gipsycriminality in its rhetoric to provide an explanation for its failure to prepare women for reintegration after release. This strategy is similar to the so-called responsibilization strategy of prisons described, among others, by Kelly Hannah-Moffat. In this approach responsibility is pushed away from prisons for failure in reintegration; and the individual criminal/ inmate is identified as solely responsible for the failure (Hannah-Moffat 2001)[162]. However, in this case, it is not the individual Roma woman who is in the centre of responsibilization: rather it is the Roma criminal family, environment and culture. Most prison officials had elaborate theories to share about the Roma criminal culture and the role of women in that:

> The perception prevalent among the Roma minority is that women and children are judged more leniently by the justice system. So they have

[162] Hannah-Moffat discusses the responsibilization strategy that she identified in the Canadian corrections system, as a feature of neoliberal penology. According to her such an approach uses the language of choice and responsibility – and in Canada's case, empowerment of women -, and is based on encouraging inmates to make responsible decisions in e.g. treatment programs etc., however; she demonstrates that ultimately this is a form of self-governance and self-disciplining. (Hannah-Moffat 2001) Although clearly the Hungarian prison system does not use concepts such as choice; on the contrary, offers very little choices for women - as we have seen Kalocsa has fairly standard processing mechanisms - yet the responsibilization of inmates is nevertheless also in action here, especially when it comes to explaining recidivism of (Roma) inmates.

> them commit the actual crimes. Roma prisoners can sometimes feel disoriented in prison, because they do not comprehend why they are being punished. Roma offenders steal from whoever has more. And on the one hand, according to distinctive Roma laws and customs, they do not consider these acts criminal. However they are, on the other hand, incompatible with Hungarian laws. [163] (high-level prison official)

> ...but these people are never the main characters in the robbery: they are often used as bait; and in some cases they may even have nothing to do with the criminal act: they are persuaded to take responsibility for someone else's crime in the family. It is a popular belief among them (the Roma – HT) that women get smaller sentences. (high-level prison official)

Thus presenting Roma women as victims comes hand in hand with presenting Roma families/ communities as the victimizers. Such a strategy removes responsibility from the prison, as well as partially from the inmates – although Roma women are still represented as uncultured, unhygienic, and not willing to work thus in need of reform etc. - and pushes it onto an intangible Roma criminal culture; which is conveniently rooted in the recent strong discussions about Gipsycriminality. With this strategy, the adequacy of its own processing system remains unchallenged; the question whether training in hygiene, basic education and so-called high culture, along with standard women's jobs such as sewing and cleaning, contribute meaningfully to women's possible reintegration, is not discussed. The complete exclusion of Roma women from home leaves, transfer to lighter regime, better jobs etc. as possible contributions to the failure of the system, is not discussed either.

The image of Roma women inmates as unreliable in terms of work; and in need of reform in many ways other ways; needs to be interpreted against this background outlined above. The exclusion of Roma women from the labor-market is used as the best evidence for their unreliable work performance; and the so-called criminal lifestyle of Roma families is the best evidence for Roma women's criminality and hence their need to be reformed. Roma women are constructed as half-victims and half-criminals. The prison is actually convinced that although they do a good job in processing women and teaching them to work, clean and have basic cultural demand; all of their efforts go in vain because women will not work; and their families will draw them back into crime. The power of this discourse is so

[163] Quoted in Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005: 8

overwhelming that even concerned, progressive, sensible prison officials recited these messages without exceptions.

This is of course not to suggest that the prison system should be able to resolve the massive social exclusion that many Roma experience in Hungary. What I am suggesting is that the discourse about Gipsycriminality in the media and in politics provides a very powerful context which the prison system uses to avoid discussing its own share in contributing to the social exclusion of Roma. Furthermore, the prison system is incorporating these powerful messages about Gipsycriminality, unreliability and un/reformability in its inequality-producing mechanisms as well.

7.4.2 The soft legitimacy crisis and the church as a new-old ally

Amid its soft legitimacy crisis, Kalocsa is relying on the reproduction of categorical inequalities in its internal boundaries in order to reinforce discipline; as was discussed previously. I will argue that t is not only building on some of the most well-established inequalities in larger society – such as inequalities along ethnicity as outlined in the previous section – but Kalocsa has introduced a further criteria, the requirement of religious orientation for model prisoners, in order to provide new support for its key messages.

The emergence of religion as an unofficial criteria for model prisoners requires explanation. Its use cannot be explained with Kalocsa using larger social inequalities to support its internal inmate hierarchies. In Hungary religion is not considered to be a matter that creates or sustains social hierarchies; freedom of religion is largely unproblematic and religion does not have strong stratifying power. The section below will explore the role that religion/ the Roman Catholic church came to play in prisons after the transition and its possible link to some of Kalocsa's internal inequalities.

The opening up of prisons has brought a very large number of religious groups into the prison system from the early 1990s, who offered religious services but also humanitarian and practical support, including treatment services and assistance for inmates after their release. Although other representatives of civil society – e.g. human rights groups – also entered the prisons; the weight of religious groups is

overwhelming[164]. In addition, the presence of religion in prisons was institutionalized with the creation of the Prison Priest Service unit within the National Prison Administration (NPA) in 1998. The creation of the priest service within the NPA means that priests carry organizational titles and power.

The significance of religion in the Kalocsa prison has been strong in the past two decades. The first warden of Kalocsa after the democratic transition was appointed following the recommendations of the Christian Democratic Party, and was known to be very religious.[165] The first warden has directed the prison well over a decade. The prison has established very strong ties to the (Roman Catholic) archbishop's residence based in Kalocsa. The prison is situated next to the archbishop's residence, which is a very powerful institution in an otherwise fairly small town. Kalocsa has relied on religious groups and services increasingly across the past twenty years. With priests having received organizational status and power from 1998, they were able to suggest rewards and assert recommendations for women in the prison. They came to represent an additional higher power who can be approached if and when educator's resistance needs to be overcome. Those who aspired to become model prisoners, understood that power and have used it, as we have seen it.

I argue that the prison has used its new ally to strengthen heterosexuality and women's roles as mothers; which needed reinforcement because earlier methods of controlling homosexuality – e.g. the already-mentioned notification of inmates' families – could not be relied on any longer. Kalocsa does not want to be known as the place where women have sex with other women, and in addition, considers lesbianism as a threat to women's roles as mothers and wives. As discussed in previous chapters, it has been a generally shared belief both among inmates and staff

[164] In 2005 I participated in a conference organized by the National Prison Administration (NPA) about cooperation of prisons with civil society. One of the top executives of the NPA explained in his opening statements, that a key function of the administration is to enable civil society to engage in, what he called, "pasztorizáció" in prisons. Several civil society representatives did not understand the expression; some were joking whether he meant "pasztörizáció" / pasteurization. After some research in religious literature it was established that what he meant was pastoral work/ pastoral studies. The reliance of a top prison administrator on a strictly religious expression and activity as one of the key civil society contributions signals the weight of religious groups and work in prisons.

[165] Personal communication from a high-level prison official.

that women engaged in homosexual relationships tend to forget about their motherly responsibilities. One way of strengthening heterosexuality – apart from not giving home leaves and access to most privileges to women who have sex with other women - was to ensure that model prisoners who communicate the desired values of the institution, are religious and heterosexual.

Some people including model prisoners were baptized – as mentioned, Sakraf was one of these – others attended religious services and celebrations. On some of these occasions, homosexuality was openly discussed, while in other times women were just reminded of their motherly responsibilities and heterosexuality.

> The priest talked to us about homosexuality and he said it was a form of disease. (Sakraf, 38 years)

> The Lieutenant-Colonel was very religious. When I was lost, she talked to me about religion and children and women's role in keeping the family together. (Kep, 36 years)

Although the strategy worked to some extent – e.g. indeed model prisoners were volunteering for the priest, attending Bible class and playing the organ; and many more women were attending religious workshops, events etc. – the focus on religion was used and also challenged by some inmates. Firstly, many women only attended religious events in order to gain rewards/ assistance from the priest; or, in order meet with their lover in the chapel.

> I was attending religious service because I was told that the priest distributes a reward every couple of months to those who attend regularly, and I badly needed rewards because I wanted to gain early conditional release. (Anide, 29 years)

> There is a chapel in Kalocsa but women go there not to pray, but in order to meet each other. Or, they go to fetch a prayer-book only to be able to use its pages for rolling cigarettes. Others go to the chapel in order to just get out of their cells. I am not attending the mess, my God is inside. I am not going there only to show how religious I am. (Naidni, 45 years)

Secondly, a few women were very outspoken about the role of religion and the priest in Kalocsa; this included both religious women as Naidni, and atheists like Kiralk. Mostly they criticized the priest's authority to issue rewards or penalties; and the expectation that good behavior should include religious orientation in a secular state institution.

> The priest is worse than the guards, he has hawk eyes. He gives more penalties out than the guards. I am telling you there is a machine gun in his hand beneath the cassock. He says that if you are there (in the chapel), it is obligatory to listen to him from the start until the end. If you are not looking at him, he tells you to pay attention. He wanted me to confess my sins. I told him that if I confessed, he would fall out of his chair. He did not like me because I told him that he is a false prophet. (Naidni, 45 years)

> Here there is this pretension about religion. I am baptized but I do not practice religion, because I grew up under communism. I do not understand why it is a disadvantage that I do not go there and pretend that I love God and the priest, in order to gain a home leave. The priest has the power of a department head, so what are we talking about? I know at least two people who were recently baptized. Why do they want us to pretend? This pretension makes me sick. I am not going to play along. (Kiralk, 43 years)

Thus in summary, while many staff members are convinced that lesbian relationships are there only to substitute other emotional ties for the women, and staff is apparently worried about women losing their motherly roles, the prison does not work on strengthening visiting options or home leaves nor ensure that at least women who work have enough resources to pay for visits or home leaves. Instead, the prison tries to control/ reduce lesbian relationships by punishing women who have sex with other women; and strengthen the emphasis on heterosexuality, motherhood and religion with support from its new-old ally, the church. Arguably, Kalocsa succeeds in using this new discourse and ideology as a display both for PR purposes towards the outside world as well as internally through the example of model prisoners. However, many women in Kalocsa are actually using religion as a convenient way to collect rewards and meet one's lover at the same time; through which they are arguably changing the prison's original intentions to their opposite.

7.5 Concluding Thoughts about Differences in the Production of Inequalities

A number of potential explanations can be offered for the difference found between the production of inequalities along ethnicity and sexual orientation as well as between the different level of resistance experienced. Firstly, one could argue that there is a slow change in Hungarian society in the general acceptance of same-sex relationships, at least compared to the level 15-20 years ago; which may be eroding

the categorical inequality that the prison has been using for a long time. Secondly, one could argue that by challenging lesbians' presentability, the prison is actually provoking resistance; after all, forbidding or sanctioning certain behavior is very tangible and provokes resistance. Thirdly, one could argue that the prison did not want to completely suppress homosexual activity to start with: the goal was to only to control it and ensure that the PR unit is presentable. In this interpretation, the current status quo is satisfactory for the prison: most lesbian women work and comply with most rules even without access to rewards and privileges; and the PR unit is immaculate. The prison ensured that those who resisted stayed locked up a long time where they belonged: in the cell-house.

While these are all possible explanations, I believe the difference is more fundamental. While Kalocsa has been using and reproducing ethnic inequalities effectively for providing itself with continued legitimacy that is linked to the powerful Gipsycriminanility trend, as well as for keeping its inmate hierarchy and stratification stable and unchallenged; the suppression of homosexuality was not reproduced as a stabilizing mechanism; on the contrary: homosexuality itself was seen as a problem that has required some kind of treatment/ solution.

Homosexuality has always threatened Kalocsa's reputation as a respectable institution and as a place where criminal women are reformed; however with the increasing half-openness in the 1990ies this problem became potentially more public. Kalocsa has relied on a number of strategies to control the problem; first of all, it has punished openly homosexual women: Kalocsa excluded homosexual women from the great majority of privileges including home leaves and transfer to lighter regime. In addition, Kalocsa has relied on women's roles as mothers in the fight against homosexuality. Linking heterosexuality with the care of children; and homosexuality with the abandonment of children was a key message that was reiterated by staff members and inmates alike.[166] As we saw before, some women - model prisoners and others - reiterated and followed these messages. Nevertheless, many women did not respect these, and some women openly challenged them.

[166] Although this research did not focus on the gendered nature of women's imprisonment in Kalocsa, this very clear example for the prison's use of gender/ motherhood needs to be remarked. Many women were very concerned about the relationship to their children and the prison used and reinforced the motherhood-cult. The WIP research discusses Kalocsa's emphasis on motherhood in some detail (Tóth, Zentai, and Krizsán 2005).

> They preach to us about how we should think of our children and families and how we should behave as proper women (who do not have sex with women – HT). They do not understand that we think of our families our ways. (Ikin, 28 years)

> I love my kids, I would do anything for them. But I am here now. I am gay. I am no less a woman now. So what? (Iszreb, 35 years)

Thus the prison was unable to control women's sexuality; and among those who were openly homosexual, the prison even took a pragmatic approach and fulfilled requests of moving partners in the same cell; nevertheless, at the same it tried to ensure that at least its elite group, the PR unit that has most access to visitors/ publicity, is immune to the 'disease'[167]. Thus Kalocsa introduced the unofficial criteria of religion for its model prisoners: with other words, it has created a new, local inequality in order to remedy its organizational problem created by women's uncontrolled sexuality.

Returning to Tilly's hypothesis, one may conclude that in Kalocsa's case, external inequalities along ethnicity as well as the notion of Gipsycriminality were incorporated very successfully into internal inequalities and categories in the inmate world and have served as a reliable and unchallenged stabilizing mechanism for the institution that has been experiencing a soft legitimacy crisis. However, the same cannot be concluded about the suppression of homosexuality in Kalocsa, which was met with significant resistance. On the contrary, it seems likely that homosexuality was seen as a problem that required new solutions; one of which solutions was provided by the church. Hence, a new local inequality, the introduction of religion as unofficial criteria for model prisoners, served to remedy Kalocsa's organizational problem.

With other words, the pure existence of various kinds of seemingly similar inequalities in a particular organization may require very different explanations; which can only be provided through the detailed analysis of the context as well as the

[167] Interestingly, the treatment of homosexuality by Kalocsa very much resembles the communist party's treatment of religion in the final decades of state socialism. Although atheism was the official party ideology and the party leadership and elite was actually required to stay away from religion; the subject was treated with pragmatism and a degree of flexibility for simple members of the communist party. Many members of the party were religious and were able to practice it by well-known strategies; e.g. they attended church in another town, not in their hometown.

organizational goals. This clearly emphasizes the need to closely study the organizational perspective of inequalities in their broader context. Such an analysis can provide insights into the production of various inequalities, and into differences between these; and may suggest different ways of tackling these. For instance, tackling discrimination based on religion in the above case would not address the core problem.

Tilly's thinking about organizations' integrating existing categorical inequalities in their internal hierarchies - largely out of convenience and cost-minimization – has been reinforced by the Kalocsa research. I would add to Tilly's concept, that there is a very remarkable difference between inequalities that are unproblematic and stabilizing and those that actually represent problems to be resolved/ suppressed in terms of the organizational resources these require. Furthermore, those inequalities that are institutionalized and serve to reinforce the basic mission of the organization – in this case, discipline – are at the core of the organization to the extent that changing them would potentially require the review of the organization's mission as a whole; e.g. in this case, the review of what prisons are meant to do.[168]

[168] One could of course argue that most organizations are less focused on discipline, and are less able to hide their internal processes from the public eye etc.; in their case, even though the maintenance of the status quo and stability are important, these are not linked to the organization's mission and survival. And yet, as discussed, research on organizations has demonstrated that progress on eliminating gendered inequalities tended to be slow. My point is that in case of prisons, where inequalities may be linked to discipline, the core mission of the organization; basic and well-institutionalized inequalities - such as ethnic inequalities in case of Kalocsa - can be challenged only by revisiting the entire institution itself.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS - IN-PRISON INEQUALITIES AND THE CARCERAL CLAWBACK

The Kalocsa case study demonstrated that despite fundamental changes in the prison system, a number of important continuities remained in the operation of the Kalocsa prison from the state socialist period. Although the research took place several years after the democratic transition, data from inmate interviews and staff members has suggested strong continuities in the processing program that Kalocsa undertakes. The processing program that inmates are made to follow, still continues to be based on hygiene, high culture, basic education, work, and the reminding of inmates of their motherly responsibilities. I have argued that this program is based on the prison's rigid conception of their client base: Roma women inmates' and their so-called needs; so much so that any failure of the program is not leading to its reevaluation; but rather to locating the problem in Gipsycriminality; which in turn reinforces the need for Kalocsa to go on with its obsolete processing program. The analysis introduced a number of processes that produce and reproduce inequalities in the inmate world. For instance, the rewards and privileges system continues to reinforce the inmate hierarchy with its differential incentive system for model prisoners; bad girls and disciplined women. Furthermore, placement to cell and job assignments continue to produce strong boundaries between inmate groups in the hierarchy. The matching of internal categories with well-known external inequalities such as ethnicity, continues to be smooth.

This case study does not offer optimistic conclusions about the possible reduction or elimination of the prison's production of inequalities through introducing new principles into the prison system and/or through changing legislation alone. At first I will address below the introduction of new principles into the prison system, using the example of openness, before turning to the example of legislative changes.

Even though some new principles impacted the internal structure and hierarchy of the prison's inmate world, these resulted in modifications of internal categories and in the emergence of new categories rather than in their disappearance. The principle of openness, as discussed before, has in actuality created a situation of half-openness: although the number of visitors and groups to enter the prison has increased; yet women inmates' access to home leaves or jobs outside the prison etc. did not change in principle. The emergence of half-openness did not challenge the

practical exclusion of Roma women from rewards, privileges, good cells and jobs. Rather, half-openness has led to the emergence of a new category within the inmate world: presentability; which, has in turn impacted in-prison inequalities; most profoundly the position of openly homosexual women. Half-openness has also enabled the emergence of the religious criteria applied as a selection criteria for model prisoners. The introduction of these criteria suggests that the importance of inmate categories and boundaries has certainly not decreased despite fundamental changes in the prison system. The internal categories and structures within the prison were able to integrate new principles such as half-openness and translated these into new boundaries and categories, which in turn reinforced inequalities between groups of inmates – which one might argue, was certainly not the original intention when the new principle of openness was imagined in the early 1990ies.[169]

Changing legislation on the operation of prisons, or introducing legislation on non-discrimination either did not impact the practical exclusion of Roma women and openly homosexual women from most rewards, privileges, good jobs or cells etc. This is partly because prison reform did not reach most aspects of the internal operations of prison, thus it has not challenged internal boundaries etc.; and partly because the exclusion of categories of women is not considered to be discrimination. Most people in prison staff do not believe that there is anything discriminatory in these internal operations: they see differentiation among inmates justified and necessary; and believe that Roma women must be first instructed about hygiene or the need to work. Ironically, while the regulation on strict data protection has in fact gained an interpretation in the prison system which has completely disabled discussion about the number - and therefore, the position - of Roma inmates in prison by 2009 and top prison administrators are reluctant to enter discussions about estimates as they fear accusations about racism; ironically, at the same time discriminatory practices are

[169] This does not mean that opening up has not brought significant changes in inmates' treatment by staff; in the public overview over prisons; etc. Half-openness has arguably reduced the likelihood of torture or other major human rights violations, and gave some power to some women through enabling access to the media and to civil society. (Nevertheless, half-openness did not result in stopping sexual harassment by doctor M up until 2005; probably because prostitution was such an institutionalized part of the prison's life that it was not considered to be a problem.) The above point asserts that these changes have not eliminated Kalocsa's production of inequalities.

institutionalized in the prison's internal operations and prison staff continues to volunteer stereotypical discussions about Roma women criminals.

Arguably, the brief history of reform in the mid 1990ies, the resulting half-openness and its integration into disciplinary and inequality structures of Kalocsa demonstrates what Pat Carlen refers to as "carceral clawback": the prison system's remarkable ability to deconstruct various reform attempts and reconstruct these in such a way that they ultimately reinforce and legitimize the prison (Carlen 2002). In fact, I have argued that the (re)production of inequalities has played a key role in the carceral clawback in this particular case; and that half-hearted reforms of ex-authoritarian prison regimes transitioning into unknown territories are likely to reinforce inequalities in the inmate world as old, well-rehearsed stabilizing mechanisms in times of crisis. The capability of the prison system to digest and transform reform principles even during a soft legitimacy crisis is remarkable. This is not a triumphant and powerful institution's success; on the contrary, it is achieved at times when complaints about under-financing, overcrowding, understaffing, public and political neglect, professional fatigue paint a less than glorious picture about the state of the prison service. The study has demonstrated that even a prison system that bleeds from a thousand wounds is perfectly capable of maintaining robust, sophisticated and powerful systems of inequality.

I believe that in prison systems under transition, where reform efforts tend to focus first on basic legislative changes but do not usually touch most details of the internal functioning of prisons and larger questions about what prisons should or should not undertake; the close study of internal inequalities is important and it may reveal massive racism, violence against those at the bottom of the hierarchies, and a range of inequalities. Half-modernized prison systems struggling with legitimacy deficits, the lack of resources and lack of political and public support; are likely to rely on any stabilizing structure and dynamics they can find. I have argued that inmate hierarchies along well-known social inequalities, in particular, categorical inequalities, are excellent and invisible stabilizing tools. This case study has not even started to discuss how in-prison inequality structures could be reduced or eliminated: it has hopefully managed to draw attention to the necessity of studying them. In addition, I argued that in case of deeply institutionalized inequalities such as in Kalocsa, reducing core inequalities may not be possible without revisiting the mission and goals of the prison system.

Throughout the analysis I avoided discussing the Kalocsa case in relation to one of the most powerful discourses and explanatory frameworks in the literature today: the spread or the failure of neoliberalism and neoliberal penality[170]. I will argue below that depending on one's theoretical sympathies and aspirations, the Kalocsa case could have been presented as supporting either the thesis that neoliberal penality is spreading in Hungarians prisons; or its opposite, pointing out its obvious failure – and yet neither presentation would have brought us closer to understanding what is actually happening inside Kalocsa. This is of course not to suggest that neoliberalism has had no impact on criminal justice policies and practices in Hungary; but to argue that concepts about neoliberalism in penality may or may not be important explanatory factors in a particular context or analysis. In understanding the internal operations and the production of inequalities of the Kalocsa prison, I will argue, they are not particularly useful.

Yet, one could have pointed out that the complete exclusion of poor, uneducated Roma women from the labor-market and their locking up in large numbers in Kalocsa for petty crimes; along with the massive exploitation of women's prison labor are the clearest examples for the triumph of neoliberal penal thought (Wacquant 2009). However, this account would have had difficulties in explaining why the locking up of poor uneducated Roma women in large numbers seems to have a history that goes back to the times prior to the transition to market economy; or that the prison labor exploitation is produced by state-owned companies; or the complete absence of the typically neoliberal-identified professional practices and methods in the prison (e.g. the notion of risk/ risk assessment, behavioral therapies, new managerialism, prisoners as entrepreneurs etc.) despite the triumph of market liberalism twenty years ago.

[170] The literature lists several well-known and acknowledged difficulties in discussing recent penal policies and trends as the result of neoliberal penality. One of the admitted difficulties is the lack of clarity in the literature on what practices, tools and methodologies constitute neoliberal; hence here I only refer to those – e.g. individual responsibility, risk assessment etc. – that are at the very core of the expression (O'Malley 1999, 2009). A second difficulty is that in many countries a very large number of very different practices coexist at the same time; some neoliberal, others reintegration-oriented etc (Garland 2001). Lastly, a given penal practice can be interpreted as neoliberal or as neo-conservative; according to Pat O'Malley, a large number of practices can be interpreted as either neoliberal or neo-conservative; e.g. restitution (O'Malley 2009). Despite these recognitions, even key authors continue to use 'neoliberal penality' in a very broad sense (Wacquant 2009).

On the other hand, presenting Kalocsa as the example for the failure of neoliberal governance (Haney 2008) would be also misleading. Naturally, when compared to a women's prison in the U.S. or possibly in the U.K. or Canada, there are certainly less examples for the use of neoliberal-associated methods and tools in Kalocsa. However, I believe this is not because Kalocsa or the Hungarian prison system at large has resisted the introduction of any of these methods; nor because it has a powerful other framework inherited from state socialism that focuses on reintegration.

I believe that no government or prison administration has attempted to reform Kalocsa's or other prisons' processing system of inmates in the past two decades and thus no effort was invested into spreading and creating demand for any of these neoliberal penal technologies. For sure, market-led technologies have spread and multiplied outside the prison walls; e.g. the huge increase in security business was mentioned before; however, technologies to focus on the individual offenders did not reach prisons so far.

The case study has supported the argument that the previous state-socialist ideology about what prisons should do is not more than a decomposing and obsolete framework - which at the same time, achieves other organizing work. While previous research has demonstrated that Kalocsa's processing system failed to prepare women for reintegration (Tóth, Zentai and Krizsán 2005); I have argued here that staff members are aware of that, yet they continue to pay lip-service to what has remained from state-socialist ideas. This collapsing framework constitutes the only reference framework there is today, and as I argued in previous chapters, it provides justification for the prisons' processing system in place. The main function of prison work is the maintenance of discipline, including the production of related inmate hierarchies as well. Responsibilizing Roma inmates and Roma communities for crime and recidivism, and the need for disciplining and normalizing of Roma women criminals, the main clients of the institution for the past few decades, is particularly useful in providing justification again and again for the obsolete processing system to stay in place. The talk about teaching Roma women how to clean oneself and work – which is being presented as rehabilitative (!) - serves as a main justification for their own processing system; it lacks any consideration of the collective good etc., and is apparently not in contradiction with pushing all responsibility for crime and recidivism to the individual and the Roma community.

It is extremely difficult to anticipate future penal policy shifts in general (Garland 2001; O'Malley 2009) and certainly in countries in - or recently after - significant political transitions. However, Pat O'Malley's arguments about re-examining recent trends as potentially neo-conservative policies rather than as neo-liberal only (O'Malley 2009); may provide a good starting point for anticipating shifts in penal policies in Hungary and possibly in other countries of Central and Eastern Europe[171]. This research concludes with a call for more bottom-up investigation into prisons, inequalities in prisons in Central and Eastern Europe and elsewhere, and the mechanisms of carceral clawback that prison systems may undertake after initial periods of partial reform. This may help better understand and challenge the dangerous combination of institutional racism, weak and populist governments and neo-conservative penal trends that prisoners in some countries of transition may have to face.

[171] There are several reasons for arguing that if one approach needs to be identified for the study of penal policy shifts in Hungary, it should be neo-conservatism. First of all, the current emphasis within prisons on strict discipline, punishment, and work ethics; and punitive laws inherited in Hungary is already close to a neo-conservative approach to punishment. Furthermore, both public opinion as well political parties' focus on law-and-order and the protection of values and property etc. warrant continued emphasis on punitive laws and sentences. While governments have more or less accepted that they can not do much against the triumph of market capitalism in its unregulated form, and that they are not able to maintain the "excessive" social spending inherited; yet the expectation to control crime and demonstrate that the state still has some power, is pushing governments towards strict punitive penal policies. To some extent the co-existence of very different solutions to crime control and prevention documented in the U.S., in the U.K. is emerging here as well – at least inasmuch as certain neoliberal solutions will find their markets here as well; and inasmuch as certain alternatives to imprisonment e.g. restorative justice may appeal to a neo-conservative logic as well – I expect that imprisonment will continue to rise, new prisons will be built, and prisons will continue to accommodate large numbers of Roma and poor people who will be duly processed, again and again.

APPENDIX

Additional information is provided below about the women whose quotations are included in the empirical chapters. The additional information may help to contextualize some of the quotations; however it still provides limited information in order not to reveal the actual identity of the women.

Acam	Acam is in her late twenties. She is a Roma woman imprisoned for petty crime together with other family members. She works and lives in a regular cell.
Aci	Aci was 40 years old at the time of the first interviews. Aci has mid-level education. She has 4 children below 18 and at least another grown-up child. Aci is an ethnic Hungarian woman, sentenced to several years in a high-security prison. Ace works in the prison and lives in a selected/ high-quality cell.
Adnilem	Adnilem is an ethnic Hungarian woman in her early thirties, sentenced for a few years for white-collar crime. Adnilem is relatively well-educated. Her child is with her mother; Adnilem's main motivation in prison is to meet them regularly. Adnilem has one of the best jobs in prison and lives in a selected cell.
Aeb	Aeb is 28 years old; she is relatively well-educated and a Roma woman. She does not have children, and her boyfriend broke up with her after her imprisonment. It's her first time in prison. Aeb works in the prison and lives in a regular cell.
Ailuj	Ailuj is 46 years old and comes from a small village and from deep poverty. She is a Roma woman sentenced for petty crime. It's not her first time in prison. Ailuj has very little formal education; she works and studies in prison. Her children are already grown-ups.
Akinom	Akinom is 26 years old and a Roma woman with some degree of education. Her small child is being taken care by close relatives.

Akiram	Akiram is 37 years old, an ethnic Hungarian woman with a grown-up son and other family members far away from Kalocsa. Akiram has a basic level of education. She works in prison and lives in a regular cell.
Andap	Andap is in her early thirties. She is a Roma woman; and she has a basic level of education. She works in prison and lives in a regular cell. Andap has one child, who is now being taken care by her mother.
Anide	Anide is 29 years old and an ethnic Hungarian woman with a very long sentence in Kalocsa. She does not work; she is considered to be mentally unstable.
Aron	Aron is in her late twenties, she is a Roma woman imprisoned for petty crime. She has a basic level of education. She does not have children. She works in prison and lives in a regular cell.
Ascna	Ascna is an ethnic Hungarian woman in her thirties, with a basic degree of education. Her two children stayed with their father. Ascna has a regular job in prison.
Ave	Ave is 25 years and has a medium level of education. She is an ethnic Hungarian woman, sentenced for a relatively short sentence. She has a very good job in prison and lives in a good cell.
Banoli	Banoli is a 44 year old Roma woman imprisoned for petty crime. She has six children, who are taken care of by relatives. Banoli works in prison. She is very worried about her relatives' ability to support and keep all of her children.
Bonnie	Bonnie is in her late twenties, she is an ethnic Hungarian woman imprisoned for a series of robberies committed with her boyfriend. She has a basic level of education. Bonnie is a media star prisoner. She lives in a selected cell. She does regular work.
Idlis	Idlis is 28 years old and an ethnic Hungarian woman with a basic level of education. Her two children are taken care of by relatives. Idlis works in prison and lives in a regular cell.

Iga	Iga is a 46 years old Roma woman, imprisoned for a lengthy sentence. She is a first-time offender. Her three children are with her mother. Iga works in a regular job and lives in a regular cell.
Ikin	Ikin is a 28 years old Roma woman imprisoned with a very long sentence. She refuses to work in prison. Ikin has a basic level of education. Ikin has no children.
Ilguam	Ilguam is a 28 years old Roma woman imprisoned with a very long sentence. She refuses to work in prison. Ilguam has a basic level of education. Ilguam's two children are in state care.
Imit	Imit is 35 years old, an ethnic Hungarian woman with a medium level of education. She is imprisoned for white collar crime. Imit has one of the best jobs in prison and lives in a good cell. She has a child who is in state care after the death of relatives who were taking care of him.
Iner	Iner is 38 years old, an ethnic Hungarian woman with a very long prison sentence. Iner is a well-educated woman, and a first-time offender. Iner has three children. She has an elite job and lives in a good cell.
Iszreb	Iszrem is 35 years old. She is a Roma woman and has two children, who are with relatives. Iszreb has a regular job in the prison and lives in the cell-house.
Iszrem	Iszrem is in her fourties, and has a basic level of education. She is an ethnic Hungarian woman. Her two children are in state care. Iszrem has a good job and lives in a selected cell.
Iszusz	Iszusz is 44 years old, has a basic level of education, and works in a good job. She is an ethnic Hungarian woman.
Iszusziralk	Iszusziralk is in her late thirties. She has three children, two of whom are in state care; the third child is with her father. Iszusziralk is imprisoned for petty crime. She is an ethnic Hungarian woman, who works in a standard job and lives in a standard cell.
Itak	Itak is 45 years old, and has 4 children, some of whom are in

	state care. Itak is a Roma woman, imprisoned for a petty crime. She has been imprisoned several times for similar small offenses.
Izig	Auntie Izig is above 80, although no-one knows her real age. She is a regular client of Kalocsa, always imprisoned for theft. She is an ethnic Hungarian woman. Auntie Izig works in a regular job but lives in a good cell. She is a media star prisoner.
Kep	Kep is 36 years old, imprisoned for a very long sentence. She is a relatively well-educated ethnic Hungarian woman. Kep has three children, her husband raises them. For some time Kep refused to work but eventually was convinced and got very good jobs in prison. She lives in a regular cell.
Kiralk	Kiralk is 43 years old, imprisoned for a very long sentence, and a first-time offender. Her family has fallen apart and her two teenage/ young adult children are on their own. Kiralk works in prison in an elite job but lives in a regular cell.
Nilatak	Nilatak is in her fourties. She is an ethnic Hungarian woman imprisoned for white collar crime. She has a medium level of education. He children are with relatives. Nilatak has a good job and stays in a good cell in prison.
Naidni	Naidni is 45 years old, a Roma woman imprisoned several times, for lengthy sentences. Naidni works and lives in a regular cell.
Ogud	Ogud is 42 years old, a Roma woman imprisoned with a very long sentence. Ogud works in a regular job and lives in a regular cell. She has been in prison for several times.
Rikiralk	Rikiralk is in her late fourties. She is homeless and has no family. Rikiralk works in prison and lives in a regular cell. She is a Roma woman, imprisoned several times for petty crimes. Rikiralk has very little formal education.
Sakraf	Sakraf is 35 years old, has a basic level of education. She in an ethnic Hungarian woman imprisoned with a lengthy sentence. She has an elite job and lives in a good cell. She has two

	children who are now with her ex-husband.
Tebeszre	Tebeszre is in her early thirties; she in an ethnic Hungarian woman with a basic degree of education. She has a regular job in prison and lives in a selected cell. Her two children are with her mother.
Tigram	Tigram is 29 years old, is a Roma woman and is relatively well-educated. Tigram has three children who are with her ex-husband now. Tigram works in prison and lives in a regular cell. She has been to prison several times.

REFERENCES

Acker, Joan. 1990. "Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: The Theory of Gendered Organizations." *Gender and Society*, 4 (2):139-158.

------. 1998. "The Future of 'Gender and Organizations': Connections and Boundaries." *Gender, Work and Organization* 5 (4):195-206.

------. 2006. *Class Questions, Feminist Answers*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.

------. 2005. "Domestic Enemies and Carceral Circles: African Women and Criminalization in Italy." in *Global Lockdown – Race, Gender and the Prison-Industrial Complex*, edited by J. Sudbury. New York: Routledge.

Arnold, Helen. 2005. "The effects of prison work" in *The Effects of Imprisonment*, edited by A. Liebling and S. Maruna. Portland: Willan Publishing.

Astarita, Laura, Patrizio Gonnella, and Susanna Mairetti. 2005. "National Report Italy." in *Women, Integration and Prison*, edited by M. Cruells, N. Igarada. Barcelona: Auera Editores.

Babusik, Ferenc. 2004. *A szegénység csapdájában (In the trap of poverty)*. Budapest: Delphoi Consulting.

------. 2009. "Legitimacy, Statistics and What Are We (Not) Allowed to Know about the Roma." Budapest: European Roma Rights Centre. Retrieved August 27, 2009 (http://www.errc.org/cikk.php?cikk=1937)

Baca Zinn, Maxine and Bonnie Thornton Hill. 1996."Theorizing Difference from Multiracial Feminism." *Feminist Studies* 22(2):321-331.

Beck, Ulrich, Anthony Giddens, and Scott Lash. 1994. *Reflexive Modernization*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beckett, Catherine and Bruce Western. 2001. "Governing Social Marginality: Welfare, Incarceration and the Transformation of State Policy." *Punishment and Society*, 43 (3):43-59.

Bertrand, Marie-Andree. 1999. "Incarceration as a gendering strategy." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 14 (1):45-60.

Bosworth, Mary. 1996. "Resistance and Compliance in Women's Prisons: Towards a Critique of Legitimacy." *Critical Crimonology* 7:5-19.

------. 1999. *Engendering Resistance: Agency and Power in Women's Prisons.* Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

Bosworth, Mary and Eamonn Carrabine. 2001. "Reassessing Resistance: Race, Gender and Sexuality in Prison." *Punishment and Society* 3:501-515.

Bosworth, Mary and Jeanne Flavin. 2007. "Race, Control, Punishment – From Colonialism to the Global War on Crime" in *Race, Gender and Punishment*, edited by M. Bosworth and J. Flavin. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.

Britton, Dana, 1997. "Gendered organizational logic: policy and practice in men's and women's prisons." *Gender and Society* 11 (6):796-818.

------. 1999. "Cat Fights and Gang Fights: Preference for Work in a Male-Dominated Organization." *Sociological Quarterly* 40:455-474.

------. ed, 2005. *Gender and Prisons*, Aldershot, UK: Ashgate.

BVOP 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008. (Yearbooks of the National Prison Authority) Retrieved January 6, 2010 (http://www.bvop.hu/?mid=71&lang=hu).

Cace, Sorin and Cristian Lazar. 2003. "*Discrimination against Roma in Criminal Justice and Prison Systems in Romania.*" Bucharest: PRI Romania.

Carbone-Lopéz, Kristin C. and Candace Kruttschnitt. 2003. “Assessing the Racial Climate in Women’s Institutions in the Context of Penal Reform.” *Women & Criminal Justice* 15(1): 55-79.

Carlen, Pat. 1988. *Women, Crime and Poverty*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

------. 2001. “Death and the Triumph of Governance? Lessons from the Scottish women’s prison.” *Punishment and Society* 3(4):459-472.

------. 2002a. “Carceral Clawback.” *Punishment and Society* 4:115-121.

------. 2002b. “Controlling Measures: The Repackaging of Common-Sense Opposition to Women’s Imprisonment in England and Canada.” *Criminal Justice* 2(2):155-172.

------. “Reforming Women’s Imprisonment: Models of Change and Cross-National Issues.” Research paper presented at ERSC Future Governance Workshop, December 9-10, 2003. Vienna.

Carlen, Pat and Anne Worrall. 2004. *Analysing Women’s Imprisonment.* Devon: Willan Publishing.

Carlen, Pat and Anne Worral. 2005. “National Report England and Wales.” in *Women, Integration and Prison*, edited by M. Cruells and N. Igarada. Barceloma: Auera Editores.

Carlen, Pat. 2005. “Imprisonment and the penal body politic: the cancer of disciplinary governance. in *The Effects of Imprisonment*, edited by A. Liebling and S. Maruna. Portland: Willan Publishing.

Csepeli, György, Antal Örkény, and Mária Székelyi. 1997. “Rendőrök és romák. Szertelen módszerek. A megkülönböztetésmentes viselkedés lehetőségei és

akadályai.” Pp. 130-173 in *Szöveggyűjtemény a kisebbségi ügyek rendőrségi kezelésének tanulmányozásához,* edited by K. Csányi. Budapest: COLPI.

Csepeli, György, Zoltán Fábián, and Endre Sik. 1998. “Xenofóbia és a cigányságról alkotott vélemények.” Pp. 458-483 in *Társadalmi Riport 1998*. Budapest: TÁRKI.

Csorba, József, Lilla Farkas, and Veronika Lőrincz. 2002. ”A törvény előtti egyenlőség elve a büntetőeljárásban.” *Fundamentum*, 1:125-136.

Chesney-Lind, Meda. 2006. “Patriarchy, Crime, and Justice: Feminist Criminology in an Era of Backlash.” *Feminist Criminology* 6 (1):6-26.

Clemmer, Donald.[1940] 1987. *The Prison Community*. Harcourt: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

------. 1950. “Observations on Imprisonment as a Source of Criminality.” *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology (1931-1951)* 41(3):311-319.

Cockburn, Cynthia. 1994. *In the Way of Women: Men’s Resistance to Sex Equality in Organizations*, London: Macmillan.

Combessie, Philippe. 2002. “Making the Carceral Boundary - Penal Stigma in the Long Shadow of the Prison.” *Ethnography* 3(4):535-555.

Combessie, Philippe, Sylvie Contrepois, and Natalie Duburg. 2005. “National Report France” in *Women, Integration and Prison,* edited by M. Cruells and N. Igarada. Barcelona: Auera Editores.

Comfort, Megan, L. 2002. “’Papa’s house’ – The Prison as Domestic and Social Satellite.” *Ethnography* 3(4):467-499.

Crewe, Ben. 2005. “Codes and Conventions: the terms and conditions of contemporary inmate values.” in *The Effects of Imprisonment*, edited by A. Liebling and S. Maruna. Portland: Willan Publishing.

Cruells, Marta, and Noelia Igarada, eds. 2005. *Women, Integration and Prison*. Barcelona: Auera Editores.

Da Cunha, Manuela I.P. 2005. "From Neighborhood to Prison: Women and the War on Drugs in Portugal." in *Global Lockdown – Race, Gender and the Prison-Industrial Complex,* edited by J. Sudbury. New York: Routledge.

Davis, Angela Y. 2001. "Race, Gender and Prison History: From the Convict Lease System to the Supermax Prison.", in *Prison Masculinities,* edited by D. Sabo, T.A. Kupers and W. London. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Davis, Angela, and Gina Dent. 2001. "Prison as a Border: A Conversation on Gender, Globalization, and Punishment." *Signs*, 26(4):1235-1241.

Davis, Angela Y. 2003. *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press.

De Jonge, Gerard. 1999. "Still 'Slaves of the State': Prison Labour and International Law." Pp. 313-334. in *Prison Labour: Salvation or Slavery? International Perspectives*, edited by D. Van Zyl Smit and D. Frieder. Dartmouth: Ashgate.

Devlin, Angela. 1998. "Invisible Women: What's Wrong with Women's Prisons?." Winchester UK: Waterside Press.

Diaz-Cotto, Juanita. 2005. "Latinas and the War on Drugs in the United States, Latin America and Europe." in *Global Lockdown – Race, Gender and the Prison-Industrial Complex,* edited by J. Sudbury. New York: Routledge.

------. 2006. *Chicana Lives and Criminal Justice*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Durkheim, Emile. 1964. *The Division of Labour in Society*, New York: MacMillan.

Einhorn, Barbara. 1993. *Cindarella Goes to Market: Citizenship, Gender, and Women's Movements in East Central Europe.* London: Verso.

England, Paula. 1992. *Comparable worth: theories and evidence*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

------. 2005. "Gender Inequality in Labor Markets: The Role of Motherhood and Segregation." *Social Politics* 12(2):264-288.

Enos, Sandra. 2001. *Mothering from the Inside*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

EUICS report. 2005. "The Burden of Crime in the EU: A Comparative Analysis of the European Crime and Safety Survey (EU ICS)"

Faith, Karlene. 1993. *Unruly Women – The Politics of Confinement and Resistance*. Vancouver: Press Gang Publishers.

Feagin, Joe R. and Douglas Lee Eckberg. 1980. "Discrimination: Motivation, Action, Effects and Context" *Annual Review of Sociology* 6:1-20.

Feagin, Joe R. 2001. "Social Justice and Sociology: Agendas for the Twenty-First Century: Presidential Address." *Annual Sociological Review* 66(1):1-20.

Fehér, Lenke and Katalin Parti. 2002. "Nők a börtönben" (Women in prison). *Kriminológiai Tanulmányok* 39.

Fenstermaker, Sarah and Candace West. 2002. *Doing Gender, Doing Difference – Inequality, Power and Institutional Change*. New York: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish*. London: Allan Lane.

------. 1980. *Power/ Knowledge – Selected Interviews and Other Writings of 1972-1977 (edited by Colin Gordon*). New York: Pantheon Books.

------. 1991. "Governmentality." in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. edited by G. Burchell et al. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Freedman, Estelle B. 1996. “The prison lesbian: race, class, and the construction of the aggressive female homosexual, 1915-1965.” *Feminist Studies* 22(2):1-14.

Garland, David, ed. 2001a. *Mass Imprisonment: Social Causes and Consequences*. London: Sage.

------. 2001b. *The Culture of Control*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gartner, Rosemary and Candace Kruttschnitt. 2004. “A Brief History of Doing Time: The California Institution for Women in the 1960s and the 1990s.” *Law and Society Review* 38:267-304.

Giddens, Anthony. 1990. *The Consequences of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Goffman, Erving. 1958. *Stigma, Notes on the Social Management on Spoiled Identity*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

------. *1961. Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates*. London, Penguin.

Goldston, James. 2001. “Race and Ethnic Data: A Missing Resource in the Fight against Discrimination.” in *Ethnic Monitoring and Data Protection The European Context,* edited by A. Krizsan. Budapest: Central European University-INDOK.

Hablicsek, László. 2007. “Kísérleti számítások a roma lakosság területi jellemzőinek alakulására és 2021-ig történő előrebecslésére” (Experimental calculations for the estimation of the Roma population’s geographical features until 2021). *Demográfia* 41(1):7-54.

Haney, Lynne. 1996. “Homeboys, Babies, Men in Suits: the State and the Reproduction of Male Dominance.” *American Sociological Review,* 61:759-778.

------. 2000. “Feminist State Theory: Applications to Jurisprudence, Criminology, and the Welfare State.” *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26:641-666.

------. 2002. *Inventing the Needy: Gender and the Politics of Welfare in Hungary*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

------. 2004. “Gender, Welfare and States of Punishment.” *Social Politics*, 11(3):1- 39.

------. 2008. “Competing Empowerments: Gender and Neoliberal Punishment in the East and West.” in *The Global Empowerment of Women*, edited by C. Ellison. New York: Routledge.

Hannah-Moffat, Kelly. 2002. *Punishment in Disguise: Penal Governance and Federal Imprisonment of Women in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Heffernan, Esther. 1972. *Making it in Prison: the Square, the Cool and the Life*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Heidensohn, Francis M. 1995. *Women and Crime*. New York: New York University Press.

Holda, Zbigniew. 1999. ”Poland.” Pp. 197-210. in *Prison Labour: Salvation or Slavery? International Perspectives*, edited by D. Van Zyl Smit and D. Frieder. Dartmouth: Ashgate.

Harding, Sandra. 1986. *Feminism and Methodology*. Bloomington: India University Press.

Hondagneu-Sotelo, Pierrette. 1996. ”Immigrant Women and Paid Domestic Work: Research, Theory and Activism” Pp. 105-122. in *Feminism and Social Change*, edited by H. Gottfried. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

hooks, bell. 1989. *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black* Boston: South End Press.

Howe, Adrian. 1994. *Punish and Critique – Towards a Feminist Analysis of Penality*. London: Routledge.

Human Rights Watch. 1996. *All Too Familiar: Sexual Abuse of Women in U.S. State Prisons*, New York: Human Rights Watch.

Hungarian Helsinki Committee. 2000. *Summary Report of the Prison Monitoring Program*. Budapest: Hungarian Helsinki Committee.

Huszár, László. 1992. ”Szakdolgozat” (Thesis). Unpublished MA thesis. ELTE Szociológia Intézet. Budapest.

------ 1997. ”…és bűnhődés: A magyar börtönlakók szociológiai vizsgálata” (….and punishment: A sociological analysis of Hungarian prisoners). Unpublished Dissertation, Budapest.

Huszár, László and Ferenc Tari, 1997. ”Első lépés: a női fogvatartottak helyzete napjainkban” (First steps: the situation of women inmates). *Börtönügyi Szemle* 3:19-26.

Irwin, John and Donald R. Cressey. 1962. ”Thieves, Convicts and the Inmate Culture.” *Social Problems* 10(2):142-155.

Iván, Júlia, András Kádár, Zsófia Moldova, Nóra Novoszádek and Balázs Tóth. ”Critical Account of the Criminal Justice System, Hungary: Towards Effective Criminal Defence Rights.”, paper presented November 27-28, 2008., retrieved Agust 27, 2009 (www.helsinki.hu)

Jacobs, James B. 1999. ”United States of America: Prison Labour: A Tale of Two Penologies.”, Pp. 269-280. in *Prison Labour: Salvation or Slavery? International Perspectives,* edited by D. Van Zyl Smit and D. Frieder. Dartmouth: Ashgate.

Juhász, Lászlóné. 1988. ”Új módszerek az elítélt nők nevelésében Kalocsán” (New methods in the education of women prisoners). *Módszertani Füzetek* 4:13-20. Budapest: Igazságügyi Minisztérium.

Kádár, András and Ferenc Kőszeg, eds. 2002. *Double Standard – Prison conditions in Hungary*. Budapest: Magyar Helsinki Bizottság.

Kádár, András. 2004. *A vétkesség vélelme (Presumption of Guilt).* Budapest: Magyar Helsinki Bizottság.

Kádár, András, Júlia Körner, Zsófia Moldova and Balázs Tóth. 2008. *Control(led) Group-Final Report on the Strategies for effective Police stop and Search (STEPSS) Project*. Budapest: Hungarian Helsinki Committee.

Kócze, Angéla, 2009.”Missing Intersectionality: Race/Ethnicity, Gender and Class in Current Research and Policies on Romani Women in Europe.” unpublished research paper, Budapest.

Kruttschnitt, Candace, Rosemary Gartner, and Amy Miller. 2000. “Doing Her Own Time? Women’s Responses to Prison in the Contect of the Old and the New Penology.” *Criminology* 38:681-717.

Kruttschnitt, Candace and Rosemary Gartner. 2003. “Women’s Imprisonment.” *Crime and Justice* 30:1-81.

Kruttschnitt, Candace. 2005. “The politics of confinement: women’s imprisonment in California and the UK.” in *The Effects of Imprisonment,* edited by A. Liebling and S. Maruna. Portland: Willan Publishing.

Ladányi, János, and Iván Szelényi. 2004. *A kirekesztettség változó formái (The changing forms of exclusion).* Budapest: Napvilág Kiadó.

Laslett, Barbara. 2000. “The Poverty of (Monocausal) Theory: A Comment on Charles Tilly's Durable Inequality.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42(2): 475-481.

Liebling, Alison, Grant Muir, Gerry Rose and Anthony Bottoms. 1999. *Incentives and Earned Privileges for Prisoners – an Evaluation.* Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate Research Findings no. 87, UK. London: Home Office.

Liebling, Alison, Linda Durie, Annick Stiles, and Sarah Tail. 2005. ”Revisiting prison suicide: the role of fairness and distress.” in *The Effects of Imprisonment,* edited by A. Liebling and S. Maruna. Portland: Willan Publishing.

Liebling, Alison. 2005. *Prisons and Their Moral Performance – A Study of Values, Quality and Prison Life,* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lőrincz, József. 2003. ”Büntetőpolitika és büntetés-végrehajtás 1970 és 2002 között” (Criminal justice policy and penitentiary practice between 1970 and 2002). *Jogelméleti Szemle,* 4:112-132.

Maguire, Patricia. 2001. ”Uneven ground: Feminisms and Action Research” Pp. 59-69. in *Handbook of Action Research,* edited by P. Reason, and H. Bradbury. London: Sage.

Maier, Mark. 1999. ”On the Gendered Substructure of Organization”, Pp. 69-93., in: *Handbook of Gender and Work,* edited by Powell, Gary N. London: Sage.

Mann, Michael. 1999. “The History of all Previous Society is the History of Durable Dichotomies.“ *Contemporary Sociology* 28(1):29-30.

Martin, Patricia Yancey. 2003. ””Said and Done” versus ”Saying and Doing”: Gendering Practices, Practicing Gender at Work.” *Gender and Society* 17(3):342-366.

Matthews, Roger and Peter Francis eds. 1996. *Prisons 2000: an International Perspective on the Current State and Future of Imprisonment.* London: MacMillan.

Mauer, Marc. 2001. "The Causes and Consequences of Prison Growth in the United States." *Punishment and Society* 3(1):9-20.

McCorkle, Jill. 2003. "Embodied Surveillance and the Gendering of Punishment." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 32(1):41-76.

------ 2004."From Good (White) Girls to Bad (Black) Women: The Racial Order of the Gendered Organization", paper presented by the author at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association on August 14, 2004.

Medián. 2005. Survey results retrieved August 27, 2009 (http://www.median.hu/object.238a5a0a-b2e7-4e2e-9ff5-5819d1493fa0.ivy).

Moran, Dominique, Judith Pallot and Laura Piacentini. 2009. "Lipstick, lace and longing: construction of femininity inside a Russian prison." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 27:700-720.

Moldova, György, 2007. *Szabadíts meg a gonosztól – riport a börtönökről (Save me from the evil: riport about prisons).* Budapest: Urbis.

Morash, Merry and Pamela J. Schram. 2002. *The Prison Experience – Special Issues of Women in Prison.* Prospect Heights: Waveland Press.

Morvai, Krisztina. 1998. *Terror a családban – a feleségbántalmazás és a jog* (Terror in the family – wife battering and law). Budapest: Kossuth Kiadó.

Moss Kanter, Rosabeth. 1977. *Men and Women of the Corporation.* New York: Basic Books.

Nagy, Ferenc. 1999. ”Hungary.” Pp. 105-114. in *Prison Labour: Salvation or Slavery? International Perspectives*, edited by D. Van Zyl Smit and D. Frieder. Dartmouth: Ashgate.

National Committee for Crime Prevention. 2009. Research data retrieved August 27, 2009 (http://www.bunmegelozes.hu/index.html?pid=1719#sdfootnote4sym).

OKRI. 2009. “Állásfoglalás a magyarországi bűnözési helyzetről, az elkövetők etnikai hovatartozásának nyilvántartásáról és a „cigánybűnözésről” (Statement about the crime in Hungary, the recording of ethnic data and about “gipsycriminality”). retrieved January 6, 2010. (http://www.okri.hu/content/blogcategory/26/52/)

O’Malley, Pat. 1999. ”Volatile and Contradictory Punishment.” *Theoretical Criminology*, 3(2):175-196.

------ 2009. ”Risk, Crime and Prudentialism Revisited.” The University of Sydney Legal Studies Research Paper no.9/ 122. Sydney: University of Sydney Legal Studies.

Owen, Barbara. 1998. *In the Mix.* Albany: State University of New York Press.

Pallot, Judith. 2007. ”Gde muzh, tam zhena (where the husband is, so is the wife): space and gender in post-Soviet patterns of penality.” *Environment and Planning A* 39:570-589.

Pap, András László, and Bori Simonovits. 2006. “Hátrányos megkülönböztetés a rendőri igazoltatásban – egy vizsgálat eredményei” (Discrimination in police stops – results of a survey). *Magyar Rendészet* 4:94–137.

Pierce, Jennifer L. 1995. *Gender trials: Emotional Lives in Contemporary Law Firms.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Póczik, Szilveszter. 1999. “Magyar és cigány bűnelkövetők a börtönben – egy kutatás tapasztalatai” (Hungarian and Gipsy offenders in the prison – experiences of a research). unpublished research report, Budapest: OKRI.

Powell, Gary N. and Anthony D. Butterfield. 1997.“Effect of race on promotions to top management in a federal department.” *Academy of Management Journal* 40(1):112-128.

Powell, Gary N. ed. 1999. *Handbook of Gender and Work*. London: Sage.

Proyecto Barani. 2001. *Mujeres Gitanas y Sistema Penal. (Gipsy Women and the Penal System).* Madrid: Ediciones Metyel.

Rafter, Nicole Hahn. 1983. “Prisons for Women 1790-1980.” *Crime and Justice,* 5: 129-181.

------ 1985.”Gender, Prisons and Prison History.” *Social Science History,* 9(3):233-247.

Renzetti, Claire and Lynne Goodstein eds. 2001. *Women, Crime and Criminal Justice: Original Feminist Readings,* Los Angeles: Roxbury.

Rédai, Dorottya, Réka Sáfrány, and Herta Tóth. 2007. ”Családon Belüli Erőszak és Bűnelkövetés” (Domestic Violence and Crime), *Ezredvég* 17(4):75-89 and 17(2):81-93.

Rhodes, Lorna, A. 2001. “Towards an Anthropology of Prisons.”*Annual Review of Anthropology* 30:65-83.

------ 2002. “Psychopathy and the Face of Control in Supermax.” *Ethnography* 3(4):442-466.

------. “Changing the Subject: Conversation in Supermax.” *Cultural Anthropology* 20(3):388-411.

Rierden, Andi. 1997. *The Farm: Life Inside a Women's Prison.* Amherst: University of Massachusets Press.

Rock, Paul. 1996. *Reconstructing a Women's Prison: the Holloway Redevelopment Project 1968-1988.* Oxford: Clarendon.

Roos, Patricia A. 1999. "Revisiting Inequality."*Contemporary Sociology* 28(1):26-29.

Rusche, Georg, and Otto Kirchheimer. [1939] 2003. *Punishment and Social Structure*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.

Smandych, Russell ed. 1999. *Governable Places – Readings on Governmentality and Crime Control*. Dartmouth: Ashgate.

Spéder Zsolt. 2002. *A szegénység változó arcai* (The Changing Faces of Poverty). Budapest: Századvég.

Stroh, K. Linda, and Anne H. Reilly. 1999. "Gender and Careers – Present Experiences and Emerging Trends." Pp. 307-324. in *Handbook of Gender and Work*,, edited by G.N. Powell. London: Sage.

Sudbury, Julia. 2005. ""Mules","Yardies" and Other Folk Devils: Mapping Cross-Border Imprisonment in Britain." in *Global Lockdown – Race, Gender and the Prison-Industrial Complex*, edited by J. Sudbury. New York: Routledge.

Sutton, John R. 2000. "Imprisonment and Social Classification in Five Common-Law Democracies 1955-1985." *The American Journal of Sociology* 106(2):350-386.

Sykes, Gresham. 1956a. "Men, Merchants, and Toughs: A Study of Reactions to Imprisonment." *Social Problems*, 4(2):130-138.

------. 1956b. "The Corruption of Authority and Rehabilitation." *Social Forces* 34(3): 257-262.

Tilly, Charles. 1998. *Durable Inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

------. 2000a. "Errors, Durable and Otherwise." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42(2):487-493.

------. 2000b. "Relational Studies of Inequality." *Contemporary Sociology* 29(6):782-785.

------. 2003. "Changing Forms of Inequality." *Sociological Theory* 21(1):31-36.

Toch, Hans. 2005. "Reinventing Prisons." in *The Effects of Imprisonment*, edited by A. Liebling and S. Maruna. Portland: Willan Publishing.

Tóth, Olga. 1999. "Erőszak a családban." (Violence in the family). Research paper by TÁRKI Társadalompolitikai Tanulmányok, Budapest: TÁRKI.

Tóth, Herta, Viola Zentai, and Andrea Krizsán. 2005. "National Report Hungary." in *Women, Integration and Prison*, edited by M. Cruells and N. Igarada. Barcelona: Auera Editores.

Van Zyl Smit, Dirk and Dünkel Frieder eds. 1999. *Prison Labour: Salvation or Slavery? International Perspectives*. Dartmouth: Ashgate.

Wacqaunt, Loic. 1999. "Suitable Enemies: Foreigners and Immigrants in the Prisons of Europe." *Punishment and Society* 1(2):215-222.

------. 2001a. "The Penalisation of Poverty and the Rise of Neo-Liberalism." *European Journal of Criminal Policy and Research* 9(4):401-412.

------. 2001b."Deadly symbiosis – when ghetto and prison meet and mesh." *Punishment and Society* 3(1):95-134.

------. 2002. “The curious eclipse of prison ethnography in the age of mass incarceration.” *Ethnography* 3(4):371-397.

------. 2009. *Punishing the Poor – The Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. London: Duke University Press.

Ward, David and Gene Kassebaum. 2007. *Women’s Prison: Sex and Social Structure*. New Brunswick: Aldine Transaction.

Wright, Erik Olin. 2000. ”Metatheoretical Foundations of Charles Tilly’s Durable Inequality.” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 42(2): 458-474.