

VICTIMS AND OPINIONS

II.

National Institute of Criminology



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Edited by Dr. Ferenc Irk

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Introduction

In the first half of the twentieth century criminologists tried to provide explanations primarily for the acts of offenders. The results of these efforts are nearly a dozen theories and surveys carried out on huge samples. However, in the past two decades the actual and the potential victims have come to the foreground. The change of direction was neither easy nor free of contradictions. The perpetrator of the crime was "at hand" in each survey. This was not true of the victims, who are often not known to the law enforcement authorities. In some cases the general public does not know of them either. This "deficiency" was gaining in importance as the approach focusing on the prevention of crimes first of all, rather than on the punishment of the offenders, was spreading.

Victimological surveys soon led to the observation that crime could be reduced not only by changing the offenders (e.g. by resocialising them or through the cathartic effect of punishment) but also by preparing people in the correct ways of defence, especially those who are most often exposed to attack. In order to do this we need more information not only about those who were declared victims in the legal procedure, but about those who are endangered and about those victims the authorities do not know of. The so-called victim surveys tried to satisfy this demand, which is made now not only by experts of the criminal sciences but by politicians, as well.

Research in this field became intensive at the beginning of the 90s and became standard practice in many countries in the second half of the decade. This process was accelerated as the UN indicated in the so-called Vienna declaration¹ that in order to form an authentic crime prevention concept it is not enough to rely on police data only but the actual number and the characteristics of the victims have to be known as well. The first survey in Hungary that was suitable for international comparison was carried out in the 1980s, by László Korinek. In the second half of the 1990s – mainly on the request of the Ministry of the Interior – many of the researchers of the National Institute of Criminology took part in such research projects or directed them. Some of these were carried out with international cooperation.

The first victim survey on a huge sample was made possible by a grant. Its results will be published in the following. *Volume One* of the report summarizes the results of comprehensive, methodological and general

¹ Vienna Declaration on Crime and Justice: Meeting the Challenges of the Twenty-first Century. A/CONF.187/4/Rev.3, April 2000

writings. Volume Two presents the characteristics of the different victim groups, grouping them partly by the different types of crimes. Looking at the list of the authors, we can see that most of the researchers of the National Institute of Criminology made a contribution under the direction of the project leader. These contributions range from the phrasing of the viewpoints of the tender through the discussion of the techniques of interviewing to the writing of studies. Although all the papers follow the same scheme, which was developed in agreement and cooperation, here the researchers' knowledge, ambition, creativity and methodological skills are manifested in individual achievements.

The reader obviously feels that several things are missing. One of these is especially worth mentioning. None of the studies in the two volumes deal with regional distribution. It is no accident that this very important aspect is neglected. In a future volume – expected to be published around the middle of next year – we would like to focus our attention on this issue. We had to omit the studies describing the role of counties, regions and cities owing to the wealth of content and not because the interviewing was superficial.

Besides the authors whose names are specifically mentioned, several other experts took part in the work. Among the renowned professionals of the expert panel we should specifically mention László Korinek, Imre Kertész, who has unfortunately passed away since then, leaving a void behind him that cannot be filled in this field, and Sándor Erdősi. Among the researchers of the Institute Géza Finszter is to be mentioned in the first place, together with Iván Münnich and Katalin Tamásné Rózsa, both of whom also performed important tasks in several stages of the project. Anna Giricz, Andrea Takács and Eszter Rubicsekne Bene gave vital assistance in shaping the material.

Special thanks are due to the leaders of the Head Prosecution Office, who supervised the technical aspects of the research, including the conformity of the tendering process to the rules and the order of the financial procedures and accounting. Without their active contribution it would not have been possible to implement the programme within the set deadline.

The *first study*² of **Volume One** deals with the preparation for the research and within this the methods of interviewing. Interest on the part of the researchers and lack of information and comparability with similar Hungarian foreign research projects constituted one dimension while the time and the money available constituted the other. Our starting point concerning the size

of the sample was the data from "official" criminal statistics (UPPCS), according to which about 30,000 natural persons are victimised each year in Hungary. Considering the size of the population, this means a 3% involvement rate. Unregistered crimes, that is, latency, definitely increase this figure. The examination we planned was to provide information concerning the rate of this increase. Based on earlier examinations, we supposed that the total number of crimes would very probably not be more than two or three times as much as the number of registered crimes. According to our calculations, if we refer the questions to a one-year period we can expect about 10% rate of involvement. This means 1,000 people with a sample of 10,000, which is a quantity that can be examined well.

It was a separate task to decide which crimes were to be examined and which topics were to be analysed. We also had to decide according to what variables we could regard the sample as representative. The most important limit here was the age of 18. Victims younger than that were not included in our sample – and consequently in our conclusions, either.

The Hungarian Gallup Institute received the commission to carry out the data collection tasks of the public survey for the National Institute of Criminology through a public procurement tender. Altogether 450 questioners took part in the survey, together with 26 instructors. During and after the fieldwork the inspection tasks were performed by the Gallup Institute but we monitored the whole procedure and cooperated with the staff of the Institute. The interviewing complied with the previously established representation criteria. The composition of the interviewees never differed significantly from the planned values.

We can mention the perhaps most marked result at the outset: the population reported twice as many crimes in the survey as they had reported to the authorities.

In order to clarify the insecurity factors (reliability, validity) related to the interviewing, a validity examination took place in the summer of 2004.

An important realisation of the last decade was that it is not enough to deal with victimisation only because *fear and anxiety* of crime is an important part of the sense of security (or rather the lack of security) on the part of the population. It is inconceivable to protect effectively against crimes if the sense of security on the part of the persons and groups exposed to danger is higher than the desirable and also if the unrealistically high level of anxiety makes the people concerned behave in the wrong way. The *second study*³ examines the theoretical issues of this topic. The first important statement in

2 József Kó: The Methodological Results of the Research

3 József Kó: Fear of Crime

the study is that crime is to be interpreted as a function of the control mechanism of society, which includes the laws, the willingness of the population to report crimes to the police, the success of crime detection and law enforcement and the practice of the administration of justice. The norms of criminal justice change in the course of time and follow the public demand with a shorter or longer time delay. Therefore crime can always be interpreted in the context of a given social reality only and there is no absolute concept of crime. At the same time, society cannot be regarded as a uniform entity: it consists of different groups and strata, which have their independent systems of interests and values and their own systems of norms. Although the root of crime is the violation of the norms of criminal law, the different members and groups of society do not necessarily agree in their judgement of it and they certainly have different opinions.

The exploration of the knowledge the population has on crime can take the analysis closer to understanding how people see crime. First, we tried to clarify the situation of the individuals among social problems.

By using open-ended questions we gave an opportunity for the interviewees to freely name the problems they are concerned about the most. We wanted to know to what extent the issue of crime is present in the spontaneous answers. Issues concerning livelihood and the economy were mentioned – in different wording – among the first five most often mentioned problems of Hungary at present. *Crime and the situation of public security* were only in sixth place. Examining the problem in the personal sphere, we got a similar picture, although the issue of public security came out in third place. The answers given to the not guided, open-ended questions testify that *at present, the primary problem for the Hungarian population is not crime*. This is partly due to the fact that people do not have enough information: almost half of them have no idea about how many crimes were committed in Hungary. In comparison with the research projects we had earlier, we can see that the proportion of "I don't know" answers among the population increased rather than decreased over the years. There are many people among the population who have mistaken ideas of the most frequent crimes. *On the whole*, we can conclude that the population has a quite different picture of the frequency of each type of crime than what we can find in the official criminal statistics. This may be due partly, but only partly, to the supposedly high number of latent crimes. However, it is clearly also due to the influence of the media, especially in the case of violent crimes.

According to international statistics, Hungary is one of the safest countries on the basis of the number of crimes per 10,000 inhabitants: it is on the lower third of the list among European countries. Most people do not think so and

put Hungary among the ten countries with the worst public security. At the same time, they think that their own neighbourhood is safer than the other parts of the municipality or the country. It seems that this mechanism through which they mentally keep crime away from them is even stronger than personal experience. Even the people who have been victimised think that they live in a safe place, at least in a place that is safer than other areas. Considering this, it seems probable that this view cannot be changed simply by campaigns that provide information for the public. If we want people who live in areas that are more affected with crime to pay more attention to their personal security and prevention, we should find the right methods that basically do not rely on a greater sense of danger.

In view of the above, special attention must be paid to the part of the research about public security and the police. The *third study*⁴ deals with this connection.

It is a well-known fact that the police are under pressure from two directions: they are pressed by the expectations of the public on the one hand, and they are hamstrung by the existing organisational conditions on the other. This situation, which is not at all easy, is made even more difficult by a regrettable approach that measures public security through criminal statistics. From rising or declining statistics it draws conclusions concerning the worsening or the improvement of the situation. Our earlier surveys have already pointed out that this view is mistaken. We also proved that the concept of security that the public authorities can handle is not the same as the totality of the security factors that are important in human life. The activity of the public authorities may result in a high level of security in the legal sense, but it cannot produce security in society and real freedom from dangers. We would like to avoid the pitfall of an oversimplified analysis of the "crime has increased = public security decreased = the police did not work well" type, so we *continue to consider crime to be the "failure" of society and not law enforcement*.

The opinion of the man in the street, however, does not reflect the official view, which insists that according to police statistics public security is improving. The public's view of police activity aimed at improving public security corresponds to the situation of public security; where people are more satisfied with public security, they have a more favourable judgement of the police. However, their judgement is somewhere around the middle on the whole, with a slight trend in the unfavourable direction.

4 Szilveszter Dunavölgyi: A Public Survey on Public Security and on the Police

The present survey, as it consisted of interviews examining latency, defined the activity of the police only as a *secondary object of the examination*. The question enquiring about the extent to which the Hungarian police can guarantee public security was preceded by topics concerning the state of affairs in the country in general and therefore we expected relatively objective and spontaneous answers that were not suggested by the questions. The performance of the police was found to be average, which was the same result as that of other surveys, and can be supported by international tendencies as well. Likewise, the interviewees thought that the primary task of the police was the protection of public security, as expected. It is worth mentioning, however, that although a high proportion of people would like to see more police, when talking about the deficiencies they think that inadequate police action and undetected crimes are more important problems than the lack of staff. Thus, the public has an increasing tendency to accept policing as a profession, although in this case they noted the professional deficiencies. There is another characteristic feature of the answers we discussed, namely that the public does not think at all that stricter punishment could lead to significant improvement. Other surveys also prove claims that repressive criminal policy fills public demand are false.

The analysis also makes it obvious that public surveys are suitable only to measure a material concept of public security that can be identified with the security of life and property. This material concept is also characterised by the volume of crime. Interviewing the victims does not help us to know the actual performance of policing administration or the effectiveness of policing and the legality of its measures more precisely, the rate of efficiency and the tasks that the modernisation of policing is faced with.

Besides the activities of the authorities, the attention of the research and the researchers focused partly on the victimisation predispositions of the individuals and partly on the exploration of the opportunities for prevention. The *fourth study*⁵ contributes to this endeavour.

The study confirms the well-known fact that the more highly educated people are, the more probable it is that they can defend themselves against the unfavourable impacts of economic and social changes and can capitalise on the advantages. The data indicate that in the occupation categories that are connected to a higher level of schooling there is also a similarly higher proportion of people who generally feel better about the way things are and a lower proportion of people who generally feel worse about

5 Klára Kerecsi: The Presence of the Different Dimensions of Crime Prevention in the Examination of Attitudes

things. At the same time, we cannot help noticing that the proportion of those who feel that their situation has not changed is nearly 50% in the group of unskilled workers and semi-skilled workers. In the other groups – although to a lesser extent – the proportion of those reporting such sentiments is lower.

Based on the results of the survey we can conclude that the interviewees regarded social problems as problems on the national level many times more often than the political or economic problems or general problems that have no special concrete aspects. It would not be difficult to come to the conclusion that those people mention social problems as serious trouble affecting all of society and the whole nation whose situation has worsened in recent years. However, it is not true. The refutation of this is reinforced by the comparison of the change in how people feel in general on the one hand and the types of nationwide problems on the other. The social problems receive special attention as both those whose situation improved and those whose situation worsened considered this issue as the most serious national problem.

We can find an interesting difference in what *problems were considered nationwide* if we examine the data according to the age of the interviewees. We can see that the people above fifty mainly use a political definition of the problems and it is especially typical of the generation above sixty. It is also more characteristic of them that they talk of the issues related to public security as national problems. People under fifty tend to think the most important problems of the country are social, economic or general problems – in about the same proportions.

If we make a list according to how frequently problems are mentioned, the problems related to work and employment receive the most emphasis among *local problems*. This may mean that lack of job opportunities is really an important problem among the local problems but it may as well be that the interviewees project their own personal problems as local problems. Still, this raises the question why local governments, which are the greatest employers and play a significant role in local employment policy anyway, are not seen as such by the local residents. The answers do not reflect the existence of effective regional development programmes, while a lot of effort in the governmental and non-governmental sphere has been directed at addressing this problem for several years. The lack of these answers in our opinion strongly justifies the intention of the EU, to connect the social subsidies that can be applied for in the EU to the "job issue" and that they try to address the social problems by creating financial stability for the people through the creation of jobs for them.

The remedy for the lack of the sense of security is active crime prevention. In our interpretation, this treatment can be passive and active as well. Resignation and shifting the responsibility onto others indicate passive crime prevention. Active crime prevention tries to do something before crimes take place to prevent them. We examined the data specifically to see how the interviewees *strengthen their security*. We expected that the more frequent use of defensive instruments would be manifested in some way: the interviewees would feel either better or worse in general. However, there seems to be no significant difference in the application of the different defensive instruments between the groups who feel better or worse on the whole.

According to the results of the research the local residents' sense of security is influenced basically by two groups: motorists and the Romany. The spread of driving habits that disregard even the most essential traffic rules can explain the former, while cultural differences can explain the latter. We should also note that there is a connection between the change in how people feel in general and the picture they have of the security of the neighbourhood. No matter what kind of neighbourhood we have to deal with, the interviewees who feel much worse than five years ago give significantly worse marks for the security of their neighbourhood.

In the process of transition, the weakening of the institutions within society that exercise formal control was not followed by a strengthening of the informal control exercised by small communities in society. Cooperation between the citizens on the local level and involvement in programs has received little emphasis so far. In order to strengthen security we have to find the fine balance between the exercise of informal and formal control of the society. Therefore we examined those *resources in the neighbourhood* that can either strengthen or weaken the interviewees' security or sense of security. The data we collected here must radically change the stereotypes of "people estranged from each other" "residents who don't understand each other and fight about every small thing" and "alienated society". The message of these figures can only be that despite all the rumour to the contrary, Hungarian society has not lost the intention to cooperate altogether. People have not been alienated from each other and the basic tone in relationships in the neighbourhood is not enmity. This inner need, however, remains hidden and does not come to the surface and the loose relationships do not join together to form a proud web of solidarity of local identity. It is the huge responsibility of politicians and the government not to waste this real potential within society and to provide incentives – through practically any possible means – for local people to find each other in a local community.

Earlier research projects clearly proved that victims play a significant role in whether perpetrators reach their goals or whether their plans will be frustrated. The different categories set up for victims are no novelties either and – with some extensions – they contain statements that are valid for the victims of crimes committed out of negligence. The *fifth study*⁶ concentrates on the role of actual and potential victims.

The first thing that became clear was that the number of undetected crimes was really high in Hungary, too. In the year 2002, concerning which people's memory is not so selective yet, the interviewees made mention of being the victims of 2,276 crimes, out of which only 739 (32%) were reported. This proportion of the answers was similar for a period of five and a half years as well and shows about 60% *latency* in the case of 10,000 interviewees (which means that only 30% of the cases were reported). This seems to be an unacceptable proportion even if we can suppose that not all of them would actually prove crimes, some of them could be minor offences or cases that are under the jurisdiction of the Civil Code. Concerning *latency* our assumption that the cases that people do not report to the police are mainly minor cases proved true, where the disadvantage that goes together with reporting them far exceeds the benefits of the police procedure. In contrast with it, in the cases where certain events are dependent on the case being reported (so, for example, the compensation the insurance company pays in the case of car thefts), the proportion of the cases that are reported is very high and *latency* is small. We also asked the victims why they did not report the incident. The most common answer was that they did not trust the police or were not satisfied with them (43%), which was followed by answers like there was only minor damage or "there was no damage", which still represented a significant proportion (28%).

This means that in our research we managed to get a picture of a wide spectrum of the persons victimised in Hungary. 3,326 people out of the 10,000 interviewees were victimised once or more than once during the five and a half years the study covered. By coming to know the characteristic qualities of the victims, we can draw conclusions on the characteristic traits of victimisation in Hungary. In order to do so, we examined the *age, the gender and other important qualities* of the victims. This showed that victimisation, in contrast to official statistics, does not show a significant difference between men and women. However, younger people (between 18 and 39) are more often victimised, which obviously has primarily to do with their being more active. The victims had a higher than average level of schooling and a higher

⁶ Tünde Barabás: General Victimology, Latency

than average proportion of them had secondary school or university qualifications. There were no differences between the victims and those who were not victimised concerning their marital status and their place of residence, but there were a higher proportion of those who were in active employment among the victims. This may be partly related to the fact that there was a difference in the financial situation: there were more people in a better or even in an exceptionally good situation among the victims than among those who were not victimised. This, of course, may be related to the fact that according to both the official statistics and the results of the present survey most of the crimes the victims were involved in were crimes against property (above 80%).

Among the *deviances* we examined the issue of alcoholism first, where we found no greater tendency for victimisation. On the other hand, we got very interesting results among the victims concerning whether they had been suspected or convicted in connection with crimes earlier. On the basis of the answers we found a somewhat surprising fact, namely that among the victims there were twice as many people who had been suspected in another procedure and there was also a higher percentage of people who had been convicted among the victims than among the people who had not been victimised.

Finally we dealt with the sense of security, the anxieties and the fears among the interviewees, especially those who had been victimised. We found that our hypothesis proved true concerning *the sense of security of the victims*, which, similarly to earlier results, seems worse than in the case of those who have not been victimised. The answers they gave about their opinion on local security and their assessment on the amount of crime also indicated that. In view of this it is interesting to note that *the people who had not been victimised* tended to stay at home after dark in a higher proportion than the victims. One explanation of this may be that the victims came to terms with the idea of crime being around while another may be that they belong to the younger generation, which goes out more often at night. Examining *anxieties*, we found that most of *the people who had not been victimised* were not especially influenced by crime while the *victims* were influenced in a higher proportion.

A crime does not only cause concrete material and non-material damage but causes hurts that influence the victim's life in the future. Therefore we asked the victims about their emotions after the crime. It turned out that recalling the incident stirs up intense emotions even after a few years' time so the interviewees often feel fear, anger, fury, nervousness, defencelessness, anxiety and helplessness.

In view of this it seemed to be interesting to find out what the interviewees in general and especially the victims among them did in order to increase their security. It turned out that instead of the active ways to increase their security the interviewees preferred the passive forms of defence or the ones that involved some change in their behaviour.

*The first study of Volume Two*⁷ is about relationships concerning the crimes that involve the highest number of people. The characteristics of those in danger of victimisation can be summarised as follows:

- The danger of victimisation is highest in the age group between 18 and 29.
- The proportion of the genders is the same as in the whole population.
- The proportion of those with a degree in higher education is exceptionally high.
- The employment rate in the active generations is above the average; there is a relatively high number of self-employed entrepreneurs.
- Mostly they live in a detached house in towns or villages or in a flat in a prefab block, as owners.
- They tend to have settled down in one place of residence.
- Their financial situation is better than average; more than the average have one or more cars.
- They cherish the values and traditions of Hungarian culture, they are not religious and they are not characterised by deviant behaviour.
- They have similar opinions to the other interviewees on security, on its present state and on its expected future. There is one exception only: those who have been victims of crimes against property earlier are afraid that they can become victims of crimes against property again: based on their negative experience they think it possible that their home will be burgled, their car, their purse or their other belongings will be stolen or they will be cheated in a shop and made to pay more than they should.

Violence and aggressive attitudes and behaviour in public life are among the most common topics of discussions these days. We saw that there are many people who think that the crimes in this category pose the greatest danger to public security. *The second study*⁸ deals with the comparison of reality and the picture people form of it. The most important relationships are the following:

- The victims of violent crimes have specific characteristics compared to other victims in several respects. They belong to a younger age group; still they have been the victims of crimes more often in their lifetime. They have

⁷ Mariann Kránitz: Victims of Crimes Against Property

⁸ László Tibor Nagy: Violent Crime

a lower level of schooling; a smaller proportion of them live together with a spouse or with a partner and a higher proportion do not seek employment because of their studies. There is a higher proportion of people among them with a non-Hungarian identity. A higher proportion of them have been suspects in police cases or have been involved in drink-driving, which suggests that they are less law-abiding. They report sexual attacks to the authorities most rarely, while latency is the smallest in the case of robberies.

- The victims in this category of crime feel worse in general than the majority, they are more dissatisfied with their financial situation, the security of the country and their neighbourhood and do not trust the police so much. They do not like to live in their present place of residence, they find the level of security worse there, a higher proportion of them think that more crimes are committed there than in the other parts of the country. They consider gypsies, bored youngsters hanging around and drunkards in their neighbourhood more of a problem than the other victims.
- Unlike the majority, they feel crime is a quite serious problem, influencing their everyday lives more strongly, and they more often think about the possibility of becoming victims of crime. A higher proportion of them take part in self-defence courses, more of them have a dog to guard the house and more of them take some self-defence instrument with them as a precaution when going out.
- They know their neighbours well, often they are in a friendly relationship with them, yet compared to the other victims, fewer of them think they can rely on the neighbours if they need help and they find it less probable that they could join hands in some matter that is a common concern for them.
- Thus, basically, the victims of violent crimes consider crime as a more serious problem, but at the same time they have more often been involved in unlawful activities themselves, they do not like their neighbourhood so much, they feel worse in general and their subjective sense of security is worse, too. They are more dissatisfied, more anxious and more sceptical.

The crimes discussed above were committed mostly in public places, in full view of the public and the authorities. Some of the other crimes – especially violent crimes – are committed in a place closed from the eyes of the public, in the sphere of private life. These are the sins that are debated as being crimes at all in different cultures and we have only conjectures and no exact knowledge about their volume. Obviously, in our research we tried to find out more about these crimes committed in the private or even in the intimate sphere as well. The next two studies give a picture about the results.

The *third study*⁹ deals with the so-called crimes against sexual ethics, and especially the violent sexual attacks and abuses among them. In many respects these incidents have a special position among the crimes punished by criminal law. This is reflected by some the characteristics of sexual crimes that are different from those of other crimes in general (the age and the gender of the victims, the relationship between the victim and the offender, the changes in the trends of the number of crimes, etc.) as well as by the opinions on and the attitudes toward these incidents and the people involved. The most important lessons to be learned are the following:

- This survey confirmed that instruments of this kind and the questioning that may take place this way are not really suitable to measure sexual victimisation. (In view of this and the low number of cases, we did not analyse the questions concerning sexual victimisation.)
- The retrospective questions about child abuse in the questionnaire to be filled by the interviewees themselves proved useful. On the basis of them it seems that the percentage of adults who were abused in their childhood is significant, it is around 2%. The percentage of those who were regularly and brutally beaten in their childhood is the same and there were six times as many people who were severely beaten occasionally. This means more than a hundred thousand people in the present Hungarian adult population who were sexually abused and around a million people who were physically abused. Most of the abuses are committed by relatives and acquaintances.
- The data confirm that the sexual abuse of children often goes undetected: less than a half of those abused talked about it at that time and they reported it only in eight cases out of a hundred.
- Girls are abused sexually at a higher proportion than boys. The percentage of boys abused is also significant (1.2%) and it is worth noting that the number of cases when they did not talk about the abuse is much higher and the percentage of cases that they reported to the police is much smaller.
- The severely traumatic effect of child abuse is shown by the fact that percentage of those committing suicide and those receiving psychiatric treatment is many times as high among those were abused than among those were not. Being abused also influences fears concerning the future. This is shown through increased anxiety about the possibility of the same thing – sexual abuse or violence – happening again and about becoming

a victim of some not concretely specified crime. The latter can be the indicator of a kind of diffuse anxiety.

The *fourth study*¹⁰ actually supplements the previous one when it concentrates on child abuse. The most important lessons are the following:

- The research clearly shows that if the parents received help for more effective, non-violent solutions they would presumably use them instead of spanking, which they themselves do not approve of most of the time. It also follows from this that it would be useful and necessary to change the legislation and prohibit spanking altogether and also to teach parenting skills as well as good means and methods of disciplining and educating; to operate parents' clubs, self-help groups, parents' schools and other forms of helping the parents.
- Professional literature and experience both confirm that emotional support and bonds have the greatest role in the healthy development of a child. Still, in Hungary even professionals whose job it would be to inform and help the parents and to protect children fail to recognise the different forms of emotional abuse. Corporal punishment is taken lightly provided it does not go beyond a limit of brutality, which, however, is not defined.
- In the case of the corporal punishment and physical abuse of children the overall picture is more complex, as on the one hand it is mostly something visible, tangible in contrast to emotional abuse but it is supported very strongly, or at least condoned by society – and unfortunately by the organs of the administration of justice as well. It is especially true because of the acceptance of the "necessary" slap on the face or the "home discipline right", which has been introduced into practice by the courts although it is not defined clearly and is not mentioned in the law. From a legal point of view, it is especially problematic how those applying the law can interpret those undefined acts that are punishable according to the current laws – for example, the Child Protection Law – or a new law in preparation concerning acts within the family.

Each of the last two studies of the second part guides the reader to a special area of deviance. The *fifth study*¹¹ collects information about an area of life, which a lot of people characterise by saying that everyone can be a victim of these crimes and everyone except those who cannot drive a car can be an offender. Experts have known it for a long time that things are not so simple. In view of the fact that in this area there have been no empirical surveys in Hungary for a quarter of a century – except for one survey covering only one

10 Mária Herczog: Corporal Punishment and Physical Abuse in Childhood and the Means of Disciplining the People Concerned Possess

11 Ferenc Irk: Opinions on Traffic Deviance

county –, moreover, as we have had no knowledge so far, our expectations were quite high. The most important relations are the following:

- About 0.7% of the adult population (about 56 thousand people) are injured annually in accidents involving personal injury. In contrast to it, about 20 thousand injuries are registered in the official statistics.
- Every year about 640 thousand people are involved in minor accidents, bumps. We have had no information available about it so far.
- Among the people involved in accidents there are more than three times as many people who were under a criminal procedure and were fined, more than twice as many people who were under a criminal procedure and were not fined than people who did not take part in such procedure.
- We can find the closest relationship between a past with accidents and a past free of accidents on the one hand and being victims of other crimes on the other.
- The survey proves through many facts that being victimised is not something accidental but it is the consequence of a many-sided predisposition concerning partly one's way life, partly one's behaviour. This is manifested more or less in inadequate behaviour compared to the concrete expectations of society and to one's own abilities. People with a victimisation predisposition can comply with the expectations of the world around them to a smaller extent than the majority. Therefore they become involved more often than the average man not only in intentional crimes but also in crimes committed out of negligence, which are part of everyday life and even in their so-called preliminary acts. *The real dividing line in traffic is not between the person who causes an accident and the victim but between the persons who get involved in accidents and those on the road who are not involved in accidents.*
- The so-called invulnerability myth, which is one of the main dangers leading to victimisation, makes one third of the total Hungarian population unable to defend themselves against unexpected road accidents.
- The people involved in accidents have a higher level of intolerance and anxiety towards their environment than those not involved in accidents. This is projected not only on the past and the present but also on the future expectations.

The *sixth study*¹² discusses a group of special regional issues. In harmony with the approach of similar Western-European research projects it examines what regularities and relationships can be observed between being part of the

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majority or a minority in Hungary on the one hand and being victimised on the other. The most important lessons to be learned can be summarised in the following:

- According to the data and the analyses, if we compare the financial conditions and the hard preconditions of these conditions regarding the whole sample of the survey (WSS) and the sample consisting of gypsy victims (SGV) we get an overall picture of the unfavourable situation of the SGV. At the same time, we can also see that those with a gypsy background constitute a social group that is strongly differentiated and stratified both in the social and the cultural sense.
- The distribution according to age in the SGV shows a much more favourable picture than the whole sample since the interviewed group with a gypsy background had far more young people and far fewer elderly people. The very opposite was true concerning schooling where the gypsy sample had much lower indicators of schooling. Around one third of the part of the sample consisting of gypsies lives in a large family, in a household consisting of many people. In the active age groups two-thirds of the gypsies are not in employment. Considering all those not in employment in all the age groups, one third of the gypsies are unemployed, which means that their rate of unemployment is three times as much as the rate in the whole population.
- Concerning the average size of homes and the number of rooms the gypsies are only a little behind the others but their situation is still much worse, as their families are bigger. Although in both of the part-samples the homes are mostly owned by the residents, the proportion of gypsies living in rental units owned by the local government is twice as high. The main difference is in the market value of the homes: nearly half of the homes owned by gypsies represent only a small market value. Although the proportion of car owners in comparison to the whole sample is similar, two-thirds of the cars owned by gypsies are older than 10 years and represent little, if any, market value. Nearly three-fourths of the gypsy households the net monthly income is below 100 thousand HUF (about 400 euro). Looking at the proportions of the whole sample from the opposite side, fewer than half of the gypsies have relatively balanced or better living conditions and the rest live mostly among very lowly circumstances. Most of them cannot make a living out of their income even if they look for extra sources in the grey or black economy and accumulate debts. The whole of the gypsy sample is about 15-30% below the whole sample in social respects.
- The estimated proportion of those who have permanently landed in the periphery of society is 10% in the WSS and 25% in the SGV. At the same

- time, there is a smaller group in both samples that has outstanding financial and other social indicators and has been able to improve its situation definitely in the past few years. The proportion of this group within the whole sample is around 15-18% and around 8-10% among the gypsies.
- The proportion of those who have been treated in hospitals and in psychiatric wards, who have tried to commit suicide and the alcoholics in the SGV, is clearly higher than in the WSS. These differences would be even more conspicuous if we referred our data to the whole sample of interviewees.
 - The proportion of those who were abused regularly and/or severely as well as the proportion of those who accept corporal punishment and use it in disciplining their own children is much higher among the gypsy interviewees than in the WSS although it is quite high in the latter as well.
 - *There is a conspicuous overrepresentation of the gypsy minority among those who have been convicted definitively, who have been suspects, who have been under a procedure for minor offences and who have been fined in the procedure.*
 - There is a high degree of similarity together with several differences of degree between the whole sample and the sample with a gypsy background in their opinions on the general situation, the future prospects and the security of the country and their place of residence. How they feel in general mainly depends on how satisfied they are with the material goods they possess; dissatisfaction with the financial situation pulls down the indicators of the general feelings among those with a gypsy background. At the same time, it seems that the deterioration of the financial situation results in a smaller degree of deterioration in the general feelings, and an improvement of the financial situation results in a higher degree of improvement in the general feelings. Most of the people in both groups expect positive developments and an improvement of the general feelings.
 - The factors influencing the individual lives have an outstanding role in the perception of problems. The factors related to employment, making money and making a living enjoy priority in the answers given about both nationwide and local problems, especially among those with a gypsy background who live among humble circumstances. The factors related to infrastructure and public security also have a special importance in the perception of local problems. The picture of the security situation nationwide is darker than what would be justified by the local experiences and this is probably due to the effect of the media. However, about two-thirds of the interviewees are satisfied with the public security of the country and the work of the police and they expect a significant improvement in the

public security both nationwide and locally in the next few years, owing partly to Hungary's accession to the EU.

- While the media paints the picture of a highly alienated society in which people feel bad in general, our research showed that in contrast to it, the overwhelming majority of the interviewees love the place where they live, have a good relationship with their neighbours, can rely on their help and even those with a gypsy background are not dissociated sharply from the majority. We can see, however, that the neighbourhoods of those with a gypsy background show a worse picture than the average of the whole sample concerning both infrastructure and the problems of society: they are more infected with crime and with pollution and there is a higher proportion of delinquents and people hanging around with nothing to do.
- The interviewees – in conformity to criminal statistics – estimate the frequency of crimes against property to be the highest and they worry about them the most when they consider the possibility of victimisation concerning themselves or the members of their family. Fears of victimisation related to violent crimes are the stronger among those with a gypsy background. Still, crime does not influence people's everyday life in either of the groups; only a few percent of the interviewees entertain thoughts of becoming victims. However, a higher percentage of those with a gypsy background consider this possibility, especially the thought of family members becoming victims provokes intense emotional reactions among them. The measures taken by the interviewees to protect their property and themselves are within traditional, defensive, rational limits and only an insignificant proportion of them resort to offensive means. Concerning the use of technology in the protection of property, those with a gypsy background are behind the rest again.
- Nearly half of both part-samples have never been victims of crimes and we found no answers from the collected data about the offence-specific victimisation of those with a gypsy background. We received results that can be interpreted to some extent only regarding sexual abuse in the childhood. In this area there is an overrepresentation of women with a gypsy background and there is considerable latency in both groups.

The views we presented above based on the studies of the authors give, of course, only a small taste of each topic. In order to understand the deeper connections, the comparisons with other research projects and the proofs it is necessary to get familiarised with the studies more thoroughly.

Among research reports published in Hungary it is not unique any more, although not typical either, that the results are published in a foreign language besides (or instead of) the national language. We have a case like

that now: the whole text is published in English about the time of the publication of the Hungarian version. The importance of the topic – research of a similar magnitude counts as an exception in Europe – justifies this together with the fact that the conclusions of Hungarian research are the same or similar to the conclusions made in other countries of the Central-Eastern European region – as has been proved by several research projects earlier. (Hereby I would like to express my thanks to the translators of the text.)

The research – owing to its pioneering nature as well – should inspire the decision-makers in Hungary to carry out surveys of victims regularly in the future, in conformity to the expectations of the specialised organisations of the European Union and the UN and to the declared intentions of the Hungarian government. (This survey financed from government funds put out for tender can be interpreted as a preliminary of future research.) Only this can make it possible to monitor the dynamics of the change in how the public feels about crime and the changes in latency so that interventions suited to the problems can take place, relying on the knowledge thus acquired.

July, 2004, Budapest

Dr. Ferenc Irk
Director of the National Institute of Criminology
project leader

Victims of Crimes Against Property

The situation and the recent history of crimes against property

Crimes against property have the highest significance among the crimes in general that have become known, – regarding their number at any rate – and thus they are the crime phenomenon decisively determining the spread, the trends and the structure of crimes at present in each European country with no exception, including Hungary, as well.

In Hungary the **spread of crimes against property** – on the basis of the number of crimes – was gradually increasing between 1980 and 1992: In 1992 among the total of about 447,000 crimes that had become known, the number of crimes against property was more than 350,000. In the period between 1993 and 2000 the number of crimes in general showed a strong dynamic fluctuation between 400,000 and 600,000 within which the crimes against property had absolute values also fluctuating dynamically between 250,000 and 480,000. The “record holders” are the indicators of the year 1998 with the highest absolute numbers ever measured by the Unified Police and Prosecution Crime Statistics (UPPCS) launched in 1965: that is, in this year the number of crimes that had become known exceeded 600,000. In the last four years the number of crimes against property has shown a definitely decreasing tendency and thereby the number of crimes that have become known is also gradually decreasing year by year (Table 1).

The tendency prevailing in the **number of offenders** is similar to the number of crimes: the number of all the offenders that have become known and the ones against property both increased until 1992. In the five years following that, it showed a slight fluctuation, and in the last five years between 1998 and 2002 there was a continuous **decrease**. The difference between the absolute numbers of the crimes and the offenders of those that have become known is strikingly huge, especially in respect of crimes against property. The indicators of the year 1998, record holders in this respect as well, are a good example of it: in this year 457,188 crimes against property and 71,356 offenders committing crimes against property became known, i.e. there are (there might be) six crimes for each offender (Table 2.). Although in committing crimes against property it is quite frequent, that the same offender commits more crimes, this striking difference between the absolute numbers

Table 1.
Crimes in general and crimes against property
(1990–2002)

| year | crimes in general | crimes against property | crimes against property in the percentage of crimes in general |
|------|----------------------|----------------------------|--|
| 1990 | 341,061 | 265,937 | 78.0 |
| 1991 | 440,370 | 356,671 | 81.0 |
| 1992 | 447,222 | 350,582 | 78.4 |
| 1993 | 400,935 | 307,396 | 76.7 |
| 1994 | 389,451 | 287,095 | 73.7 |
| 1995 | 502,036 | 391,062 | 77.9 |
| 1996 | 466,050 | 365,236 | 78.4 |
| 1997 | 514,403 | 393,003 | 76.4 |
| 1998 | 600,621 | 457,188 | 76.1 |
| 1999 | 505,716 | 358,036 | 70.8 |
| 2000 | 450,673 | 311,611 | 69.1 |
| 2001 | 465,694 | 317,900 | 68.3 |
| 2002 | 420,782 | 283,664 | 67.4 |

Table 2.
All the offenders that have become known and the offenders against property
(1990–2002)

| year | all the offenders | offenders against property | offenders against property in the percentage of all the offenders |
|------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| 1990 | 112,254 | 53,356 | 47.5 |
| 1991 | 122,835 | 60,928 | 49.6 |
| 1992 | 132,644 | 63,867 | 48.1 |
| 1993 | 122,621 | 60,212 | 49.1 |
| 1994 | 119,494 | 58,432 | 48.9 |
| 1995 | 121,121 | 62,001 | 51.2 |
| 1996 | 122,226 | 66,080 | 54.1 |
| 1997 | 130,966 | 69,026 | 52.7 |
| 1998 | 140,083 | 71,356 | 50.9 |
| 1999 | 131,658 | 63,623 | 48.3 |
| 2000 | 122,860 | 56,594 | 46.1 |
| 2001 | 120,583 | 54,211 | 45.0 |
| 2002 | 121,885 | 50,972 | 41.8 |

of the offenders and the crimes cannot be exclusively attributed to this fact. As a matter of fact, in the background of this huge difference in the order of magnitudes there is the imperfection of the detection of crimes and the investigations i.e. in the 1990's the number of the crimes that came to light but the offenders of which remained hidden was about 200,000 on average each year. And the overwhelming majority of these were crimes against property. (For example, in 1998 the offenders of nearly 270,000 crimes remained unknown to law enforcement organs, while the crimes themselves – mainly crimes against property – became known.)

It is clear from the absolute numbers, that crimes against property constitute the form of crime that has the highest proportion **within the structure of crimes in general**, i.e. they are "the largest slice in the pie"¹. The size of this slice however – in spite of being the largest one in comparison with the other groups of crimes in each year – varies to a great extent.

Crimes against property within crimes in general represented a rate of about 60% until the end of the 1980's then as a result of a gradual increase they had dropped to 81% of the crimes that became known in 1991. The decreasing tendency prevailing in the last five years has brought about a decrease in the rate of crimes against property within crimes in general: following the Millennium the rate of crimes against property did not reach 70% of crimes in general that had become known. But it is also worth noting that the average 60% of 120,000 crimes per year (between 1965 and 1980) is far less than the average 70% of 450,000–500,000 crimes that became known (in the 1990's) (Chart 1.).

Among all the **offenders** that have become known, the largest group consists of offenders against property as well, but their proportion – regarding the huge rate of crimes with offenders unknown – is far smaller than the 60-80% mentioned above. In respect of all the offenders, the proportion of offenders against property was increasing until 1991, and in the last five years as well, but there has been a perceptible, continuous decrease especially since 1999. As a result, "only" 42% of all the offenders that became known were offenders against property in 2002 (Chart 2.).

The structure of crimes against property – as in the European countries in general, including Hungary as well – shows the dominance of **thefts**: in the years around the transition, thefts constituted 90% of this kind of crime.

Chart 1.
Crimes in general and crimes against property
in 2002

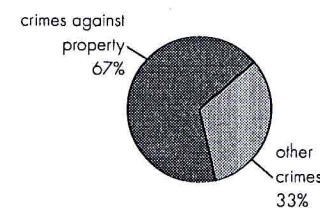
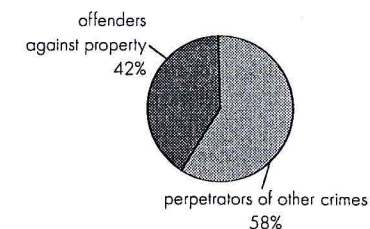


Chart 2.
All the offenders that became known
and offenders against property in 2002



¹ I borrowed this appropriate phrase from the publication entitled "Information On Crime 2002" which introduces the reader to the world of criminal statistics through pie charts. Tájékoztató a bűnözésről (Information on Crime). Belügyminisztérium Informatikai Hivatala–Legfőbb Ügyészség Számítástechnika-alkalmazási és Információs Főosztálya, 2003, p. 3.

Between 1998 and 2002 the proportion of thefts was around 70%, in 2002 it was 72.2% of all the crimes against property. Among thefts there is an outstanding proportion of burglaries; the number of these crimes in comparison with the beginning of the 1980's (20,000 crimes a year on average) became five times higher by 1997, and thus it approached 100,000. In the last six years the number of burglaries has been steadily decreasing, but in 2002 it was still almost 60,000. The number and proportion of **frauds** were gradually decreasing as well, but when evaluating it, the methods and instruments used in the statistical records also have to be taken into consideration.² In the structure of crimes against property, **embezzlement** has a small, but constant proportion: in Hungary 5,500 such crimes are committed each year on average, which means only a proportion of 1-2%, but this can be considered constant. The number of crimes of **damaging** is about 16,000–18,000 a year, which constitutes 5 percent of crimes against property on average.

Every time and in every relation, one of the important indicators of the situation of crimes against property is the **damage** caused by this form of crime, as well as the **measure of compensation**. As a result of the rapid increase in the number of crimes, and the general inflation, – reaching/exceeding even 30% in some years – crimes against property have laid increasingly heavier burdens on the population of the country in the past more than two decades. Until the end of the 80's the damage caused by crimes against property was four billion HUF a year; following the transition, however it was almost continuously increasing until 2001 when it reached a peak of 113 (!) billion HUF. In 2002 the damage decreased by 18%, it was 92 billion HUF, on the other hand the compensation for the damage also dropped to 6.8 billion HUF, which means a more than 20% decrease in comparison with the compensation of 8.6 billion HUF in the year before. The dangerous nature of crimes against property is indicated by the fact that only a small fraction of the actual damage is compensated for. In addition to this, however it is also worth noting that such a

² When making a statistical recording of frauds, the principle of victim specificity prevailed, i.e. there are as many victims as many crimes are committed, in this way, crimes are registered on the basis of the number of victims. Although not too frequently, sometimes series of frauds are committed, in which thousands, or perhaps ten thousands of victims are "misled or kept being misled thereby causing damage to them" by (sometimes several) offenders, as for example, in the case of the so-called newspaper ad frauds. In cases like this, some experts question the grounds on which the adoption of the principle mentioned above is used, because even one crime of this sort is enough to raise the statistical indicators of the absolute values of crimes of frauds in a disproportionate way, and thus criminal policy – in case of an inappropriate evaluation – can be misled. As an illustration, while in 1998 nearly 120,000 frauds were recorded by the UPPCS, in 2002, however, only 25,000, the former constituted a proportion higher than 26% in the structure of crimes against property, while the latter only a proportion below 9%.

degree of increase in damaging cannot be explained with the rise in the number of crimes and in the rate of inflation. No doubt, that besides these circumstances actually playing a part, there were other factors – economic, social, criminogen, and ones directly motivating the offenders, etc. – also playing a role in making damage caused by crimes against property rise one hundred times higher in twenty years (Table 3.).

Table 3.

Damage caused by from crimes against property (1990–2002)

| year | damage caused by crimes against property (HUF) | compensation | |
|------|--|----------------|------|
| | | HUF | % |
| 1990 | 10,105,779,800 | 694,900,000 | 6.9 |
| 1991 | 21,079,480,000 | 1,101,300,000 | 5.2 |
| 1992 | 29,058,973,000 | 1,831,100,000 | 8.7 |
| 1993 | 35,904,892,200 | 2,501,900,000 | 7.0 |
| 1994 | 40,579,294,000 | 3,554,156,500 | 8.8 |
| 1995 | 62,390,903,400 | 6,141,712,700 | 9.8 |
| 1996 | 84,990,270,800 | 11,361,309,600 | 13.4 |
| 1997 | 78,189,336,700 | 7,322,631,400 | 9.4 |
| 1998 | 93,438,073,500 | 13,681,562,000 | 14.6 |
| 1999 | 80,682,254,800 | 7,440,210,300 | 9.2 |
| 2000 | 95,710,881,900 | 6,681,641,400 | 7.0 |
| 2001 | 113,025,156,600 | 8,617,618,800 | 7.6 |
| 2002 | 92,007,437,400 | 6,832,689,000 | 7.4 |

The central characters of crimes against property are the victims, i.e. the natural persons or legal entities that are victimised by these crimes. Victimised natural persons, however, were not really given proper treatment in the criminal statistics (UPPCS) in Hungary, although it was launched in 1965, this registration system has kept records of the victims only since 1988.

On the basis of this record we can conclude that in the past five years in Hungary the number of the victims has been 250,000–320,000 a year, and the overwhelming majority of them – 210,000–290,000 people – have been victims of crimes against property. In parallel with the decrease in crimes against property, there was an obvious decrease in the number of the natural persons victimised by these crimes in the period between 1998 and 2002 (Chart 3.), and as a result of this decrease, in 2000 the number of victims dropped to 212,000 from the 290,000 in 1998. In 2000 altogether all 244,000 people were victimised, and the number of victims of crimes against property was 212,000 among them (Table 4.). The overwhelming majority of these victims – both men and women – were victims of thefts (burglaries).

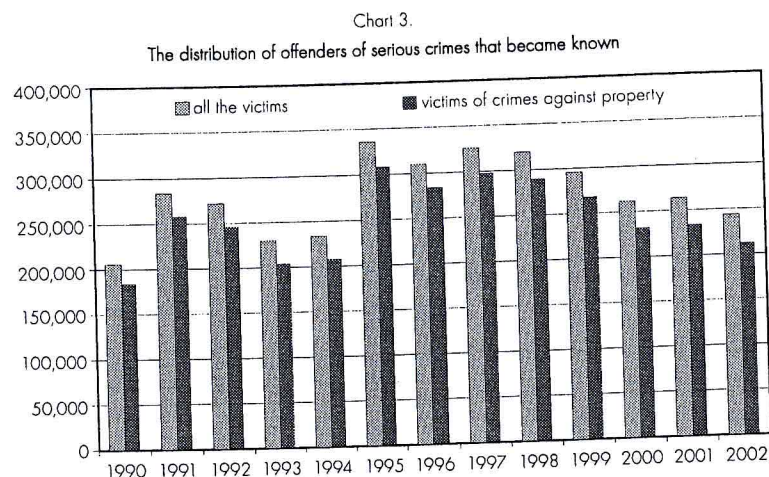


Table 4.
All victims that became known and victims of crimes against property (1990–2002)

| year | all the victims | victims of crimes against property | victims of crimes against property in the percentage of all the victims |
|------|-----------------|------------------------------------|---|
| 1990 | 206,961 | 183,182 | 88.5 |
| 1991 | 283,179 | 258,050 | 91.1 |
| 1992 | 272,833 | 246,163 | 90.2 |
| 1993 | 230,917 | 204,533 | 88.6 |
| 1994 | 234,529 | 207,096 | 88.3 |
| 1995 | 335,085 | 308,069 | 91.9 |
| 1996 | 310,150 | 284,439 | 91.7 |
| 1997 | 325,977 | 298,944 | 91.7 |
| 1998 | 319,037 | 289,849 | 90.9 |
| 1999 | 295,733 | 267,244 | 90.4 |
| 2000 | 261,093 | 231,904 | 88.8 |
| 2001 | 263,225 | 234,429 | 89.1 |
| 2002 | 243,582 | 212,423 | 87.2 |

THE FACTS

Victimisation of victims of crimes against property

In this survey 10,020 people were asked questions, among whom

- 6,720 people (67.1%) have not been victimised by any crimes in the past five years,
- 2,094 people (20.9%) were not victimised in 2002,
- 160 people were victimised by other crimes (1.6%), and
- 1,046 people (10.4%) were victimised by crimes against property in 2002.

The more than 10% share indicates that – just as among all the natural persons that became victimised – the highest proportion among the interviewees was also represented by victims of crimes against property.

The share is even higher than this, if we consider that among the latter category of victims, several people were victimised by various forms of crimes against property in the same year. On the basis of all of this, the number of people falling onto this category is – according to total figures – 1,260, which means the same number of crimes as well.

Several factors have to be considered however, to see clearly what kind of crimes the interviewees were the victims of and what their distribution is according to the different kinds of crimes.

The current Hungarian legislation – Act IV of 1978, amended several times – contains crimes against property in Section 18. They include the following:

- theft (§ 316),
- embezzlement (§ 317),
- fraud (§ 318),
- misappropriation (§ 319),
- negligence (§ 320),
- robbery (§ 321),
- mugging (§ 322),
- extortion (§ 323),
- damaging (§ 324),
- unlawful appropriation (§ 325),
- receiving stolen goods (§ 326),
- arbitrary appropriation of vehicles (§ 327),
- defrauding of customers (§ 328),
- unlawful possession (§ 329),
- injuring copyright and contiguous rights (§ 329), and
- discrediting (§ 330).

Thus for the sake of fullness, it would have been expedient to gather some information on the victims of all crimes listed above in this survey. However, several categories of crimes and their victims of course are omitted from this group, mainly as a result of rational considerations.

First of all: **robbery** and **extortion** do not belong to the category of crimes against property, because both these crimes are classified as so-called violent crimes in criminology. Thus, these kinds of crimes were discussed in the chapter of this survey entitled "Violent Crime".

Secondly: **misappropriation**, and **negligence** are – both according to normal legal practice, and to daily experience as well – usually committed

against legal entities, and not against natural persons, thus, asking questions on such legal state of affairs would have been useless when asking questions about the victimisation of natural persons.

Thirdly: mugging and arbitrary confiscation of vehicles – on the basis of the legal facts involving unlawful appropriation and unlawful use – in common language can be used as synonymies for theft (car theft) thus, in the course of the interviewees these crimes were obviously merged into the category of theft.

Fourthly: unlawful possession, injuring copyright and contiguous rights, and discrediting are crimes such rare of occurrence that asking special questions about them would not have been justified.

On the basis of the interviews, in the course of which more than ten thousand people were involved, in 2002 most of the people who became victimised in crimes against property became victims of theft: nearly 20%, that is, 234 people. Though its rate is different, its placement on the list is the same as according to the indicators of the structure of crimes in general. It is followed by the 16.3% (205 people) who became victims of fraud – as it was called in the questionnaire – (which means cheating in general or the deceiving of customers), followed by the victims of **burglaries** and **the damaging of cars** with a rate of higher than 12-12% in both categories (156 and 153 people respectively). The proportion of victims of **bicycle thefts** were slightly below 12% (147 people), the proportion of victims of **thefts from cars** were 10% (135 people), the proportion of those robbed by pickpockets were 9% (110 people) and the proportion of victims of damaging were nearly 7% (85 people) among all the interviewees. Finally, fewer than 3% were the victims of car theft: it means 35 people altogether.

On the basis of the interviewing the more than ten thousand strong sample, it is evident, that in comparison to all the other groups surveyed, *the danger of victimisation is the highest among the victims of crimes against property*. The overwhelming majority – nearly 70% – of the total of 10,020 interviewees have never been victims of any crimes in their lives. This rate is even higher among those who have not been victimised in the past five years: 85% of those who belong to this group have not been the victims of any crimes, not only in the past five years, but all their lives. In contrast to it, nearly a quarter of those who were victims of crimes against property in 2002 had been victimised two or three times before, and one tenth of them had been victimised four or five times before (according to their own statements). Moreover, 39 people said that they had been victimised ten times, fourteen said twenty times and twelve people had been victimised nearly one hundred (!) times.

Thus, the increased victimisation of the victims of crimes against property is a fact, but one has to be very careful when assessing this fact. First, we must be aware of the fact that the public survey did not enquire about what kind of *specific crimes* the interviewees were the *victims* of and whether they suffered any material loss, and if yes, how much it was approximately. On the basis of the figures of crimes in general, and within this the figures of crimes against property in particular, and especially on the basis of the definite dominance of victims of crimes against property among all the victims that became known, we have good reasons to conclude that the majority of victimisations were caused by crimes against property. It is also only a supposition – but a very realistic one – that when stating the number of their victimisations, those who had been victimised several times, took the frequency of the instances of being cheated in a shop, that is being overcharged, and other minor deviances (for example minor offences against property) as the basis of their calculations. On the other hand, the data indicating the increased danger of victimisation rightly raise the questions in themselves whether there are any *circumstances hidden in the individual (in the victim) and/or in the victim's immediate environment* that lead to being victimised several times, and if yes, what these circumstances are. The answers to these questions – besides several other factors – obviously can **also** be found in the victims' carelessness, in their lack of foresight, in their neglect of their individual security, in their "liberal" ways of taking care of their property and in the rate of crime in the neighbourhood.

The damage suffered by victims, as well as **the amount of the damage caused by the given crime**, are both integral parts of the issue of victimisation. This is so because it is a very sensitive issue for the victims what loss they suffer through having their pockets picked, having their homes burglarised, suffering some damage in their property or being overcharged and whether they will be compensated for the actual damage – or for a part of it – at all.

In this survey a special questionnaire, the so called "Crime Appendix" was used to record the information on the damage caused by the crime. This questionnaire, however, covers a period of one and a half years, i.e. it contains the answers of those victims that became victimised in crimes against property (or other crimes) in 2002, and in the first half of 2003. As a consequence, these results cannot be compared to the results of the data collection that focused mainly on 2002. However, the central role played by the damage caused by the crimes makes it necessary to summarize the experience gathered through making the interviews in this respect as well.

On the basis of the answers given to these questions it can be established as a fact that the amount of the damage caused by crimes is substantially

different not only in the different categories of crimes but depending on the damaged legal object as well. Obviously, the damage caused by car theft is the highest and the crimes committed by pickpockets is the smallest.

There is a considerable difference concerning **the compensation for the damage** as well. This survey did not cover the degree of compensation received for the damage by the individual victims, thus we know only "if the damage caused to the victims was compensated for in some form or not". On average only 10-15% of the victims reported that their damage was partly or wholly compensated for. Car theft is an exception, the damage caused by this kind of crime was compensated for in almost every case because presumably either the car was found or compensation was paid by the insurance company. Theft and crimes committed by pickpockets are, however, also exceptions in another sense; in this case only seven-eight percent of the victims were given some form of compensation.

Detailed information is presented below:

- **Car theft:** 56 cases took place in one and a half years and the damage caused to 54 victims was compensated for in some form. Most of the damage was over one million HUF.
- **Theft from cars:** only 15 of the 172 victims were compensated for. The damage did not exceed the limit set for minor offences in more than one fifth of the cases and it remained below one hundred thousand HUF in more than half of the cases. Only one victim said that the damage they suffered exceeded one million HUF.
- **Damaging cars:** It took place in 217 cases in the period of one and a half years and in more than a quarter of the cases (27.6%) the damage was under the limit set for minor offences and in more than half of the cases the damage was below one hundred HUF. Only 31 victims were compensated for their damage in some form.
- **Damaging:** 99 victims suffered damage caused by this kind of crime (or minor offence) in 48 cases the damage was below ten thousand HUF and in another 35 cases it was below one hundred HUF. Twelve victims were compensated for their damage.
- **Bicycle theft:** In the period examined 186 victims had their bicycles unlawfully appropriated and seventeen of them said that they had been compensated for their damage. It is clear from the amount of the damage that the value of the bicycles was less than ten thousand HUF in nearly one third of the cases, and in 40% of the cases the bicycles represented a value of between ten and twenty thousand HUF. There was only one victim among the interviewees who set more than one million HUF value on his stolen bicycle.

- **Crimes committed by pick pockets:** 136 people were victimised in this kind of crime, and only 11 people have been compensated partly or fully for their damage. In 45% of the cases the damage caused by the crimes did not exceed the limit set for minor offences, in another 45% the damage was between 10-100 thousand HUF.
- **Theft:** in the interval examined 291 people were victims of theft, among whom 20 persons were compensated in some degree. More than one third of the crimes caused damage under the limit set for minor offences, more than half of them were between ten and one hundred thousand HUF, and two victims suffered damage over one million HUF.
- **Burglary:** Only 31 one among the altogether 176 victims reported about compensation for their damage. In each cases the amount of the damage caused by crimes is obviously higher than in the categories above: the rate of the crimes below the limit set for minor offences is only 16%, the rate of the crimes causing damage between ten and one hundred thousand HUF and the rate of those causing damage between 100-500 thousand HUF are both one third. Seven people suffered damage between 500 thousand and one million HUF and the damage of five other people exceeded one million HUF.
- **Fraud:** It is also proved by the distribution of the amount of the damage caused by the crimes that this issue actually covers the legal fact of deceiving of customers: 60% of the 245 people who were victims of "cheating" suffered damage under 10 thousand HUF, the amount of their damage was mostly one or two thousand HUF. Only ten people reported that their damage reached 200 thousand HUF and seven people's damage exceeded one million HUF. The rate of those who have been compensated is relatively high: 59 people, that is, one fourth of all the victims.

The socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees

The distribution of victims of crimes against property according to gender and age

Distribution by gender

According to the data of the UPPCS, in 2002 88% of all the female victims who became known and 86% of all the male victims who became known were victims of crimes against property. Thus, the extremely high rate of victims of crimes against property over the whole population of the victims is

valid regardless of the gender and not only in 2002 but in the previous years as well.

In this survey the distribution of the victims of crimes against property according to gender is almost the same as the distribution in the whole population in Hungary; the proportion of men (49.2%) is slightly but definitely smaller than the proportion of women (50.8%).

It is interesting to note that among the victims who became victimised in other crimes than crimes against property in 2002 there is an even distribution according to gender: the rate of both men and women is about 50-50%.

There is a significant difference in the proportions of genders among the 6,720 people who have not become victims of any crimes at all in the past five years: the proportion of women exceeds the proportion of men by 10% (54.7–45.3%).

Perhaps women generally tend to have more foresight, they are more cautious, and therefore they can avoid being victimised better than men. However, this general statement about their foresight is not true of their foresight concerning crimes against property at all.

Distribution by age

The distribution of the victims of crimes against property according to age – in the age groups consisting of ten years over the age of 18 and finally in the age group for all those over 60 – shows **a very slightly but definitely decreasing tendency by these age groups**. The highest proportion of the victims are in the age group of 18–29 years (22.8%), the proportion of those aged between 30 and 39 is just slightly lower than this (22.1%), and it is followed by those aged between 40 and 49 (nearly 20%), those aged between 50 and 59 (18%) and finally the people over 60 (17.6%).

The difference between the proportions of the most threatened and the least threatened age groups is only 5% – thus it can not be considered significant. On the basis of the data, the only thing that can be definitely stated as a fact is that the danger of being victimised in crimes against property is slightly decreasing in the higher age groups, which means that these two factors are in inverse ratio with each other: as we can see, the proportion of the oldest people who are victimised in crimes against property is smaller than the proportion of those who belong to the youngest age group (among the interviewees). We may come to the conclusion that as people advance in years and want to protect the values that they have obtained through their lives, they are becoming (slightly) more cautious.

Thus, the brief statement, according to which "In the year 2002 the age group of the 40–44-year-old people was the most threatened" does not hold true of the victims of crimes against property and of the interviewees in the sample.³

Distribution according to schooling

While the distribution according to age is not or only slightly significant, the distribution according to schooling is highly significant in the group of victims of crimes against property. **There is high proportion of victims with a degree in higher education**, whose proportion is far higher than in the entire population or among the victims of other crimes as well: one forth of the victims of crimes against property have a degree in higher education. This proportion among all the interviewees is only 14%, and among those who have not been victimised in the past five years it is only 11% (!).

In comparison with this, the number of the victims of crimes against property, **who finished only the eight (or fewer) years of primary school is low**: it is altogether only 149 of the 1,046 people (14%). This proportion is significantly different in comparison with those who have not been victimised in the past five years (as about one third of the 2,243 people belonging to this group belongs to this category), and also in comparison with all the interviewees (among whom more than 28% finished primary school only) (Table 5.).

Table 5.
The level of schooling among the interviewees (%)

| schooling | victims of crimes against property in 2002 | victims of other crimes in 2002 | not victimised in 2002 | not victimised in the past five year | total |
|----------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|
| 8 year of primary school or less | 14.2 | 18.1 | 20.7 | 33.4 | 28.5 |
| trade school | 21.2 | 24.4 | 23.0 | 24.3 | 23.7 |
| vocational secondary school | 20.9 | 20.0 | 18.7 | 16.1 | 17.2 |
| grammar school | 19.3 | 16.3 | 19.3 | 14.7 | 16.2 |
| higher education | 23.7 | 20.6 | 18.0 | 11.1 | 14.0 |
| no data | 0.6 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

3 Tájékoztató az ismertté vált, kiemelt bűncselekmények sértettjeiről, valamint a sértettek és az elkövetők kapcsolatáról az 1998–2002. években (Informative publication on the victims of the special status crimes that became known, as well as on the relation between the victims and the offenders in the years between 1998 and 2002). Legfőbb Ügyészség Számítástechnika-alkalmazási és Információs Főosztály, Budapest, 2003, p. 4.

It is characteristic of the level of qualifications that in comparison with all the other groups, the victims of crimes against property have taken a final examination in vocational secondary schools or in grammar schools in the highest proportion.

It would be all too obvious to conclude from these indicators that higher schooling attract criminals against property as if it were an irresistible force, that is, this fact in itself predestines one to be a victim of these crimes. This simplified model, of course, is not true. I think that it is better to look for the connections in the respect that higher schooling helps one to achieve/fill a higher position in the hierarchy of the division of labour in civilised societies. The position in the hierarchy of the division of labour, in turn, determines income and in this way the wealth that can be accumulated and that is actually accumulated. In a society free from (or hardly affected by) functional disorders linear thinking can explain the usually very high level of schooling among the victims of crimes against property.

The family status of the victims

The great majority of the victims of crimes against property **live together with others**: either in a family of their choice, together with their spouses or partners (64.1%) or being single, together with the family where they were raised, with their parents (15.7%). If we add the number of those who are widowed but found a new partner (3.1%) and those who are divorced but continue to live in the same flat as their former spouse (0.7%) we can conclude that the overwhelming majority (about 85%) of the victims in this group do not live on their own (Table 6.).

Of course, most of the people in the other three groups live in families as well, together with a spouse or a partner or their parents but the proportion

Table 6.
The family status of those who were victimised in 2002 (%)

| family status | were the victims of crimes against property | were the victims of other crimes |
|---|---|----------------------------------|
| married and live together with their spouses or cohabit | 64,1 | 53,8 |
| married but live separately | 0,6 | 1,3 |
| single, living with their parents | 15,7 | 23,8 |
| single, living on their own | 4,3 | 4,4 |
| divorced but living in a common flat | 0,7 | 0,6 |
| divorced but living separately | 7,4 | 8,1 |
| widowed and living on their own | 3,8 | 5,0 |
| single and living not on their own | 3,1 | 2,5 |
| no data | 0,5 | 0,6 |
| total | 100,0 | 100,0 |

of those living together with their family is somewhat smaller: it is below 80% in all the other groups. It is worth noting that the proportion of people living together in marriage or cohabitation is the smallest among those who were victims of other crimes in 2002 (53%) but the proportion of singles living together with their parents is exceptionally high (24%) in this group, in contrast to 14% among all the interviewees and 15% of the interviewees who have not been victimised. The explanation for this is that the proportion of people between the ages of 18 and 29 among the victims of other crimes than crimes against property was by far the highest (37%) in 2002. There is a tendency prevailing throughout Europe that children reaching adulthood continue to live in their parents' household for a longer period. This tendency is even reinforced in Hungary by the financial conditions of acquiring a separate home of one's own.

Singles and children living together with the victims

Compared to the above, **the number of those (about 40%) in whose households there are no children living together with their parents** – any more or yet – seems surprisingly high at first sight. Let us not forget, however, that more than one third of the victims of crimes against property are above 50 (which means that presumably the children have already left the family "nest") and 12% of them are between 18 and 24 (therefore they do not have any children yet). The fact that a lot of the victims of crimes against property are highly qualified, and therefore more wealthy and are able to help their children to solve their housing problems can also serve as an explanation. Considering all this, we can understand the reality of the 40% proportion, which, at the same time, undoubtedly is the lowest in comparison to the other groups as 46% of all the interviewees and more than 48% of those who have not been victimised in the past five years do not live together with children.

Approximately one quarter of the victims of crimes against property support one child, more than one fifth support two children and five percent support three children in their own households. The proportions are basically even in all the four groups but the proportion of those supporting two children is the highest among the victims of crimes against property.

Therefore it is **not at all characteristic** of victims of crimes against property **that they live alone, on their own**. The proportion of those living separated from their spouses, the divorcees and the widowers and widows living on their own together is about 11%, while there is only 4% of singles living alone. This latter figure shows that the single lifestyle becoming increasingly popular nowadays does not characterise the young generation of the victims of crimes against property.

The employment situation of the victims

The employment situation of these victims is **much more favourable** than of the people in the other four groups as the proportion of those in regular employment is the highest among the victims of crimes against property (nearly 60%); 55% of them are in full-time and 4% are in part-time employment. The proportion of those in temporary employment is below two percent. In comparison, the people in regular employment make up only 47% of all the interviewees and 44% of those who have not been victimised in the past five years.

The higher proportion of the people in regular employment, of course, means a smaller proportion of those not in employment, which is the smallest (406 people = 38.8%) among the victims of crimes against property among the five groups examined and the highest among the people who have not been victimised (54.4%). The difference is significant on the basis of the distribution of percentages already but it is even more conspicuous if we consider the actual number of the interviewees: 3,660 of the 6,720 victims and 5,100 of the 10,020 interviewees are not in employment.

One tenth of the victims of crimes against property not in employment are unemployed. The rate of unemployment is the highest in the group of victims of other crimes (14%), which shows the problems the people at the beginning of their career have finding a job, since the proportion of young people is the highest in this group.

The remaining 90% of those who are not in employment has the following distribution:

- 40% of the victims of crimes against property are pensioners (51% of all the interviewees and 55% of those who have not been victimised!),
- the proportion of students is 14% but it is over 18% among the victims of other crimes and it is only 7% among those who have not been victimised,
- the proportion of mothers receiving normal or special maternity benefit and those with a "full-time mother status" is 10% (it is smaller in the other three groups),
- finally, the proportion of housewives (3%) and those in compulsory military service is the smallest.

The **distribution of the interviewees according to their professions** provides further insight into the employment situation of the interviewees.

According to this, the proportion of unskilled workers is the smallest among the victims of crimes against property (only 2%) and the proportion of highly trained professionals is the highest (16%) in contrast to the proportion of 9% among those not victimised and 10.8% of all the interviewees. In view

of this, we can understand why the proportion of people in management positions is the highest among the victims of crimes against property and why the proportion of skilled and semi-skilled workers is the smallest compared to the other groups.

The victims of crimes against property are employed at private companies as **their main employers** (46%) or are civil servants (25%). However, the proportion of self-employed people is the highest in this group (20%), it is almost twice as much as the proportion in the group of those who have not been victimised.

Most of the people in the category of **"self-employed"** (40%) are entrepreneurs, another 20% are owners of a company and more than one tenth are craftsmen or shop owners and nearly the same proportion are agricultural entrepreneurs. The proportion of highly qualified professionals among the self-employed is above seven percent. Nevertheless, ninety percent of the victims of crimes against property interviewed do not have their own enterprise. This very high percentage must be due to the fact that not only one but usually more than one person establishes a company and those who have a company of their own usually employ three to six people.

The place where the victims live

It is characteristic of the housing conditions of victims of crimes against property that one fourth of them (27.4%) live in a **detached house in a city or a town**, one fifth of them (21.3%) live in a **detached house in a village** and another fifth (21%) live in a **prefab block in a housing estate** or in a prefab block. The overwhelming majority (approximately 70%) live in their present homes **as owners** and one fifth are the relatives (children) of the owners. As the result of the large-scale purchase of local government flats by the tenants the number of the owners has increased but the number of tenants is very small: at the time of the interview only about four percent of the victims of crimes against property had a rental contract with the local government and only one percent rented their homes from a private individual.

Differentiation according to the place of residence is basically the same in all the five groups. There is a significant difference only in the respect that compared to the other four groups the victims of crimes against property live in prefab blocks at a highest percentage and live in detached houses in villages in the smallest percentage (the latter is 33% with respect to all the interviewees and is above 37% with respect to those who have not been victimised).

Looking at the **victims of burglaries** among the victims of crimes against property we received the – actually not too surprising result – that detached

houses in villages are the most endangered by this category of crime, where 32% of the burglaries took place, followed by detached houses in cities and towns (25%) and finally by prefab blocks, where 17% of all the burglaries were committed.

The relationship of the victims of crimes against property is dominated by **attachment** – just as living together with others in the case of marital status – as 43% of them have been living in the same place for twenty years or more and 20% for more than ten years. (The proportions are similar in the other groups as well.) It follows from the high proportion of the years and decades spent in the same place that about half of the victims lived in one or two places and one third of them lived in three or four places **for longer than six months**.

The financial situation of the victims

40% of the victims of crimes against property **find** their own financial situations **average** and one fifth of them are not at all satisfied with it but this latter is still the lowest rate compared to the other groups. The highest proportion of perfectly satisfied people, however, can be found among the victims of crimes against property and although this proportion is only 3.1%, it is still more than twice as high as the 1.3% among the victims of other crimes. It is also noteworthy that the highest proportion of people considered their financial situations as good in general among the victims of crimes against property.

Satisfaction, it seems, has its reasons: more than one fifth of these victims categorised their financial situation as being, although not among the best 20% but among upper half of those who live in the best financial situation, which is a much higher proportion than those who had the same opinion in the other four groups. For example, only 15% of the victims of other crimes and 17% of those who had not been victimised had different opinions. On the other hand, about 9% of the victims categorised their own and their families' financial situations as being among the worst twenty percent; this proportion is obviously higher in the other groups.

The majority of the victims of crimes against property, approximately 60% of them, thought that they were among the lower half of those who live among worse financial conditions.

The financial situation of these victims is characterised by the fact that 524 of the 1,046 people have **a car** and another 110 have more than one car. The 50% proportion of those who have one car and the 10 percent proportion of those with more than one car are by far the highest among all the groups: only about one third of those who have not been victimised in the

past five years have one car and five percent have more than one car, while these proportions are 36% and 7% among the victims of other crimes.

The value of cars as estimated by the owner is rather subjective: they esteemed the value of their cars to be two three million HUF, that is, they **own cars of medium category**. However, seven of them mentioned a value between ten and twenty million HUF and one person mentioned 30 million and another 40 million HUF.

Culture, religion

The overwhelming majority of victims of crimes against property – just as the members of the other groups – **are attached to the values of Hungarian culture only**. Attachments to the traditions of other nationalities are below one percent. There are perhaps two exceptions: 1.5% of the victims of crimes against property attach to German cultural values and 3% of the victims of other crimes have a declared attachment to the Romany ethnic group.

60% of the victims of crimes against property are **not religious**. One fourth of them go to religious meetings although not very often.

Deviances

The victims of crimes against property are not characterised by deviant behaviour at all: one third of them do not drink any alcohol and 40% of them drink alcohol very rarely.

More than 90% of them have never been suspects of criminal procedures and 94% of them have never been under a procedure started for minor offences.

OPINIONS

General feelings

People's general feelings at present, the changes in the past five years and the **expected changes in the next five years** look similar in their proportions concerning all the interviewees, the victims of crimes against property and the people who have not been victimised in the past five years as well – although the exact percentages may be different. There seems to be a close relationship between the changes in people's general feelings and the changes in their **financial situations** although these two do not coincide necessarily.

In each group 40-45% of the interviewees have **average** general feelings at present; the same proportion say that their general feelings have not

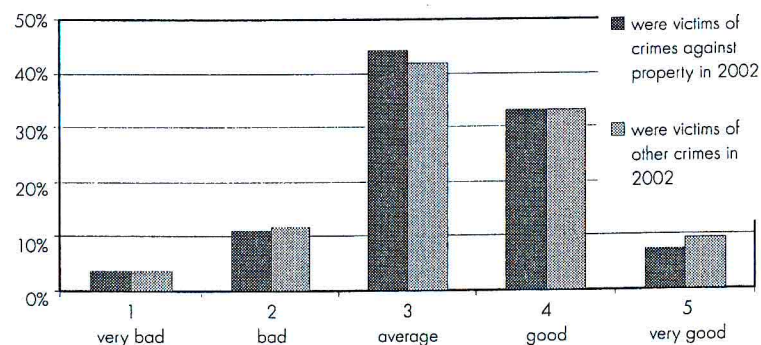
changed substantially in the past five years and will not change in the next five years either. Exactly the same proportion gave an "average" rating to the question about how their financial situation had changed in the past five years and how satisfied they were with their financial situation (Table 7).

Table 7.
The general feelings of the interviewees at present (%)

| evaluation | were victims of crimes against property in 2002 | were victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 – very bad | 3.8 | 3.8 | 4.7 | 4.7 |
| 2 – bad | 11.0 | 11.9 | 11.7 | 11.4 |
| 3 – average | 44.4 | 41.9 | 42.2 | 44.3 |
| 4 – good | 33.0 | 33.1 | 32.4 | 30.3 |
| 5 – very good | 7.5 | 9.4 | 8.7 | 9.0 |
| do not know/did not answer | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Nearly 4% of the victims of crimes against property have very bad general feelings and 11% of them have bad general feelings, while about one third of them have good general feelings and more than seven percent have very good general feelings. It is interesting that the general feelings of one fifth of the victims have become worse – although only to a small extent – and similarly, the general feelings of another fifth have become slightly better. The financial situation and together with it the general feelings of one tenth of the victims have become much worse but only four percent have very bad general feelings. There is another aspect in which financial situation and general feelings do not go hand in hand: the financial situation of only three

Chart 4.
The general feelings of those victimised in 2002



percent of these victims has become much better while the general feelings of five percent have become much better and now eight percent have very good general feelings (Chart 4.).

Feeling of security – in general

It is evident that those who have been the victims of some crime find the **law enforcement activity of the police** weaker than those who have not been victimised. The difference is significant and is extremely huge in some respects.

15% of the victims of crimes against property think that the police cannot guarantee security *at all*. The proportion of those who have not been victimised in the past five years and have the same opinion is only half of that, 7.6%, and it is less than half of all the interviewees.

The activity of the police was considered average by 50% of those who have not been victimised and also 50% of all the interviewees, while only 45% of the victims of crimes against property and 37% of the victims of other crimes shared this opinion.

There is a similar distribution concerning the **present situation of public security** of the country: the proportion of those who rated public security as average was only 45-48% among the victims of crimes against property and other crimes but it was 51-53% among those who have not been victimised. There were a higher proportion of people among the victims of crimes against property who thought public security was very bad (12%) than in the other groups and almost 30% thought it was bad, while only 7% of those who have not been victimised found public security at present very bad and 22% found it bad.

The opinions were divided essentially in the same proportion about how public security has changed **in the past five years**: according to 40% it has not changed at all, according to 10% it has become much worse and according to 28% it has become worse. There has been an improvement according to only 16% who gave a rating of "four".

It is fortunate in itself and especially in the light of the above that *europessimism* does not prevail concerning all the interviewees and concerning each category either. On the contrary, the fact that according to a great many of the interviewees – 40-45% of them – public security will improve, moreover, it will improve a lot after Hungary's accession to the European Union. Only one quarter of the victims of crimes against property expected public security to remain unchanged and only 15% of them expected it to become worse.

One of the important indicators but definitely not the *only* indicator of the situation of public security is the number of crimes. In view of this, it is no surprise that some of the interviewees expect the number of crimes to increase and only a quarter of them think that at the same time with the improvement of public security **the number of crimes** will also decrease. According to one third of the victims of crimes against property the number of crimes will remain the same after **Hungary's accession**, moreover, according to the opinions of one third there will be more or even much more crimes although according to 43% a general improvement can be expected in the situation of public security.

Car thefts mean a big or a very big problem according to most of the people in each group. The proportion of those who have this opinion is obviously the highest among the victims of crimes against property (77%) but it is also high, around 70% in the other groups as well. This outstandingly high percentage shows that public opinion on car thefts is rather exaggerated: the number of the crimes actually committed is far below the frequency of this crime according to public opinion. This is shown, among others, by the fact that only 35 car thefts were detected out of the total of 1,260 cases committed to altogether 1,046 people who were the victims of crimes against property in the year 2002 among the interviewees.

Similarly, **organised crime** and **violent crime** were major problems in each group of the interviewees. One fifth of the interviewees gave an "average" rating in each group and the great majority of them found these manifestations of crime a serious or an extremely serious problem. Somewhat fewer, 70%, on average considered organised crime and somewhat more, 74%, considered violent crime as serious problems.

The opinions on **thefts** are in complete harmony with the spread of this crime and with the frequency of being victimised in this crime. There were only a few of the interviewees who thought theft was not a problem in present-day Hungary and there were also only a few (7% in each group) who thought the problem generated by thefts was serious to an average extent. The overwhelming majority of the interviewees (90%) think that thefts pose a big or a very big problem. It is worth noting that according to 70% it is a very big problem.

General feelings

Most of the victims of crimes against property (73%) – just as most of the people in the other groups (70-77%) – **like the place where they live** at present. Their attachment is proved by the fact that they do not change their

places of residence often and a lot of them have been living in the same place for several decades.

Street noise and traffic do not disturb most of the victims but it is too big for 15% of them and it is a very big problem for about one fifth of them. The proportion of the latter is approximately the same as the proportion of those living in detached houses and in prefab blocks.

Gypsies do not pose a problem at all or just a slight problem for more than half of the victims of crimes against property and only slightly less than one third of them consider their presence as a major problem in the place where they live. This proportion is worth noting partly because the participation of Romany offenders is overrepresented in crimes against property and partly because some of the public has a deeply ingrained image of the gypsies as thieves, pickpockets, burglars entering homes by stealth or people approaching you in the street, trying to sell you goods of poor value at cheap prices.

The opinions on **drug addiction** are much more lenient: most of the people do not think it is a problem and only 8% of the crimes against property think that it is a very big problem.

The opinions on **careless motorists** are much more negative. Interestingly, the victims of crimes against property find this issue the most serious among all the groups because according to 43% of them it is a big or a very big problem. The opinions are similar in the other groups as well but a somewhat smaller percentage considers the moral of drivers as seriously bad.

According to the great majority of the victims of crimes against property **homeless people** and **beggars** do not pose a real problem as only one fifth of them think it is a problem. The answers, however, vary considerably concerning **drunks** in their locality: one quarter of the victims of crimes against property and one third of the victims of other crimes and one fifth of those who have not been victimised think that the excessive consumption of alcohol in public places has a negative impact on people's general feelings about their environment.

It seems that **bad public lighting** hardly plays any role in crimes against property, at least, that is what can be inferred from the opinions of those concerned: according to 70% of them this is not a problem and only 14% think that it has an adverse effect on the environment. It is interesting that the victims of other crimes also think the same way and on the whole, all of the interviewees share this opinion.

The proportions of opinions concerning how much of a problem **the lack of job opportunities** mean are approximately the same as well. In each group more than half of the interviewees thought that it was a serious or a very

serious problem and only 15% on average thought that it was not a problem at all.

Obviously, people's opinions on **litter and pollution in the streets and in the green areas** greatly depend on the general situation in the place where they live. It is in the light of this that we can interpret the fact for one quarter of the victims of crimes against property pollution of the environment is not a problem at all, while for another quarter of them it is a very serious problem.

Foreigners and people who seek asylum pose no problem for most of the victims of crimes against property.

The majority of the victims of crimes against property are tolerant towards **bored and idle youngsters** – just as the majority in the other groups: only a minority (30% on average) think they pose a serious problem and consider them to be a factor causing concrete problems in their locality.

Sense of security in the immediate neighbourhood

A high proportion of the victims of crimes against property have their good reasons to like the place where they live: presumably there are several advantages of it with **its security** being one of them. 43% find their environment very secure and another 14% found it to be very secure. It follows from this that about 60% of them **leave their homes after dark as well** to attend to some business of theirs. On the other hand, only about one tenth of them considered the place where they live not at all secure or secure to only a small extent, yet nearly 40% never or hardly ever go out to the street after dark. There is a similar tendency concerning all the interviewees, 70% of whom think they live in a secure environment but nearly half of them hardly ever go out to the street in the evening. This connection is interesting even though the decision to leave one's home after dark is motivated not only by a sense of security or the lack of it but by several other factors (age, health, work, leisure interests, etc.).

Half of the victims of crimes against property think that the security has not changed in the place where they live **in the past five years**; slightly more than one fifth think that it has become worse and another fifth think that it has become better.

In relation to this, the **optimism** mentioned above can be seen in respect for the near future: according to nearly 40% of these victims **security in the place where they live will improve in the next five years** and nearly the same proportion think that stagnation can be expected and only about one tenth forecast a decline in this respect (Table 8., Chart 5.).

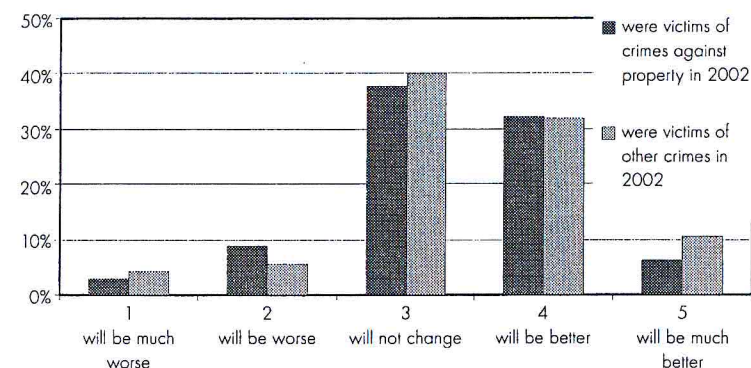
Table 8.

How will public security change in the next five years in the place where you live? (%)

| evaluation | were victims of crimes against property in 2002 | were victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|---|
| 1 – will grow a lot worse | 3.1 | 4.4 | 2.4 | 1.3 |
| 2 – will grow worse | 8.9 | 5.6 | 7.5 | 4.9 |
| 3 – will not change | 37.9 | 40.0 | 38.3 | 36.7 |
| 4 – will be better | 32.4 | 31.9 | 30.5 | 30.3 |
| 5 – will be much better | 6.2 | 10.6 | 5.7 | 10.2 |
| do not know/did not answer | 11.6 | 7.5 | 15.6 | 16.5 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Chart 5.

How will public security change in the next five years in the place where you live?

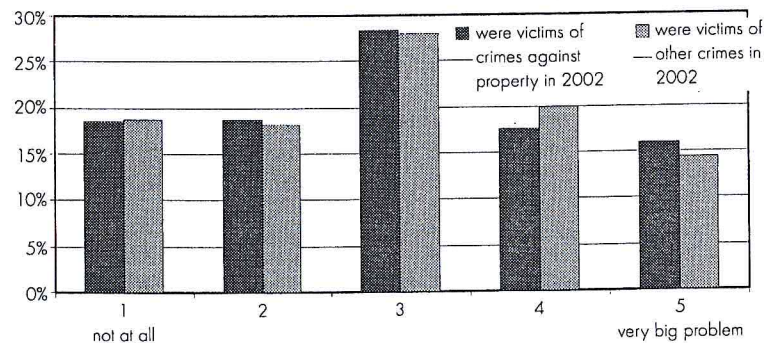


The opinions on crime and within this **crime committed at the place where one lives are** closely related to the fact whether the interviewee has been the victim of some crime or not. According to the results of this present survey, a smaller proportion (37%) of those who have been the victims of crimes against property or other crimes and a higher proportion (55%) of the victims think that crime is not a problem or is hardly a problem in the place where they live. In contrast to it, slightly more than one fifth of those who have not been victimised and more than one third of the victims of other crimes said that crime is a big or a very big problem for them. At the same time, half of the victims of crimes against property think that much fewer crimes are committed in the place where they live than in the other parts of the country (Table 9., Chart 6.).

Table 9.
How much of a problem crime is in the place where you live? (%)

| evaluation | were victims of crimes against property in 2002 | were victims of other crimes in 2002 | were victims of other crimes in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|----------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|
| 1 – not at all | 18.5 | 18.8 | 23.0 | 32.2 |
| 2 | 18.7 | 18.1 | 20.5 | 23.3 |
| 3 | 28.5 | 28.1 | 26.6 | 20.7 |
| 4 | 17.5 | 20.0 | 14.4 | 10.8 |
| 5 – very big problem | 15.9 | 14.4 | 14.3 | 11.0 |
| do not know/did not answer | 0.9 | 0.6 | 1.6 | 2.0 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Chart 6.
How much of a problem crime is in the place where you live?



Our everyday anxieties about crime

The majority of those 1046 people who were victims of altogether 1260 crimes against property in 2002 are usually not afraid of crime and are not really anxious about it.

According to the answers given to the concrete question, the everyday lives of this majority (about 60%) are not influenced or are only little influenced by crime. A quarter of them can be regarded as neutral in this respect and only 4% of them are characterised by anxiety. Those who were not victimised are even more unaffected by the frustrations caused by crime: the lives of 74% of them are not influenced by crime at all and only 2% of them have anxieties. The average person is not really concerned about crime as a reality in society and it usually never occurs to them that they may become victims of crime. One third of the victims of crimes against property never and 43% of them very rarely think of the possibility of becoming a

victim of crime although they have already undergone the mental and physical trauma of victimisation. In comparison to this, it can even be explained psychologically that those who have not been victimised are even less concerned about crime and the proportion of those with anxieties among them is even smaller than in the previous group.

More than half of the victims of crimes against property never or hardly ever think of the possibility of their homes being burglarised although more than a quarter of them think that it can happen easily. Moreover, 12% of them already had this experience in 2002! The proportion of those people who dread burglary in specific is higher than the proportion of those who are just afraid of crime in general.

In view of the above, it is clear that more than half of the victims of crimes against property find their immediate neighbourhood secure. This means nearly 70% of those who have not been victimised and 64% of all the interviewees. There is a conspicuous difference, however, concerning those who are perfectly satisfied with the security of the place where they live: their proportion is only 13.7% among the victims of crimes against property and 28.4%, more than double than that, among those who have not been victimised (Table 10., Chart 7.).

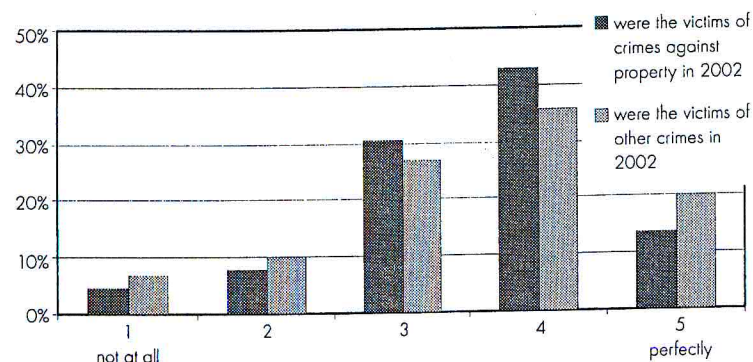
Half of the interviewees would feel secure in every group after dark in their neighbourhood and this proportion is the lowest among the victims of crimes against property (44%), while it is 55% among all the interviewees and 58% among those who were not victimised. Those who actually feel anxiety constitute about one tenth of the victims of crimes against property.

In answer to the question whether they thought it possible that they would be assaulted in their neighbourhood in the street, 61% of the victims of crimes against property said "no", in contrast to the 52% of the victims of other crimes and the 76% of those who were not victimised, proving thereby the survival of earlier negative experiences or the total lack of such experiences.

Table 10.
How secure do you find the place where you live? (%)

| assessment | was the victim of crimes against property in 2002 | was the victim of other crimes in 2002 | was not victimised in 2002 | has not been victimised in the past five years |
|----------------------------|---|--|----------------------------|--|
| 1 – not at all | 4.6 | 6.9 | 4.3 | 2.1 |
| 2 | 7.8 | 10.0 | 7.4 | 4.1 |
| 3 | 30.5 | 26.9 | 28.8 | 22.3 |
| 4 | 43.0 | 35.6 | 42.0 | 42.7 |
| 5 – perfectly | 13.7 | 20.0 | 17.3 | 28.4 |
| do not know/did not answer | 0.4 | 0.6 | 0.2 | 0.3 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Chart 7.
How secure do you find the place where you live?



Most people consider their **residential buildings** much safer than the street and rightly so. It is because of this that 85-90% (in all the groups) think that an assault within the building is out of the question.

The proportion of those who think **a burglary into their homes** possible is the highest among the victims of crimes against property (64%). The difference in the proportions is clearly shown by the fact that the proportion of those who hold this opinion is 47% among all the interviewees and it is only 42% among those who were not victimised.

For most of the victims of crimes against property (77%) there is no place in their locality where they would not like to go **during the day** for fear of crime but only 50% of them would go out anywhere **after dark**. Characteristically, those who have been victimised (either in crimes against property or in other crimes) are more cautious. Their fear of crime is shown by the fact that in these two groups there is a higher proportion of those who would not dare to go out anywhere after dark.

It never happens to more than 90% of the interviewees (in all the groups) that they are afraid to go out to the street for fear of crime **during the day**. This proportion drops to 65% **in night hours**. One tenth of the victims of crimes against property positively dread leaving their homes after dark. Most people, however, feel secure at home, even at night. About six percent of the victims of crimes against property are afraid of criminals at night if they are at home alone.

One third of the victims of crimes against property find the possibility of **being injured in a traffic accident** average, while according to 40% this can happen easily or very easily. It is understandable, since an outstanding proportion of the people in this group have cars so they are (or should be)

aware of the dangers of traffic. Most of the victims of other crimes share this opinion. The group of those who have not been victimised are the most optimistic concerning the possibility of traffic accidents.

70% of the victims of crimes against property do not suppose at all that they can become the victims of **verbal insult defaming one's character**, be **harassed or molested**, **raped** or suffer an attempt on their lives. Approximately the same number of them think that they can be injured either lightly or severely as the result of a **physical attack**. More than 80% rule out the possibility of becoming a **terrorist attack**. There are, of course, deep pessimists in each group but their proportion is only around five percent. This means that most of the victims do not have any anxiety about becoming victims of crimes against their lives or physical health, crimes against sexual morals and human dignity.

In contrast, the percentage of people worrying about their children is higher. According to one fourth of the victims of crimes against property it can happen easily that **their children will suffer a serious assault in the school** but more than one third gave a confident answer, saying that they did not worry at all.

All those who suffered a loss owing to some crime against property are more afraid of the repeated occurrence of **crime against property** and find it much more probable that they may be victimised (again) than those who were the victims of other crimes. The people who have not been the victims of crimes that caused damage in their property in the past five years (or all their lives) are the least afraid of crimes against property. **Most of the victims of crimes against property think it possible that they will be victimised again to an extent depending on the different categories of crimes to a varying degree and the object used in committing the crime.**

Approximately 40% of the victims of crimes against property think that it may easily or very easily happen to them that their **wallets** or **other valuables** will be stolen and only 17% and 12% think that it is out of the question. Half of the victims of crimes against property think that their **cars** may get easily stolen and only 16% think that it is not possible at all. In contrast to it, about one third or a quarter of the people who have not been victimised rule out the possibility of having their wallets, other valuables or cars stolen.

Interestingly, there is an even greater difference between the different groups in their judgement of the possibility of becoming the victims of **overcharging**. 30% of those who have not been victimised and a quarter of all the interviewees rule out the possibility of this crime happening to them and only 12-15% think that it may happen very easily. The proportions are reversed among the victims of crimes against property: a quarter of them think that they

can become victimised very easily and 15% think that they cannot become victimised in this way at all⁴.

It is characteristic of each group that they are the least afraid of becoming the victims of **damaging**. A much higher proportion of those who have not been victimised in the past five years rule out this possibility at a much higher rate (42%) than those who had their property damaged in 2002 (25%).

Finally, two more questions. The victims of crimes against property consider **an attack by a dog** as a real but rare danger since nearly the same percentage rule out this possibility and find it very probable (15% and 17%), while most of them consider it dangerous "on average". Half of the victims of crimes against property gave an exclusively or nearly exclusively negative answer to the question "Can it happen that **you are disturbed by other people's loud or unruly behaviour?**" and only according to 14% can it happen very easily.

Thoughts of crimes do not dominate the thinking of victims of crimes against property: more than 70% of them never or hardly ever think of the possibility of **becoming victims of crimes** and only five percent have this thought often or very often. Freedom from anxiety is obviously higher in the group of those not victimised (here the two indicators are 83% and 3.6%) and also among all the interviewees (81.6% and 4.3%).

Increasing security on one's own initiatives

Most of the victims of crimes against property make efforts to protect against burglary depending on the value of the properties and their financial means, that is, to **increase their own security** through technical instruments as well.

This is proved by the fact that 70% of them use a **security lock**, nearly one third of them use a **locking bar** and 17% use **bars on the doors or on the windows** and nearly 50% have a **watchdog** for protection. Relatively few people use systems that require more substantial investments: only 122 people have a **local alarm**, thirty-seven have an **alarm system hooked up to an emergency centre** and thirty-five use **other instruments**.

⁴ The phrasing of the question clearly shows that the person compiling the questionnaire did not aim at identifying the victims of fraud but only at interviewing the victims of the crime called "cheating customers". It is to be noted that it would be interesting to know what the extremely confident 25-30%, according to whom it is out of the question that some of the service providers cheat the customers base their confidence on.

However, most of the victims of crimes against property – and the people in other groups as well – firmly reject some of the precautionary measures that are necessary and indispensable (?) in order to avoid victimisation.

Thus, in all the groups used in the comparisons, there are about 80% who

- do not avoid using public transport in the evening,
- do not take part in self-defence courses,
- do not take any self-defence instruments with them when they go out.

They use much simpler but perhaps more effective methods:

- they avoid gangs of youth, drunks and beggars in the street (65%),
- they avoid certain places and streets in their locality where they do not feel comfortable (50%),
- they keep a watchdog.

Those who have children in their households usually pay even more attention to make sure – as the natural course of family life also dictates – that the children do not go out in the evening alone.

Relationships within the community

The victims of crimes against property are characterised by **maintaining relationships within the community**. A proof of this is that 91% of them know their neighbours and have a relationship with them (this proportion is a little higher in the other categories) but in spite of this good relationship two thirds of them meet their neighbours only rarely. When assessing these relationships, however, we should take into consideration the housing conditions (some of the victims of crimes against property, for example, live in prefab blocks notorious for alienation), the time spent in their jobs (a lot of them work full-time), the children living together with them (who require the right amount of time within the family) and several other factors.

It is characteristic of relationships within the small community that only 45% of the victims are in a good, friendly relationship with their neighbours but three-quarter of them think that they can rely on the help of the neighbours in whenever a problem arises (e.g. the overwhelming majority feel secure within their residential building!). The proportion of people who say that the whole neighbourhood can take action together in problems affecting the whole community is the highest (66%) among the victims of crimes against property compared to all the other groups.

Summary

In summary we can conclude that in 2002 the victims of crimes against property show the following significant features:

FACTS

- the danger of victimisation is relatively high and it is the most frequent in the age group between 18 and 29,
- the distribution according to age is the same as in the total population,
- the victims usually live in marriages or in cohabitation and have one or two children,
- the proportion of people with a degree in higher education is exceptionally high,
- there is a higher than average rate of employment among those who are below retirement age and there are relatively many people who are self-employed,
- they mostly live as owners in a house with a garden in a city, town or in a village or in a prefab block,
- they tend to stay in the same place instead of changing residence,
- their financial situation is better than the average and more than the average have one or more than one cars,
- they have an attachment to the value of the Hungarian culture and traditions, they are not religious and are not characterised by deviant behaviour either.

OPINIONS

- their general feelings are average and they do not expect an improvement in this respect in the near future,
- in their opinion the performance of the police in maintaining security leaves a lot to be desired at the moment,
- public security will improve after Hungary has joined the European Union,
- their sense of security is badly affected by the great problem posed by the high number of thefts, car thefts among them, as well as organised and violent crime at present in Hungary,
- their sense of security in their neighbourhood is positively affected, however, by the fact that they like the place they live at and they do not especially mind the presence of gypsies, drug addicts, homeless people, drunks and foreigners seeking asylum as well as lack of jobs and public lighting, the dirty streets and idle, bored youngsters hanging around,

- they find the place where they live secure even now and they think that security will improve after the accession to the EU,
- they have no anxiety over crime "in general", they do not think that the possibility of their becoming victims of crimes is a crucial problem and therefore their mobility is not hindered by this – neither at night nor during the daytime,
- they have no anxiety at all over the possibility of their becoming the victims of crimes against life, crimes causing physical injury as well as crimes against sexual morals and human dignity,
- on the other hand, they are afraid of becoming victims of crimes against property: based on their negative experiences they think it possible that their homes will be burglarised, their cars, their wallets and their other valuables will be stolen and that they will be overcharged in a shop,
- in order to avoid victimisation, depending on the values they wish to protect and on their financial means, while staying within the confines of rationality, they improve their own security and the security of their families,
- their relationships within the small community are not too spectacular but are reliable and are based on secure foundations.

LÁSZLÓ TIBOR NAGY

Violent Crime

Violent crime – independent of its quantitative volume – always means the hardest line of crimes. It counts as the most substantial component of the picture people have of the totality of crimes because it is highly dangerous to society, it has a huge impact on the assessment of public security and because the media is especially interested in it.

In Hungary in the 1970s and 1980s the share of violent crimes was 10-13% within the totality of crimes that came to be known and the number of these crimes was always under 20 thousand. After the transition there was a great change in its volume as it can be seen in Table 1. The rate of this change, however, proved much slower than the change in the totality of crimes, therefore the share of these crimes dropped to 5-6%.

A characteristic feature of violent crimes is that the proportion of known perpetrators is much higher than the quotient of the crimes (Table 2.). The reason for this is partly that the violent forms of behaviour are often committed by a group of people and also that the rate of success concerning detection and investigation is much higher than the average in this category.

The growth in violent crime can be regarded as real and it is not the factors of demography, registration by criminal-statistics or codification that are in the background.¹ Still, Hungary is in the middle of the list concerning this category of crimes among the European countries – at the same level as Denmark.²

At the same time, the change in the quality of violent crime, its becoming more brutal, seems worrying. The murders that are planned in advance and committed with brutal methods and murders of the showdown type as well as robberies that are becoming more violent and dangerous alarmed the public.³ Crimes that have been practically unknown before, like violent recovery of money or demanding money in exchange for protection have been spreading. The proportion of instances when people take the law into their own hands, blackmail and assault and battery has increased significantly.

1 Bakóczy, A. – Sárkány, I.: Erőszak a bűnözésben (Violence in Crime). BM Kiadó, Budapest, 2001, p. 110.

2 Kertész, I.: Befejezhetetlen háború (War That Cannot Be Finished). BM Kiadó, Budapest, 2000, p. 310.

3 A társadalmi bűnmegelőzés nemzeti stratégiája. 115/2003. (X. 28.) OGY határozat (The National Strategy of Crime Prevention in Society. 115/2003. (X. 28.) Parliamentary decree). Magyar Közlöny, 2003/123.

Table 1.

The changes in the number of the totality of crimes and the violent crimes and assault and battery between 1990 and 2002

| year | the totality of crimes | violent crimes | violent crimes in the percentage of the totality of crimes |
|------|------------------------|----------------|--|
| 1990 | 341,061 | 20,383 | 6.0 |
| 1991 | 440,370 | 23,078 | 5.2 |
| 1992 | 447,222 | 24,504 | 5.5 |
| 1993 | 400,935 | 24,574 | 6.1 |
| 1994 | 389,451 | 26,012 | 6.7 |
| 1995 | 502,036 | 25,731 | 5.1 |
| 1996 | 466,050 | 24,674 | 5.3 |
| 1997 | 514,403 | 26,987 | 5.2 |
| 1998 | 600,621 | 28,414 | 4.7 |
| 1999 | 505,716 | 28,277 | 5.6 |
| 2000 | 450,673 | 29,144 | 6.5 |
| 2001 | 465,694 | 30,821 | 6.6 |
| 2002 | 420,782 | 31,214 | 7.4 |

Table 2.

The totality of all known offenders and the offenders of violent crimes and assault and battery between 1990 and 2002

| year | all offenders | violent offenders | violent offenders in the percentage of all offenders |
|------|---------------|-------------------|--|
| 1990 | 112,254 | 15,976 | 14.2 |
| 1991 | 122,835 | 16,815 | 13.7 |
| 1992 | 132,644 | 18,846 | 14.2 |
| 1993 | 122,621 | 20,036 | 16.3 |
| 1994 | 119,494 | 21,327 | 17.8 |
| 1995 | 121,121 | 20,949 | 17.3 |
| 1996 | 122,226 | 19,431 | 15.9 |
| 1997 | 130,966 | 21,225 | 16.2 |
| 1998 | 140,083 | 22,330 | 15.9 |
| 1999 | 131,658 | 21,626 | 16.4 |
| 2000 | 122,860 | 21,514 | 17.5 |
| 2001 | 120,583 | 21,851 | 18.1 |
| 2002 | 121,885 | 23,419 | 19.2 |

In the meantime, the focus of violent crime, which was strongly related to village circumstances and served mainly to solve violent conflicts in the 1960s, was being moved over to the cities.⁴

Victims have an outstanding role in violent crime. They usually interact with the offender, they basically influence the plans for the crime and the way it is committed and yet – in spite of the increasingly intensive advance of

4 Gönczöl, K.: Bűnözés és társadalompolitika (Crime and Social Policy). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1987; Szócs, Á. L.: Az erőszakos bűnözés (Violent Crime). Belügyi Szemle, 7-8/2000, p. 97; Domokos, A.: Az erőszakos bűnözés (Violent Crime). Hinnova Magyarország Kft., Budapest, 2000, p. 83.

victimology – we know the least about them. Besides, there is an increasing demand to know the opinion of the public. The person who is the most directly concerned in crime: the person victimised or endangered by it cannot be omitted from the picture we form of the situation of crime.⁵ Besides the official statistics there is a great need for victimological surveys aimed at correcting the mistakes in official statistics that have been recognised. In the following we are going to present the results of the greatest such survey in Hungary so far concerning violent crime.

FACTS

The socio-demography of the interviewees

Victimisation

In the survey, concerning victimisation in a concrete crime we asked the interviewees questions about suffering four types of behaviour that can be categorised as violent crime. The interviewees specifically marked if it has happened in the past 5 years that someone tried to take away something from them by force or by threat (robbery) that they were assaulted, hit or beaten (assault), that they were actually threatened or attacked with a sexual intention (sexual attack), or they were attacked or threatened with a different – not sexual – intention and they were frightened (attack, threat).

At the same time, we should note that the above categories are not completely consequent from the point of view of criminal law because, for example, a threat may have only been a minor offence (or not even one), assault may also have been only a minor offence and the public often consider some acts as robbery although in actual fact they are just thefts. Therefore we cannot be sure that if a criminal procedure had taken place in the cases mentioned, they would have been declared as instances of violent crime. The legal relevance may be missing in these cases but this does not seem to be a problem from victimological aspects as the people concerned regarded themselves subjectively as victims of violent crimes and their personality and their attitudes was affected accordingly, therefore in the survey we are justified in regarding them as *victims of violent crimes*.

In the following – in view of the methodological aspects – we will analyse the data about the year 2002 first of all, because it is the last full year before

the survey and just as the results of the survey showed, the interviewees' memory can be regarded reliable enough for this period.

10.5% (127 people) of the interviewees who were victimised in 2002 (1206 people) were the victims of violent crimes, in a total of 213 cases. There were 104 cases of attack or threat, 66 cases of assault, 36 cases of robbery and seven cases of sexual attack. The 1,079 people who were the victims of non-violent crimes reported 2,063 crimes in the survey, which means 1.91 crimes per person, while this proportion is lower, 1.68 crime per person, in the case of victims of violent crimes. On the whole, on the basis of the survey 9.4% of the acts can be categorised as violent crimes, which shows that there is no significant difference between the data of the survey and the official criminal statistics (UPPCS) concerning the proportion of violent crime among the totality of crimes but at the same time latency seems to be significant.

In more than two-third of the acts, in 147 cases, the victim did not report the incident to the police. This most often happened in the case of sexual attacks, only one of which was reported to the police and 78% of the threats and 71% of the assaults were not reported to the authorities. Latency was the smallest in the case of robberies: only 36% of these acts remained hidden from the authorities.

In the case of victims of violent crimes it happens more frequently that they are victimised more than once in their lifetime than in the case of victims of other crimes. In 2002 64% of the victims of violent acts had been victimised before, while this was true of 51% of the other victims.

Gender, age

Considering the proportion between the genders of the victims there is no difference between the victims of violent crimes and the other victims (51% women, 49% men). At the same time it is worth noting that there are an even higher proportion of women (55%) among those who have not been victimised in the past five years. While the number of women who became the victims of violent crimes (65) was somewhat higher than the number of men (62), the proportion of the violent acts suffered is reversed (102 violent acts suffered by women and 111 acts suffered by men) so in the case of women there are fewer crimes per person (1.57) than in the case of men (1.79). Thus, looking at the issue from the side of the acts, we can conclude that 52% of the violent crimes were committed against men and 48% of them against women.

The high proportion of women involved in violent crime may seem surprising but the rising tendency of victimisation among women has already

⁵ Irk, F.: A közbiztonság és a bűnmegelőzés jövője (The Future of Public Security and Crime Prevention). Kriminológiai Tanulmányok, 40. OKRI, Budapest, 2003, pp. 176–177.

been indicated by earlier empirical research projects of our institute, which were based on registered crime.⁶ In addition to it *women reported the incident to the police less often*: women failed to report violent crimes to the police in 71.6% of the cases while men in 66.7% of the cases.

The victims of violent crimes *tend to belong to a younger age group* than the other victims. 35% of them are between the age of 18 and 29 (23% of the other victims) and the majority of these, in turn, are the so-called young adults (between 18 and 24). There is no significant difference in the age group of between 30 and 39 (24% and 22%), but between 40 and 60 the number of other victims is much higher while after 60 the difference is very small again (16% and 17.4%), which is probably due to the defencelessness of the elderly people.

Schooling

Table 3. shows that the victims of violent crimes have a somewhat lower level of schooling than the other victims. At the same time, those who have not been victimised in the past five years have an even lower level of schooling.

Table 3.
The interviewees' level of schooling (%)

| schooling | victims of violent crimes in 2002 | victims of other crimes in 2002 | not victimised in 2002 | not victimised in the past five years | total |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|---|-------|
| 8 years of primary school or less | 17.3 | 14.5 | 20.7 | 33.4 | 28.5 |
| trade school | 22.0 | 21.6 | 23.0 | 24.3 | 23.7 |
| vocational secondary school | 19.7 | 20.9 | 18.7 | 16.1 | 17.2 |
| grammar school | 18.1 | 19.0 | 19.3 | 14.7 | 16.2 |
| higher education | 22.0 | 23.4 | 18.0 | 11.1 | 14.0 |
| no data available | 0.9 | 0.6 | 0.3 | 0.4 | 0.4 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Marital status

Concerning marital status, among the victims of violent crimes the proportion of people living together with a spouse or a partner (50%) is lower than among other victims. Single men and women are present in the same proportion and among the victims of violent crimes there are more who live

⁶ Nagy, L. T.: A fővárosban elkövetett rablások kriminológiai vizsgálata [A Criminological Examination of Robberies Committed in the Capital]. Kriminológiai és Kriminálisztikai Tanulmányok, 36. Budapest, 1999, p. 78.

Table 4.
The marital status of people victimised in 2002 (%)

| marital status | victims of violent crimes | victims of other crimes |
|--|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| married and living together with a spouse, living together with a partner | 50.4 | 64.1 |
| married but living separately | 0.8 | 0.6 |
| single, living with parents | 27.6 | 15.5 |
| single, living alone | 4.7 | 4.3 |
| divorced but living in the same flat | 1.6 | 0.6 |
| divorced and living separately | 7.1 | 7.5 |
| widowed and living alone | 5.5 | 3.8 |
| widowed but not living alone | 2.3 | 3.0 |
| no data available | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| total | 100.0 | 100.0 |

with the parents (27%, in contrast to 10%), the explanation for which must be their young age, first of all (Table 4.).

The number of children

In the survey there were also questions about how many of their children the interviewees live together. In 2002 *there was the same proportion of people (40.9%) who did not have children living with them among the victims of violent crimes and the victims of other crimes*, while this indicator is 48.3% in the case of people who have not been victimised in the past five years. Among the victims of violent crimes living together with their children there was a higher proportion of those who lived together with only one child than among the victims of other victims (29.1% and 24.8%). 19.7% of the victims of violent crimes and 22% of other victims lived together with two children, while 3.9% of the victims of violent crimes and 5.5% of other victims lived together with three children.

Work

There are somewhat more people not in employment among the victims of violent crimes (41%) than among other victims (39%) and this proportion is even higher among those who have not been victimised (54%). It is also due to the young age of the victims of violent crimes that 29% of those among them are not in employment *owing to their studies*, while this proportion is only 13% in the case of other victims.

Place of residence

There were no such sharp differences concerning the victims' place of residence and the character of the building except that the victims of violent

crimes lived in houses with a small yard in small towns, in temporary dwelling in cities, in temporary dwelling built since the 1930s and in a house with a garden in villages in a slightly higher proportion than the other victims.

Concerning the title for the use of the flat, again, the low average age of the victims of violent crimes must be the reason that only 52.8% of them are owners of their homes (while this is true of 68.1% of other victims), and 33.9% of them are relatives of the owner (in the case of other victims only 19.9%). At the same time, among those who have a rental contract with the local government the proportion of the victims of violent crimes (6.3%) is twice as high as the proportion of other victims.

The victims of violent crimes have been living in their present place of residence for somewhat longer than the other victims but this difference is not significant. 2.4% of the victims of violent crimes and 5.4% of the other victims have been living in their present place of residence for a year or a shorter period, while 64.6% and 63.8% for longer than 10 years.

It also indicates the lower mobility – and the younger age – of the victims of violent crimes that 27.6% of them have lived in only one place for a period longer than 6 months, while it is true of 18.1% of the other victims. The proportion of those who have lived in more than three places for longer than 6 months is 24.3% and 28.8%.

Financial situation

The victims of violent crimes are much less satisfied with their financial situation than the other victims and 32% of them are not satisfied at all (while 22% of the other victims are not satisfied). 15% of them think that the financial situation of their family is among the worst 20%, and 3% of them think they are among the worst 1% (in the case of the other victims this proportion is 9% and 1%).

Only 40% of the victims of violent acts have cars, while 60% of the other victims have cars. The victims of violent crimes assessed the value of their car at a much lower amount.

Culture, religion

The non-Hungarian victims seem to be more vulnerable to violent crime. A lower proportion among them (84%) was attached to the values of Hungarian culture than among the other victims (91%). The proportion of people attached to Jewish and Romany traditions (2.9%-2.9%) is higher than among the other victims (0.3% and 1.1%). Besides, the proportion of those (64% compared to 60%) who never go to religious meetings is also higher.

Deviances

The victims of violent crimes tended to drink less alcohol in the last month than the other victims and 35% of them did not drink at all, while this proportion was 32% among the other victims. At the same time, a somewhat higher proportion of them have been involved in drink-driving in the last year: 5.8% of them drove once and 2.9% of them drove more than once under the influence of alcohol, while these figures are 4.4% and 2.0% among the other victims.

14.5% of the victims of violent acts have already been suspects in other police cases, which suggests that they are less law-abiding, as this proportion is only 9.6% among the other victims and 4.6% among those who have not been victimised in the past five years. This also indicates the well-known fact that the groups of offenders and victims overlap to some extent: some people are in one group now and in the other group then. This phenomenon is present to a higher extent in violent crime.

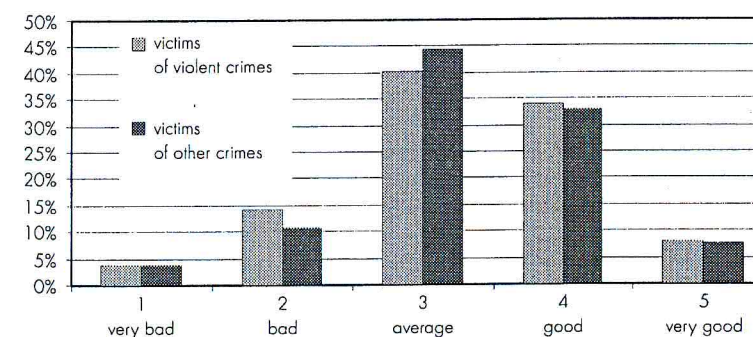
A procedure for a minor offence was started a bit more often against the victims of violent crimes (4.3%) than against other victims (3.9%).

OPINIONS

General feelings

The general feelings of the victims were more positive than negative as can be seen on Chart 1. Within this the victims of violent crimes feel less better about the way they are, on a scale of five, 18.1% of them gave a mark of 1 or 2, while this proportion is only 14.6% in the case of other victims. At the same time, assessing the past five years more of them perceived an improving

Chart 1.
The general feelings of those victimized in 2002



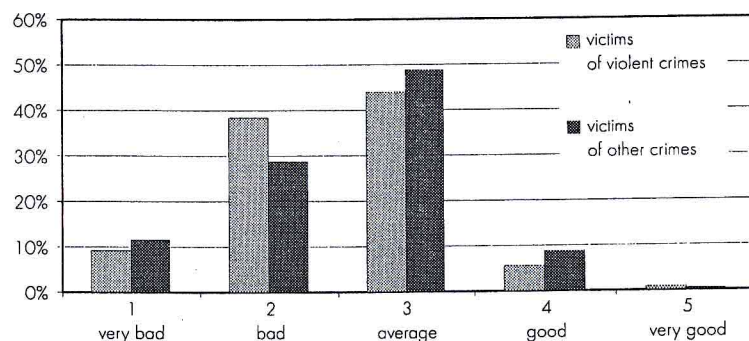
tendency than a decline – in comparison with other victims as well –, which, however does not concern their financial situation, about which more of them perceived a decline than an improving tendency.

Sense of security – in general

The victims of violent crimes are less sure that the police can guarantee public security than the other victims (52.7% of them gave a mark of 1 or 2 on a scale of five, while only 7.9% of them gave a 4 or a 5, while this proportion is 41.0% and 13.3% in the case of other victims).

The victims of violent crimes also find the situation of public security in Hungary worse than the other victims, as can be seen on Chart 2. 48% of them gave mark of 1 or 2, and 6.3% of them gave a 4 or 5 in contrast to the 40.5% and 9.6% in the case of other victims.

Chart 2.
The assessment of those victimised in 2002 on the situation of public security in Hungary



The victims of violent crimes also consider the change in the situation of public security worse in the past five years than the other victims (43.8% of them gave a mark of 1 or 2 compared to 38.1% in the case of other victims).

The situation concerning the future prospects of public security, however, is not so unambiguous as there are more people among the victims of violent crimes who are unsure (who do not know the answer) or gave a mark of 3, while 17.3% gave a mark of 1 or 2, in contrast to 21.8% among the other victims. 33.8% of the victims of violent crimes and 35.1% of other victims gave a 4 or a 5.

Most of the victims of violent crimes think that Hungary's accession to the European Union will worsen rather than improve the situation of public security in the country (19.7% gave a mark of 1 or 2 and 43.3% gave a mark

of 4 or 5). At the same time, there is no dominant view among them whether the accession will result in more or fewer crimes in Hungary as the answers are evened out (29.1% gave a mark of 1 or 2 and 29.9% gave a 4 or a 5).

In the answers to the question about how much of a problem the different crimes are in Hungary, all the interviewees considered the following as big problems: theft (89.8% gave a mark of 4 or 5), violent crime (74% gave a 4 or a 5), car theft (71.5%) and organised crime (67%). A somewhat higher proportion of victims of violent crimes answered that this category of crimes is a very big problem (43.3% gave a mark of 5) than the victims of other crimes (40.1%) although a lower percentage gave a 4 in the former group of victims (25.2%) than in the latter (34.4%). At the same time, the victims of violent crimes also thought that theft was a very big problem in the highest percentage (70.1% gave a mark of 5), at a slightly higher percentage even than the other victims (69.4%).

We would like to note here that according to the findings of the survey, the assessments the interviewees gave of crime were influenced by the crimes committed against them but in certain cases not in a direct but in an indirect way – affecting the assessment of a wider category of crimes. Thus, for example, none of those interviewees who have been the victims of assault in the past five years put assault on the first place on the list of crimes committed most often but more than twice as many among them put violent crimes on the first place (5.9%) than among those who have not been the victims of assault in the past five years (2.8%). There was also a higher percentage among the victims of assault who put robbery on the first place (24.3% in contrast to the 17.8%) or vandalism (4.4% in contrast to 2.1%), while only half as many of them thought car theft was the most frequent crime (8.8% in contrast to the 16%).

General feelings about the neighbourhood

The victims of violent crimes do not like the neighbourhood they live in so much as the other victims: 15.5% of them gave a mark of 1 or 2 in contrast to 8.9%, while 63.0% of them gave a 4 or a 5 in contrast to the 74.4%.

The victims of violent crimes found the lack of jobs the most serious among the problems in the neighbourhood – in nearly the same proportion as the other victims (38.6% of them and 36.5% of the other victims gave a 5). Compared to the other victims a higher proportion of them considered the following as the most serious problems: gypsies (26.8% in contrast to 15.8%); bored youngsters hanging around (23.6% in contrast to 13.3%); drunkards (18.0% in contrast to 9.9%); drug addicts (11.8% in contrast to 7.6%); the

homeless (10.2% in contrast to 7.3%); bad public lighting (10.2% in contrast to 4.0%); foreigners (8.7% in contrast to 4.5%) and litter in the streets (29.1% in contrast to 24.0%). There were only two problems that the victims of violent crimes thought to be the most serious problem in a higher proportion than the other victims: noise in the streets (17.3% of the victims of violent crimes and 19.6% of the other victims) and undisciplined motorists (20.5% and 22.1%).

Sense of security – in the immediate neighbourhood

The victims of violent crimes find their neighbourhood less secure than the other victims (11.8% gave a mark of 1 or 2 in contrast to 7.6%).

There is practically the same proportion of people among the victims of violent crimes and other crimes who never leave their home after dark (18.1% and 18.2%), while the most frequent answer (at least once a week) was given more often by the victims of violent crimes (46.5% in contrast to 40.1%).

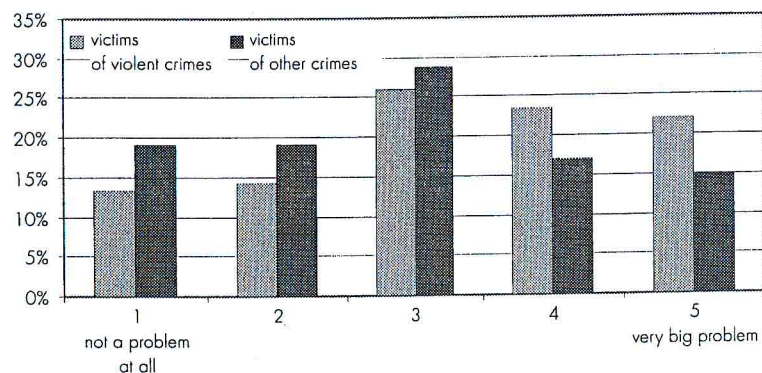
There were twice as many among the victims of violent crimes (11%) who reported a decline in the public security of their neighbourhood in the past five years than among the other victims (5.4%) and not even half as many (1.6% in contrast to 3.7%) who reported a significant improvement.

The victims of violent crimes feel that crime is a more serious problem in their neighbourhood than the other victims, as Chart 3. shows: 22% of them said it was a very serious problem in contrast to 14.9%.

A much higher percentage of victims of violent crimes feel that more crimes are committed in their neighbourhood than in the other parts of the country (7.1% of them and 3.2% of other victims gave a mark of 5 and 18.9% of them and 9.8% of other victims gave a 4).

Chart 3.

How serious a problem crime in the neighbourhood is found by those victimised in 2002

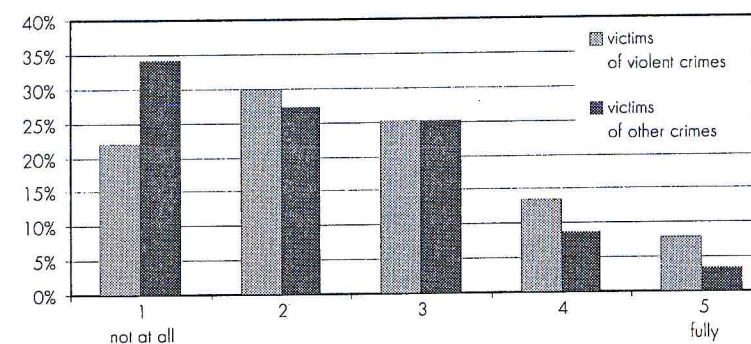


Our everyday anxieties about crime

Chart 4. clearly shows that the everyday life of the victims of violent crimes is influenced by crime more strongly than the life of other victims. A much higher percentage of the interviewees among the victims of violent crimes (7.9%) said that crime fully influences their life than among other victims (3.5%) and among those who have not been victimised (1.9%).

Chart 4.

How much the everyday life of those victimised in 2002 is influenced by crime



Compared to the other victims, the percentage of the victims of violent crimes who very often think about the possibility of becoming victims of crimes is more than four times higher (4.4% in contrast to 1.1%).

Most of the victims of violent crimes (56.7%) think it possible that they may get assaulted in the street in their neighbourhood (this figure is 36.9% in the case of other victims and 22.4% in the case of those who have not been victimised).

They also think it possible in a higher proportion that they may get assaulted inside a residential building in their neighbourhood (21.3% in contrast to 11.6% and 8.6%).

However, the percentage of those among them who think a burglary possible is nearly the same as among the other victims (63% and 62.3%).

Compared to the other victims, the victims of violent crimes are more afraid to leave their home at night and they are afraid when they are at home alone.

A much higher percentage of the victims of violent crimes are afraid that they may become the victims of a lighter or more serious case of bodily harm (12.6% and 8.7%) compared to the other victims (4.5% and 3.2%).

A much higher percentage of the victims of violent crimes (13.0%) think that they may very easily get harassed or molested in comparison to other victims (5.1%).

Compared to the other victims, a higher proportion of the victims of violent crimes think that the atrocities listed on the questionnaire (getting your wallet stolen, being overcharged in a restaurant, being bitten by a dog, having an attempt on your life, etc.) may very easily happen to them. 4.7% of them (but only 1.1% of the other victims) very often think of the possibility of becoming a victim of a crime.

The data mentioned above seem to confirm the statement that *"it seems that it is the acts committed by strangers in one's neighbourhood that endanger one's physical and psychic integrity that play a crucial role in causing fear of crime".⁷*

Increasing the security voluntarily

There is no essential difference between the victims of violent crimes and other crimes concerning the methods of protection against burglary except that a higher proportion of the victims of violent crimes keep a dog (50.4%) than the other victims (43.4%).

A higher percentage of the victims of violent acts have taken part in a self-defence course (21.3%) compared to the other victims (9.5%) and more of them are planning to take part (10.2% in contrast to 7.9%).

More of them take with them some instrument of defence as a precaution (22.0%) than the other victims (7.6%).

The victims of violent crimes are more likely to avoid gangs of youth, drunkards and beggars (69.3%) than the other victims (65.2%) and they are also more likely to avoid certain streets and places (59.1 in contrast to 48.9%).

Relationships within the community

The victims of violent crimes know their neighbours (94.5%) in a somewhat higher proportion than the other victims (91.1%) and they are on friendly terms with them more often (50.4% in contrast to 45.5%). Still, fewer of them think that they can rely on the neighbours' help in case of emergency (70.9% in contrast to 76.4%) and fewer of them can imagine their cooperation about matters that concern all of them (59.8% in contrast to 65.7%).

⁷ Korinek, L.: Félelem a bűnözéstől (Fear of Crime). KJK, Budapest, 1995, p. 217.

Summary

As a result of the survey we can conclude that the victims of violent crimes possess specific characteristics compared to the other victims in many respects.

Most of them are in a younger age group but they have been the victims of crimes in their lifetime more often. They have a lower level of schooling, a smaller percentage of them live together with a spouse or a partner and it happens more often that they do not take employment because of their studies. There are a higher proportion of people with a non-Hungarian identity among them. The fact that a higher proportion of them have already been suspects in police procedures and have been involved drink-driving suggests that they are less law-abiding. They report the sexual assaults the least often to the authorities while in the category of violent crimes latency is the smallest in the cases of robberies.

Their general feelings about their situation is worse, they are more dissatisfied with their financial situation and with the public security of their country and their neighbourhood; they do not trust the police so much either. They do not like the neighbourhood they live in as much as the other victims, they find it less secure and a higher proportion of them think that more crimes are committed there than in other parts of the country. Compared to the other victims they think that the gypsies, the bored youngsters who hang around and the drunkards in their neighbourhood pose a more serious problem.

They feel that crime is a more serious problem that has a stronger influence on their everyday life and they more often think of the possibility of becoming victims of crimes.

A higher proportion of them take part in self-defence courses, more of them keep a dog to guard their home and they more often take an instrument of defence with them when they go out.

They know their neighbours well, often they are on friendly terms with them, still, compared to the other victims fewer of them think that they can rely on their help in case of emergency and fewer of them can imagine their cooperation in matters that concern all of them.

Thus, on the whole the victims of violent crimes regard crime as a more serious problem, at the same time, they are more often involved in illegal acts themselves, they do not like their neighbourhood so much, their feelings in general and their subjective sense of security is worse, they are more dissatisfied, more anxious and more sceptical.

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GYÖRGY VIRÁG

Sexual Abuse

Facts

The so-called crimes against sexual morals and violent, assaulting sexual abuses, among them, first of all, have a special place among the forms of behaviour sanctioned by criminal law. This is reflected by certain characteristics of sexual crimes that are different from the totality of crimes (the age and the gender of victims, the relationship between the victim and the offender, the dynamics of the changes in crime, etc.) as well as the judgements and the attitudes concerning the acts and the persons involved.

In the past thirty years around 1,000 violent sexual crimes¹ have been registered by Hungarian criminal statistics and about half of these were violent sexual intercourses. There has been a gradually decreasing tendency among the known sexual crimes. This tendency was reversed temporarily in the four years between 1983 and 1986: the number of registered crimes suddenly rose in this period and reached a peak. It is characteristic of this period that it was in 1984 that the highest number of these crimes were reported to the police (1638) and that the highest number of procedures were started concerning all the acts grouped under this category. We cannot give a clear explanation for this but we think this rise was not caused by some special characteristics of these crimes or the way they were committed but by the characteristic features of the operation of the system. This is confirmed by the fact that in 1987 there was a decline – the figures were practically the same as in 1982 – and since then the decreasing tendency has continued (Chart 1.).

The dynamics of these crimes is illustrated by the change in the number of violent sexual intercourses compared to the base year of 1970 and the change in the total number of selected violent sexual crimes compared to the base year of 1973². There has been a nearly 50% drop since 1973 and the number of violent sexual intercourses have dropped to nearly a third since 1970. This is certainly thought-provoking especially in a context where the number of the crimes committed in general and the number of the violent

¹ We regard violent sexual intercourse, indecent assault, unnatural violent perversion and statutory rape as belonging to this category.

² Among the crimes discussed here data for the years before 1973 are available only in the case of violent sexual intercourse and indecent assault.

Chart 1.

The number of all the violent sexual crimes between 1973 and 2002

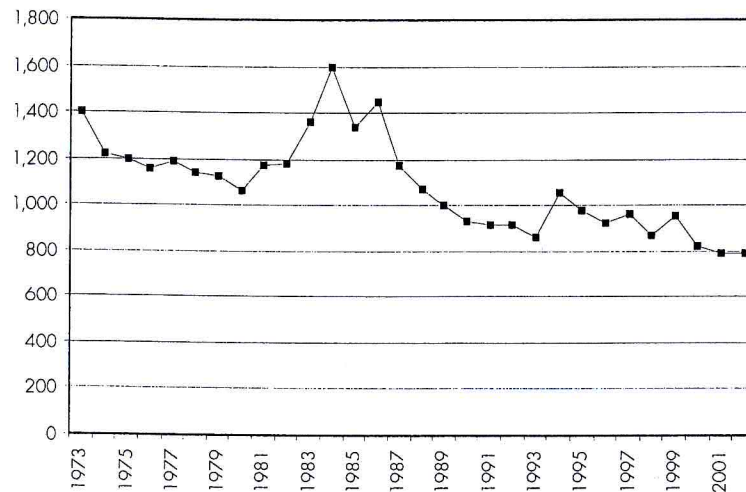


Chart 2.

The number of certain violent sexual crimes between 1970 and 2002

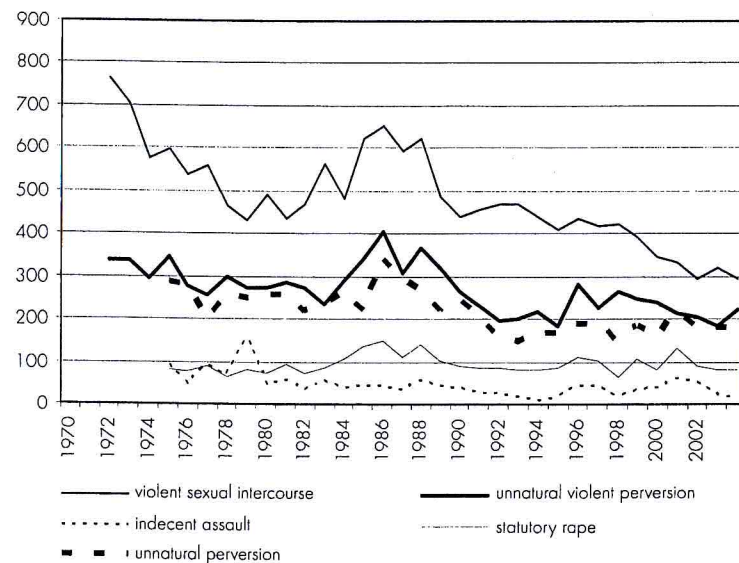


Table 1.

The number of violent sexual intercourses between 1970 and 2000 (%)

| | |
|------|-----|
| 1970 | 100 |
| 1980 | 61 |
| 1990 | 61 |
| 2000 | 38 |

Table 2.

The number of special sexual crimes and violent sexual intercourses between 1973 and 2002 (%)

| | special sexual crimes | violent sexual intercourses |
|------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1973 | 100 | 100 |
| 1982 | 84 | 81 |
| 1992 | 65 | 73 |
| 2002 | 56 | 49 |

than against adults. While in two-third of the known cases a stranger commits the crime, the situation is the opposite concerning sexual crimes: *the offender is typically not a stranger* to the victim, as at least two-third of the victims had known the offender before. Finally, while only one-third of all the known victims are women, *the vast majority of the known victims of sexual violence are women* (85%) (Table 3.).

Table 3.

Some distributions of all the known victims and the known victims of violent sexual crimes* in 2002 (%)

| victims | all the victims | victims of violent sexual crimes |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------|
| age | | |
| adult | 95 | 48 |
| minors and children | 5 | 52 |
| gender | | |
| men | 64,5 | 15 |
| women | 35,5 | 85 |
| relationship with the offender | | |
| stranger | 65 | 36 |
| acquaintance | 35 | 64 |

* At the "Victims of sexual crimes" – except for the distribution according to genders – the table contains the distribution of the victims of violent sexual intercourses and indecent assaults, while at the distribution according to genders it contains the data of all the victims of crimes against sexual morals.

Besides the quantitative characteristics of crimes, the **judgements and attitudes** concerning the crimes and the people involved in them also show marked characteristics.

In our report about our earlier research³ we noted that – in contrast to certain views – the adult population is sensitive even to the milder forms of misuse in the area of sexual life. According to our data, the overwhelming majority of the population condemns the misuse of authority in the workplace and the use of this authority for sexual purposes (*sexual harassment*) and would like to see sanctions applied against it. They think that such leaders are unsuitable for their job and would approve of their being removed.

The overwhelming majority of people regarded open aggression manifested in sexual life, that is, *sexual violence*, as the second most serious crime after murder. There was only a slight difference between the opinions of the different groups in society. In conformity with this view, most of the people were dissatisfied with the severity of the punishment, which means that after murder they would increase the punishment for this crime the most. The complex interpretation of opinions showed that the intensity of attitudes is strongly influenced by gender: women – obviously – were much stricter in this respect than men.

Comparing the above to the examination of the opinions on the **responsibility**, we find a special duality. Nearly half of the interviewees agreed with the statement: *"Most of the victims raped are also responsible for becoming a victim themselves."* This means that nearly half of the population emphasises the responsibility of the victim of the concrete crime they condemn strongly in theory. Although they regard violence in the abstract the most serious crime after murder, when they judge the responsibility for the concrete crime – it seems – different mechanisms for judgement start to operate. Even among women, in the group potential victims, nearly every second person thinks that the woman who was raped is also responsible for what happened.

Besides practical experience, several data from research also show that sexual crimes are characterised by an especially high **latency**, especially among victims who are children and in the case of crimes committed by a member of the family or by an acquaintance. The data of surveys in other countries are astonishing. According to certain estimates, in the United States about 40 million people, about every sixth American was the victim of sexual

abuse in their childhood (25-35% of the women and 10-16% of the men). A survey in Canada indicated 22% and a similar one in Britain 10%.⁴ (In the survey conducted by the Gallup Institute an adult sample from the population was used and a retrospective approach was applied.)

In the United States estimates were made through the extrapolation of the numbers registered by authorities and organisation that keep records of the victims of different sexual and violent crimes, according to which between 7 and 14 children out of 10,000 become the victims of such crimes. At the same time, retrospective surveys conducted with the involvement of anonymous interviewees in the average population with epidemiological methods, not based on the known and detected data, show that only 2-6% of the child victims ever talk to responsible adults about what happened to them and the incident is reported to the police in an even smaller percentages of the cases.⁵

There has only been one comprehensive **research project about latency** concerning adults in Hungary. Baranya County at the end of the 1980s, one out of ten violent sexual intercourses was reported to the police, which means **a tenfold latency** in this respect⁶. Our own research we referred to above indicated that the experience and the opinions of most of the citizens confirm the existence of high latency: according to their overwhelming majority (82%) most of the violent acts are never revealed, the authorities never come to know about them. Concerning the extent of latency, in our survey 1.2% of the whole sample (512 women) said that they had been the victims of rape (one third of them more than once). If we extrapolate this result to the population of women above 18 we get 50,476 violent sexual crimes, which means 10,095 crimes projected to one year (calculating with the arithmetical mean of the expected domain of values). In 1996 the number of crimes appearing in the statistics⁷ was 688 and the victim was a woman in 62% of them, that is, in 427 cases. Thus, this result showed that according to what adult women say **the number of violent acts committed against them is nearly twenty-four times higher than what is known by the authorities**, which means that approximately one out of 24, or hardly more than four out of 100 violent

³ For detailed information and analysis about the survey carried out in the National Institute of Criminology in 1997 see: Virág, György – Kó, József: *Lakossági vélemények a szexuális erőszakról* (Public Opinion On Sexual Violence). *Kriminológiai és Kriminológiai Tanulmányok*, 35. OKKrt, Budapest, 1998, pp. 250–276.

⁴ P. Kroll: *A Conspiracy of Silence. Sexual abuse of Children. The Plain Truth*, July 1990, pp. 16–20.

⁵ D. A. Wolfe – V. V. Wolfe – C. L. Best: *Child Victims of Sexual Abuse*. In: Hassell – Morrison – Bellack – Hersen (eds.): *Handbook of Family Violence*. Plenum Press, 1988, pp. 157–185.

⁶ Korinek, L.: *Rejtett bűnözés* (Hidden Crime). KJK, Budapest, 1988

⁷ In view of the fact that the interviewees talked about rape and, of course, did not use exact legal terms, we included the cases of both violent sexual intercourse and indecent assault – as the relevant legal categories – in the number of known crimes and used the sum of these two categories as a point of reference.

sexual acts are reported to the police. This data showed a significantly worse picture than the result of the earlier victimological survey.⁸

The results of the survey

Two questions in the survey served the purpose of examining the sexual victimisation of the adult population in the past five years. One of them was directed at the milder form of sexual freedom that does not involve physical violence: sexual harassment. (*"Has it happened that somebody harassed you by their impudent behaviour?"*). The other question was directed at sexual violence. (*"Has it happened that you were actually threatened or attacked (they assaulted you, tried to assault you or attacked you in other ways sexually)?"*)

40 interviewees from the sample of 10,000 – 7 men (1) and 33 women – said that they had been harassed sexually in the past five years and 11 of them – one man and 10 women [one of them in ten cases (1)] – was the victim of harassment in the previous year (2002).

11 of the interviewees (four men and seven women) said that they had been the victims of sexual violence in the past five years and six of them (three men and three women) suffered violence in 2002.

Owing to the small number of answers, it is not possible to analyse the data according to further distributions or it is not worth doing so. Furthermore, these data can be regarded with reservations even in their totality. According to the present survey, the percentage of women reporting a sexual attack in the past five years has dropped to one tenth (0.13%) of the data of the 1997 survey (1.2%) and the percentage of those reporting victimisation in 2002 (0.06%) dropped to one twentieth of it. Even if we add the answers to the two questions (sexual harassment and sexual assault) we get only the half as much as the data of the earlier survey (0.7%) concerning the past five years and one sixth of it projected to the year of 2002.

In connection with it we would like to emphasise the following:

- 1) Concerning the frequency of sexual violence we get unreliable results in these kinds of surveys, therefore these data have to be regarded with reservations and we can attempt to make correct statements only by comparing the results of more than one such survey.
- 2) Presumably, the reason for the results mentioned above is that these kinds of surveys are not suitable to examine the frequency of sexual violence. According to general experience, it is especially difficult to measure the

frequency of those acts where there is a personal relationship between the offender and the victim and those acts that probably traumatise the victim strongly. Sexual crimes and violence within the family are typically such acts. The actual frequency of these is not indicated by victim surveys and other similar surveys either. The victims are reluctant to talk about these humiliating experiences in these surveys, too. The problems of terminology of sexual crimes pose a further difficulty. Presumably, having the questionnaires filled out by the interviewees themselves will help this to some extent, so the answers acquired in this way will give a more realistic picture. However, these techniques are basically unsuitable to measure sexual victimisation reliably and new instruments must be developed for this purpose.⁹

- 3) With the benefit of hindsight, it seems that it was not a good idea to ask questions in this way about sexual harassment and to divide sexually motivated abuse into the two groups of harassment and assault (violence). The everyday and legal definitions of sexual violence are different, anyway and the idea of harassment is really a vague one in everyday thinking – it is wrongly defined or not defined at all. This may be indicated by the fact that nearly every fifth interviewee who reported about sexual harassment was a man (17%). Because of the vagueness of definitions we do not know how the interviewees interpreted these categories, what they meant by the different terms. Therefore, we do not know whether the two categories of abuse got mixed up and if yes, to what extent.

The retrospective question in the part to be filled by the interviewees themselves about sexual violence and abuse in the childhood brought more reliable results. (*"Were you a victim of sexual violence or sexual abuse in your childhood – before you turned 18?"*)

1.8% (103 interviewees) of the whole sample (5,792 people) said that they had been **the victims of sexual violence or abuse in their childhood**. The percentage of the two genders is different: 1.2% (30) of the men and nearly twice as high proportion, 2.3% (73) of the women. If we extrapolate these proportions to the adult population aged above 18¹⁰ we find that at present in Hungary about **141 thousand adults** (97 thousand women and 44 thousand men) were victims of sexual violence in their childhood.

Most of the cases of sexual abuse **took place within the family**: in three-quarter of the cases (72%) the offender was a relative or an acquaintance of the victim. Projected to the adult population, it means that at least 102 thousand adults were the victims of sexual abuse within the family.

⁹ See: Korinek, L.: A szexuális viktimizáció összefüggései (The Relationships of Sexual Victimization). Manuscript, 2004

¹⁰ The number of people aged above 18 among the population on 1 January 2002: women: 4,206,288; men: 3,653,307; total: 7,859,595. Source: Nők és férfiak Magyarországon 2002 (Women and Men in Hungary 2002). FMM, Budapest, 2003, p. 4.

⁸ Owing to the size of the sample, the above figure can only be taken as approximate. The result can be interpreted at a 90% level of reliability with a 0.6% margin of error. This means that latency can be roughly between the values of 12 times and 36 times.

(In our opinion the number of the victims is "at least" as high as this – it is the lowest estimate. First, supposedly, several people do not "dare" to remember or confess what happened, even in this form of data collection. Furthermore, the proportion of those who refused to answer [5.7%] was also very high. We suppose that some of those who refused to answer were also involved and that is why they avoid giving a straight answer and cannot or dare not say yes or no to the question. It is interesting that in this group the proportion of men is higher: 6.7% of the men and 4.9% of the women refused to answer this question.)

The data received to the questions about latency are not surprising. Less than half of the interviewees (45%) talked to somebody about the abuse suffered in childhood. This means that every second child who was abused sexually never talked to anybody about what happened with him or her. There is a significant difference according to genders: 56% of the girls but only 15% of the boys talked to somebody about the abuse. It is worth noting that only a few of these cases, 8% of them, were reported to the police – this means that 92 of the 100 cases were not known to the authorities. In all the cases reported to the police the victim was a girl. In other words no procedure started in any of the cases of abuse reported in the survey by men.

1.9% of the interviewees were often **beaten brutally** in their childhood and 13% of them said that it had happened sometimes. Projected to the adult Hungarian population, it means 1,171,000 people who were brutally abused sometimes or regularly. Men are somewhat more involved in physical abuse: 2.1% of the men and 1.7% of the women said that they had often been beaten severely, while 15% of the men and 12% of the women said that they had sometimes been beaten severely in their childhood.

The answers confirm the practical experience that sexual abuse often goes together with other kinds of abuses. In the survey one third (33%) of the victims of sexual abuse also suffered some kind of a **physical abuse as well**: a few of them were often (6.8%) and more of them (26%) were sometimes beaten severely.

It is known that the victims of childhood abuses have suffered serious mental wounds involving long-term effects: psychic problems occur increasingly often even in adulthood – they are mainly pictures of anxiety, depressive symptoms and the frequent appearance of the so-called borderline syndrome.¹¹ The difference in the "consequences" was dramatic in this survey, too. The proportion of those who tried to commit suicide¹² was

11 Virág, Gy. – Balog, Á.: Szexuális abúzus [Sexual Abuse]. Belügyi Szemle, 4–5/2000., pp. 110–126.

12 Obviously we only asked questions about failed attempts at suicide. We are afraid that if we could also take the finished attempts into consideration, the proportions would be even more alarming.

more than nine times higher and the proportion of those who have received psychiatric treatment at one time in their life was three times higher among those who suffered sexual abuse than among those who have not been victims of sexual abuse. Those who often suffered severe physical abuse attempted suicide nine times more frequently and have been under psychiatric treatment five times more frequently than those who were not abused. Even among those who were beaten brutally only sometimes, the proportion of those who have attempted suicide was three times as much and the proportion of those who were treated in psychiatric wards was more than twice as much as among those who were not abused (Table 4.).

Table 4.
The proportion of suicide attempts and psychiatric treatments in the abused samples and among those who were not abused (%)

| | the percentage of those who attempted suicide | the percentage of psychiatric treatments |
|--------------------------------|---|--|
| were abused sexually | 19 | 20 |
| were not abused sexually | 2 | 6 |
| were often beaten severely | 18 | 24 |
| were sometimes beaten severely | 6 | 11 |
| were never beaten severely | 2 | 5 |

Childhood abuse does not affect the emotional life of the victims only but it basically influences and changes their thinking and cognitive processes as well¹³. A psychic trauma can totally transform one's ideas of the security, reliability of the world, of the predictability of the events and of one's own efficiency. Those who have not been traumatised often view the world with a kind of unrealistic optimism – most of them usually underestimate its dangers and overestimate their possibilities to control it. A mental trauma turns this attitude into its opposite. For those who have been traumatised the world is a nonsensical, chaotic and hostile place, which is unmanageable and uncontrollable at the same time. The victim continuously looks for security, which, however, seems unattainable – and the future is full of threatening and ominous signs¹⁴.

The survey did not show a significant difference concerning the fears and anxieties about the future among those who were abused and those who were not. So, for instance, the same proportion of interviewees (33%) are afraid of a road accident involving personal injury among those who were abused and among those who were not. The same proportion of people are

13 A. Salter: Transforming Trauma. A Guide to Understanding and Treating Adult Survivors of Child Sexual Abuse. Sage Publications Inc., 1995

14 See in detail: Virág, Gy. – Balog, Á.: op. cit.

afraid of being insulted (9%) and think that they will be the victims of bodily harm and will have minor injuries (9%). Again, there is no significant difference in the proportion of those who are afraid of being injured seriously (8% and 7%). The proportion of those who are more afraid of an attempt at their life is higher among those who were abused (15% and 11%). At the same time, there is a significant difference between the two groups concerning diffuse anxiety over becoming the victim of some crime: 7% of those who were abused in their childhood think often of the possibility of becoming the victim of some crime, while 4% of those not abused think of this possibility more often than the average. It is not surprising that those who were abused worry the most about the future possibility of abuses related to sexuality more often than those who were not abused. The percentage of those who worry more often than the average about the possibility of being harassed or molested is the same among those abused and not abused (20% and 25%). However, there are a significantly higher percentage of people who are afraid of being harassed by their boss or a colleague in the workplace more often than the average among those who were abused in their childhood (8% and 1.5%). There is a similar difference concerning the fear of the possibility of being raped (7% and 3%).

According to the data of the survey **51% of the adult population think that violence within the family** – as we have seen, most of the sexual abuses in childhood belong to this category – **is a serious problem in Hungary now** and only 16% think that it is not a big problem now. This proportion – in view of the traditional Hungarian attitudes and the decades of delay in recognising violence within the family as a problem – is noteworthy. Even if a campaign was going on at the time of the data collection, which attracted the attention of the public to violence in the home and presumably it made its impact felt on the answers and furthermore, even if we presume a tendency toward complying with the supposed expectations and if we know that there may be differences between the opinions expressed and the actual attitude.

There is a significant difference in the judgement of the importance of violence within the family **according to genders**: 46% of the men and more than half of the women (55%) think that violence in the home is a serious problem. (These proportions are somewhat higher in the sample of the questionnaire filled by the interviewees themselves but there is a marked difference there as well: 49% and 59%.) There is also a difference **concerning childhood abuse**: the victims of both brutal physical abuse and sexual abuse consider violence in the home a more serious problem than those who were not abused in their childhood (Table 5.).

If we examine the judgement of violence within the family in the function of genders and childhood abuses together, we can see that abuse did not

Table 5.

The proportion of those who think violence within the family is a serious problem in the abused sample and among those who were not abused

| | violence within the family is a serious problem (%) |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| were often beaten severely | 59 |
| were sometimes beaten severely | 58 |
| were never beaten severely | 54 |
| were the victims of sexual abuse | 58 |
| were not the victims of sexual abuse | 54 |

Table 6.

The proportion of those who think that violence within the family is a serious problem in the abused sample and among those who were not abused, in the distribution according to genders

| | violence within the family is a significant problem (%) | |
|--------------------------------------|---|-----|
| | women | men |
| were often beaten severely | 72 | 47 |
| were sometimes beaten severely | 62 | 54 |
| were never beaten severely | 58 | 48 |
| were the victims of sexual abuse | 68 | 33 |
| were not the victims of sexual abuse | 59 | 49 |

influence the opinions of men but it significantly increased the sensitivity of women toward the importance of the problem (Table 6.).

A sad but realistic characteristic of the situation of the victims and **helping the victims** is that there were only eight people among the 100 interviewees who said they had heard of organisations or foundations that help the victims of crimes and could name at least one of these, while 24 of them said that they had heard of these but could not name any. This means that two-third of the interviewees had not even heard of organisations that help the victims.

Conclusion

This survey confirmed that these kinds of instruments and the opportunities for asking questions offered by them are not really suitable for measuring sexual victimisation. Therefore we did not analyse the questions about sexual victimisation – considering the small number of elements as well.

The retrospective questions about childhood abuse, in the questionnaire to be filled by the interviewees themselves, however, proved useful. Based on them it seems that the proportion of those who were sexually abused in their childhood among the adult population is quite significant, it is around 2%. The same proportion was brutally beaten in their childhood and six times as many were beaten severely sometimes. This means people sexually abused

Changes in the number of selected sexual crimes between 1970 (1973) and 2002

| year | violent sexual intercourse | indecent assault | unnatural perversion | unnatural, violent perversion | statutory rape | incest | selected crimes in total |
|---------------------------|----------------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|---------|--------------------------|
| 1970 | 764 | 337 | no data | no data | no data | no data | – |
| 1971 | 702 | 339 | no data | no data | no data | no data | – |
| 1972 | 577 | 293 | no data | no data | no data | no data | – |
| 1973 | 596 | 346 | 95 | 80 | 286 | 29 | 1,432 |
| 1974 | 539 | 278 | 48 | 78 | 278 | 27 | 1,248 |
| 1975 | 557 | 257 | 94 | 89 | 201 | 23 | 1,221 |
| 1976 | 465 | 298 | 70 | 66 | 261 | 38 | 1,198 |
| 1977 | 430 | 275 | 156 | 83 | 247 | 25 | 1,216 |
| 1978 | 491 | 274 | 46 | 71 | 258 | 33 | 1,173 |
| 1979 | 434 | 286 | 55 | 94 | 258 | 32 | 1,159 |
| 1980 | 469 | 273 | 34 | 72 | 217 | 18 | 1,083 |
| 1981 | 562 | 235 | 57 | 87 | 235 | 27 | 1,203 |
| 1982 | 483 | 288 | 39 | 106 | 263 | 27 | 1,206 |
| 1983 | 622 | 343 | 42 | 136 | 222 | 22 | 1,387 |
| 1984 | 653 | 405 | 44 | 151 | 343 | 42 | 1,638 |
| 1985 | 593 | 306 | 34 | 112 | 294 | 28 | 1,367 |
| 1986 | 622 | 365 | 57 | 141 | 264 | 33 | 1,482 |
| 1987 | 485 | 322 | 44 | 104 | 221 | 25 | 1,201 |
| 1988 | 438 | 263 | 37 | 91 | 246 | 15 | 1,090 |
| 1989 | 457 | 229 | 24 | 84 | 206 | 22 | 1,022 |
| 1990 | 468 | 196 | 24 | 87 | 159 | 20 | 954 |
| 1991 | 470 | 202 | 17 | 81 | 146 | 9 | 925 |
| 1992 | 438 | 218 | 9 | 82 | 166 | 16 | 929 |
| 1993 | 410 | 184 | 17 | 84 | 165 | 17 | 877 |
| 1994 | 436 | 282 | 44 | 110 | 187 | 27 | 1,086 |
| 1995 | 417 | 228 | 42 | 101 | 193 | 14 | 995 |
| 1996 | 423 | 263 | 19 | 65 | 150 | 12 | 932 |
| 1997 | 392 | 248 | 34 | 105 | 185 | 15 | 979 |
| 1998 | 346 | 237 | 40 | 83 | 163 | 13 | 882 |
| 1999 | 331 | 212 | 59 | 132 | 218 | 17 | 969 |
| 2000 | 294 | 204 | 50 | 91 | 184 | 28 | 851 |
| 2001 | 321 | 185 | 22 | 83 | 178 | 7 | 796 |
| 2002 | 293 | 222 | 12 | 83 | 178 | 13 | 801 |
| total | 13,642 | 7,702 | 1,365 | 2,832 | 6,572 | 674 | 33,302 |
| annual average (30 years) | 455 | 257 | 46 | 94 | 219 | 22 | 1,110 |

Source: UPPCS

at the magnitude of hundreds of thousands and people physically abused in the magnitude of millions in the adult population of Hungary at present. Most of the abuses are committed by relatives and acquaintances.

The data confirms that sexual abuse in the childhood often goes undetected: less than half of those who were abused talked to anybody about the abuse and they reported the incident to the police in only eight cases out of a hundred.

Sexual abuse concerns girls in a higher proportion than boys. The proportion, however, is significant in the case of men as well (1.2%) and it is worth noting that they kept silent about the abuse in a much higher proportion of the cases; they reported them to the police in a much lower proportion.

The severely traumatising effect of childhood abuse is shown by the fact that the proportion of those who attempted suicide and received psychiatric treatment is many times higher among those who were abused than among those who were not. Abuse also influences fears concerning the future. This is shown by increased anxiety about the possibility of the same thing – sexual harassment or abuse – happening again on the one hand and about the possibility of becoming victims – of some not specified – crime on the other. The latter can indicate a kind of diffuse anxiety.

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MÁRIA HERCZOG

Corporal Punishment and Physical Abuse in Childhood and the Means of Disciplining the People Concerned Possess

A lot has been said about the abuse of children in the past few years and the law in preparation concerning violence within the family is one of the consequences of these debates. We know, however, very little about what is happening to children, what the extent and the depth of this problem is, what the opinions of parents and children are, what forms of the abuses take and how serious they are. According to a report published by "Innocenti", a UNICEF Research Institute based in Florence in 2003, Hungary has a very unfavourable position in international comparison on the basis of a survey performed in the OECD countries. According to this, the number of children who died as the consequence of physical violence is thirteen times higher than in Spain, which occupies the last place on the list.¹ It is sure, however, that the statistical data that provided the basis for the research do not give an accurate picture. We cannot reliably determine the extent of the danger of abuse or neglect children are exposed to from the data available from the Central Statistical Office at present. At the same time, research projects – even if their conclusions may be wrong – can serve to draw attention to the importance of the topic and the lack of knowledge concerning data and the actual situation.

The opinions given on abuse are very different. Mostly cases that are serious, threaten life or attract special attention from the media become known and they strongly influence – and divide – the public opinion. Opportunities for professional debates have rarely presented themselves so far and we have no knowledge of the opinion of the profession and the public on the necessity and the possible forms of the prevention of abuse and the right treatment of abuse, as there are no examinations and surveys on this topic.

There are great differences in the approaches to the different forms of abuses and in the extent of rejection they receive. While in my experience the public clearly rejects sexual abuse and would like to see it severely

¹ Családban, védtelenül. Interjú Marta Santos Pais-szal, az Innocenti Kutatóintézet igazgatójával (Defenceless in the family. An interview with Marta Santos Pais, the director of the "Innocenti" Research Institute). Népszabadság, 22 September 2003

punished – although the definitions are not clear here either – the picture is much more complex with regard to corporal punishment. As for emotional abuse, it is mostly an unknown category, it is not so easy to define and people find it difficult to form an opinion of it. Neglect is only used in the everyday sense, too and the majority of lay people strongly condemned it without considering the circumstances and opportunities. Research projects and surveys have so far concentrated mainly on serious cases of physical and sexual abuse and neglect; and they paid no attention to everyday, less serious or seemingly less serious forms of it.²

The survey commissioned by COLPI and conducted in Tárki in 1998 provides a basis for comparison with the results of the present survey, too. In the research project conducted by Olga Tóth³ 38% of the interviewees thought that many children got spanked by their parents often, while 39% thought it did not happen very often, 16.2% thought it happened rarely and 5.9% could not answer. 4.9% of the 1,010 women, aged more than 18, were beaten by their parents regularly and 12.6% said that it had happened that they had been beaten very severely, 13.3% of them spanked their children or slapped them on the face and 14.2% beat their children so severely that later they came to regret it. Only 17% of the interviewees thought that the parents had no rights to slap their children on the face, 12% avoided the answer and 70% accepted the rights of the parents in this respect. Among those who considered themselves religious – mostly Catholic – an even higher percentage, 83% thought that beating children is a good way of disciplining them.

The results of our survey differ from these results in several places. Relatively few of the interviewees answered the questions about childhood punishments and about whether they had used corporal punishment in disciplining their children. 42% of the sample filled in the questionnaire to be filled by the interviewees themselves, which contained questions about corporal punishment as well, and only a low percentage of them answered the questions about corporal punishment received in their childhood and about their own methods of disciplining their children (Table 1.).

² Kerezi, Klára: Védtelen gyermek (The Defenceless Child). KJK, Budapest, 1995; Tóth, Olga: Erőszak a családban (Violence Within the Family). Tárki, Budapest, 1999; Morvai, Krisztina: Terror a családban (Terror in the Family). Kossuth Kiadó, Budapest, 1998; Németh, Zsolt: A gyermekek sérelmére megvalósuló szexuális bűnözés kriminológiai vizsgálata (A Criminological Examination of Sexual Crimes Committed Against Children). OKRI, Budapest, 2000 (kézirat); Virág, György: Áldozatok testközelben (Victims at Close Range). Kriminológiai Közlemények 51. Magyar Kriminológiai Társaság, Budapest, 1995; Herczog, Mária (ed.): Ne hagyjuk őket magukra! Megelőzhető az újszülöttyilkosság (Let Us Not Abandon Them. The Murder of Babies Can Be Prevented). CSAGYI-könyvek, 2001

³ Tóth, Olga: op. cit.

Table 1.
The proportion of adults disciplined by corporal punishment in their childhood (N = 5,792)

| receiving corporal punishment in childhood | frequency | % |
|--|-----------|-------|
| mentioned | 1,402 | 24.2 |
| did not mention | 4,226 | 73.0 |
| did not answer | 164 | 2.8 |
| total | 5,792 | 100.0 |

This, however, is not enough to draw far-reaching conclusions from, especially if we take it into consideration that the number of answers we received from the interviewees to these questions was much smaller than the number of answers to the questions about drug abuse or sexual abuse, for example. We have a difficulty here because we have no way of knowing that those who did not mention corporal punishment in childhood (73%) were not involved in it or they just did not think this problem was worth considering or because they do not like to talk about it as a result of their involvement and their bad memories.

There was a question in the survey about which crime the interviewees thought was committed the most often. Besides assault, they also mentioned crimes against children and violence within the family as the most frequent crime, although it was just a few who did so. Out of the three options, assault was selected in 346 cases, violence against children in 20 cases and violence within the family in 19 cases. In my opinion the reason for this, first of all, was not personal involvement but the focus of the media in the past few years. It is interesting to see how many people thought about this. In answer to the question of how serious a problem violence within the family was, they firmly said that it was a big or a very big problem and only 5% of the interviewees thought it was no problem, so people must be aware of the importance and the serious nature of this problem by now (Table 2.).

Table 2.
The knowledge of the public about the frequency of violence within the family

| How serious a problem violence within the family is in Hungary now? | men | | women | | total | |
|---|-------|--------|-------|--------|--------|--------|
| do not know | 251 | 5.4% | 246 | 4.6% | 497 | 4.9% |
| no problem at all | 195 | 4.2% | 181 | 3.4% | 376 | 3.7% |
| not a big problem | 703 | 15.1% | 570 | 10.6% | 1,273 | 12.7% |
| yes, it is a problem | 1,365 | 29.4% | 1,418 | 26.4% | 2,783 | 27.8% |
| big problem | 1,045 | 22.5% | 1,360 | 25.3% | 2,405 | 24.1% |
| very big problem | 1,078 | 23.1% | 1,584 | 29.5% | 2,662 | 26.6% |
| no answers/no data | 14 | 0.3% | 10 | 0.2% | 24 | 0.2% |
| total | 4,651 | 100.0% | 5,369 | 100.0% | 10,020 | 100.0% |

At the same time, the opinions of men and women are not the same in this issue. 29.5% of women and 23.2% of men regard this as a very big problem and about the same percentage of men and women (3.4% and 4.2%) think that it is not a serious problem at all. This definitely means that women are more sensitive or maybe more involved in this area or perhaps the media that they tend to read and watch are more interested in this topic. This may also indicate that the media can focus on a topic – we are convinced this is also the case here, first of all – but, of course, we have no way of knowing what the interviewees meant here and what they regarded as violence within the family. If we compare these opinions to the opinions on the serious nature of juvenile delinquency or the violent crimes, we can see that the interviewees regard violence within the family far less serious, just as very few people think that their children may be seriously abused in school – incidentally, very few people answered this question – or that they themselves may be harassed, molested and raped.

Table 3.
The involvement of the interviewees as parents in abuse in school

| their children may be seriously abused in school | men | | women | | total | |
|--|-------|--------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| do not think at all that it may happen | 830 | 40.9% | 926 | 38.5% | 1,756 | 39.6% |
| it might happen | 428 | 21.1% | 463 | 19.2% | 891 | 20.2% |
| yes, it may happen | 408 | 20.1% | 528 | 22.0% | 936 | 21.1% |
| it may easily happen | 191 | 9.4% | 244 | 10.2% | 435 | 9.8% |
| it may very easily happen | 172 | 8.5% | 243 | 10.1% | 415 | 9.3% |
| total | 2,029 | 100.0% | 2,404 | 100.0% | 4,433 | 100.0% |

32.4% of the interviewees think juvenile delinquency is a very serious problem. Far fewer people (1.5% and 1.3%) think that it is no problem at all. Similarly, 41.7% of the interviewees think violent crime is a serious problem. As for the question whether their children may be abused seriously in school – whatever this means – far fewer people answered and 415 (4.1%) of them thought that it might easily happen (Table 3.); 1.6% and 1.3% thought that these were not problems at all.⁴ Interestingly, women's answers to these questions did not support the supposition that they feel more defenceless or they are more sensitive in forming their opinions. Far fewer men, for example, think that they cannot become victims of bodily harm and consequently

⁴ It is a question in the case of each research project what definition or concept serves as the basis for the categorisation and the opinions of the interviewees if there is no agreement about what we mean by the different categories. It would be exciting to have information on what the interviewees mean by the different concepts.

seriously injured, that is, women feel more secure. There is nearly exactly the same proportion of men and women who fear that they can get injured lightly or can become the victims of some crime. Of course, we have no way of knowing how each of the interviewees interpreted the idea of becoming a victim of bodily harm and serious injury. Maybe the majority think of an assault in the street or at least an act committed by a stranger, not by a relative. So we can understand the differences in the proportion of the answers because in most of the crimes the victims are men and not women. Still, it may be interesting that women feel more secure in this respect.

The proportion of those who regard violence within the family a more serious problem is not higher among those who were regularly beaten in their childhood than among those to whom it had never or only rarely happened. We do not know whether it is because of a conviction that violence within the family is something normal. We can also suppose that those who were not beaten cannot judge how serious or widespread this problem is because the survey could not answer this question. This also confirms that one's own experiences, the judgements of these experiences and the extent to which they can come terms with them are not sure to result in generalisations on the part of those who form people's opinions.

The questions about childhood punishments inquire about other options besides corporal punishment, like withdrawing the child's pocket money, grounding them or barring them from some activities or not punishing the child at all. Only a small proportion of people answered the question or mentioned these options in the questionnaire to be filled by the interviewees themselves. Thus 634 people mentioned grounding, 222 the withdrawal of pocket money, far more, 1,543 mentioned barring the child from some activity and slightly fewer, 1,402 mentioned corporal punishment, while some other unspecified punishment was given to 559. A very high proportion of the interviewees were not punished in their childhood at all. Nearly one-third (1,929 interviewees) said they had not been punished in their childhood but we do not know exactly what they meant by this. It is not sure that the all too frequent cases of emotional blackmail, withdrawal of love, barring the child from different activities or giving them extra jobs were perceived by the interviewees as punishment or with the passing of time these mostly negative experiences were remembered as not so bad or were completely forgotten.

The number of those who received corporal punishment is smaller than the number of those who were not punished at all, it is less than a quarter of the interviewees (24.2%) but it is a much higher proportion than the one in Olga Tóth's research. There 4.9% of the women were beaten regularly and 12.6% of them were beaten sometimes. In our sample 19% of the women and 30.2%

of the men were beaten as a form of punishment, while 2.1% of the men and 1.7% of the women said that they had been often beaten severely and 14.8% and 11.9% were sometimes beaten severely. We have no way of knowing where this huge difference comes from. The distribution of the men and the women suggest that the boys were beaten more frequently than the girls.

It is also important to know who beats the child if we are to understand the behaviour of the parents and the roles in the family but the questions in the sample in this survey, owing to their limited number, do not make a deeper analysis possible. According to the answers in the survey in 22.1% of the cases the parents together, in 14.8% of the cases the fathers and in a higher percentage of the cases, in 19.2% of them, the mothers beat their children. It is interesting to note that in 0.8% of the cases a brother or a sister beat the child but we do not know whether they took the role of a parent. Foster parents and other relatives punished the child by beating in 2.2% of the cases and foster mothers beat the child 2.5 times more often than foster fathers.

People above 60 are the group in whose childhood beating was definitely the most frequent as a form of discipline. The younger the interviewees are, the fewer of them are concerned with this problem even if the number of cases do not show a significant difference (Table 4.).

Table 4.

The personal childhood involvement of the interviewees in corporal discipline according to ages

| age groups | were punished in their childhood by beating | | | |
|------------|---|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| | mentioned | did not mention | did not answer | total |
| 18-29 | 202 | 955 | 22 | 1,179 |
| 30-39 | 196 | 816 | 15 | 1,027 |
| 40-49 | 256 | 762 | 22 | 1,040 |
| 50-59 | 290 | 720 | 34 | 1,044 |
| 60- | 456 | 949 | 71 | 1,476 |
| total | 1,400 | 4,202 | 164 | 5,766 |

With regard to schooling there is a clear tendency: those who finished only the eight years of primary school and a trade school were beaten significantly more often than those who have higher qualifications but those who finished secondary school only were beaten in a slightly lower proportion than those with a degree in higher education (Table 5.). Within this, women were beaten far less frequently than men in all the categories.

Considering their financial situation, most of those who were punished by beating in their childhood regard themselves as belonging to the lower half of society, while the same proportion think they belong to the upper half and to the worst 20%, but this, even taken together, makes up only half of the above group (Table 6.).

Table 5.

The distribution of the interviewees according to schooling in connection with the question asking about personal involvement in corporal punishment

| Were punished by beating in their childhood? | level of schooling | | | | | | total |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|----------------|--------|-------------------|-------|
| | 8 years of primary school or less | trade school | vocational school | grammar school | degree | no answer/no data | |
| mentioned | 485 | 384 | 199 | 166 | 163 | 5 | 1,402 |
| did not mention | 1,080 | 1,035 | 762 | 698 | 647 | 4 | 4,226 |
| did not answer | 67 | 38 | 27 | 17 | 14 | 1 | 164 |
| total | 1,632 | 1,457 | 988 | 881 | 824 | 10 | 5,792 |

Table 6.

The distribution of those answering the question about personal involvement in corporal punishment according to their position in society

| How would you rate the financial situation of your family or household? | Did you receive corporal punishment as a child? | | | |
|---|---|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| | mentioned | did not mention | did not answer | total |
| the best 1% | 9 | 14 | 2 | 25 |
| the best 20% | 8 | 35 | 1 | 44 |
| the upper half | 222 | 845 | 14 | 1,081 |
| the lower half | 831 | 2,620 | 76 | 3,527 |
| the worst 20% | 211 | 433 | 23 | 667 |
| the worst 1% | 76 | 128 | 4 | 208 |
| did not answer | 45 | 151 | 44 | 240 |
| total | 1,402 | 4,226 | 164 | 5,792 |

Table 7.

The distribution of those answering the question about personal involvement in severe corporal punishment according to their position in society

| How would you rate the financial situation of your family or household? | Did it happen in your childhood that you were severely beaten and you experienced it as serious abuse? | | | | |
|---|--|----------------|-----------|----------------|-------|
| | yes, often | yes, sometimes | no, never | did not answer | total |
| the best 1% | 3 | 4 | 17 | 1 | 25 |
| the best 20% | 3 | 3 | 37 | 1 | 44 |
| the upper half | 17 | 103 | 927 | 34 | 1,081 |
| the lower half | 51 | 482 | 2,886 | 108 | 3,527 |
| the worst 20% | 20 | 119 | 497 | 31 | 667 |
| the worst 1% | 12 | 35 | 148 | 13 | 208 |
| did not answer | 5 | 22 | 161 | 52 | 240 |
| total | 111 | 768 | 4,673 | 240 | 5,792 |

For the question whether it happened to the interviewees that they were beaten severely in their childhood and whether they perceived it as serious abuse, we got a much lower number of cases. 7.9% of those who were disciplined by beating were abused severely, and more than a half of them, 768 people were abused not regularly – "sometimes" as it said on the questionnaire. There are no differences between the genders here but the differences depending on schooling remain (Table 7.).

It is also interesting to compare the number of those who were punished by beating and those who experienced severe abuse (Table 8.). Most of them (60%) said that corporal punishment was not humiliating and they were not beaten "severely". At the same time, it happened to 30% sometimes and to 6.5% often. Through personal interviews further fine-tuning and definitions would have been possible but the data we have now also show an interesting picture. For example, it is sure that we cannot say that more than 60% of the interviewees do not regard being beaten in childhood as severe abuse.

Table 8.

The frequency of severe corporal punishment among the interviewees abused in their childhood

| were punished by beating in their childhood | Did it happen to you in your childhood that you were beaten seriously and you were perceived then as severe abuse? | | | | |
|---|--|----------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | yes, often | yes, sometimes | never | did not answer | total |
| mentioned | 91 | 422 | 860 | 29 | 1,402 |
| did not mention | 18 | 341 | 3,750 | 117 | 4,226 |
| did not answer | 2 | 5 | 63 | 94 | 164 |
| total | 111 | 768 | 4,673 | 240 | 5,792 |

The distribution of the interviewees according to schooling shows that beating is more typical of lower status parents; those who beat the boys presumably use it as a form of disciplining for lack of knowledge about more effective techniques – maybe out of conviction – or perhaps owing to the stereotypical opinions on the "needs" of boys. Severe abuse can be the result of losing control or abusive parental behaviour, first of all. There was no difference in the sample regarding the gender of the children; boys and girls were abused in nearly the same proportion (Table 9.). If this approach is realistic, it can be an important contribution to the issue of violence within the family as well, although we have already known that physical abuse is mainly suffered by boys, while sexual abuse is mainly suffered by girls. Of course, we cannot draw general conclusions from these data but we can rightly assume that boys are considered to be difficult to discipline more often, or people think nothing else can help boys but beating, or parents feel that they should demonstrate their power and their place in the hierarchy. It

may also be the case that it is justified to make the supposition, which is not so popular – especially among the representatives of women's movements – that men who became violent later were also raised by women mostly, so it seems that many of the women in the sample could not or did not want to show a behaviour pattern free of violence.

Table 9.

The distribution of interviewees abused in their childhood according to gender and schooling

| were punished by beating in their childhood | What is your highest qualification? | | | | | | total |
|---|-------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|
| | primary school, 8 years or less | trade school | vocational school | final exam in grammar school | egree | no answer/no data | |
| men (%) | 38 | 32.2 | 24.5 | 32 | 25.9 | | 30.2 |
| mentioned | 222 | 296 | 123 | 72 | 94 | 4 | 811 |
| did not mention | 338 | 601 | 366 | 233 | 259 | 3 | 1,800 |
| did not answer | 22 | 23 | 14 | 6 | 10 | 1 | 76 |
| total | 582 | 920 | 503 | 311 | 363 | 8 | 2,687 |
| women (%) | 25 | 16.4 | 15.6 | 16.5 | 14.5 | | 19 |
| mentioned | 263 | 88 | 76 | 94 | 69 | 1 | 591 |
| did not mention | 742 | 434 | 396 | 465 | 388 | 1 | 2,426 |
| did not answer | 45 | 15 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 0 | 88 |
| total | 1,050 | 537 | 485 | 570 | 461 | 2 | 3,105 |

The figures concerning those who were punished by beating in their childhood and those who were subjected to severe physical abuse are different. 1,402 people mentioned being beaten, 91 (6.5%) were often beaten severely, 422 (30%) were sometimes beaten severely, while the rest of them (860 people) were never abused severely. This is a frighteningly high number but we have no information on the ways and methods of beating and, of course, we do not know what each person considers a severe or less severe case.

Therefore, on the whole, we can say that among the people in the survey who answered the questions – and this group of people can be regarded as representative on the basis of the sample – most children were not beaten, are not beaten and many of them are not punished at all. The number of those who are beaten sometimes seems high but fortunately there are only few who are abused severely. At the same time, we have to suppose – although we have no evidence for it – that the interviewees were not completely sincere and open owing to perhaps shame, the painfulness of memories, respect of parental authority or other factors.

We do not say that only corporal punishment is bad because one can cause serious, incurable harm to one's children without a single blow but the frequency and the severity of corporal punishments are not to be underestimated.

People often ask or wonder to what extent those who were abused and beaten adopt similar methods of discipline and abuse themselves. The number of those who punish their children by beating and those who mention this form of punishment is far smaller than the number of those who received such punishment in their childhood.

Table 10. shows the distribution of these people according to their financial situation.

Table 10.

The position in the society of those who use corporal punishment in disciplining children among the interviewees

| How would you categorise the financial situation of your family or household? | Has it happened that you beat a child for doing something wrong? | | | | | |
|---|--|------------------|------------------|--------------|----------------|-------|
| | I have no children | no, never | yes, sometimes | often | did not answer | total |
| the best 1% | 3 | 10 | 8 | 0 | 4 | 25 |
| the best 20% | 14 | 12 | 10 | 0 | 8 | 44 |
| the upper half | 224 | 423 | 294 | 3 | 137 | 1,081 |
| the lower half | 523 | 1,423 | 1,142 | 6 | 433 | 3,527 |
| the worst 20% | 83 | 269 | 230 | 4 | 81 | 667 |
| the worst 1% | 22 | 81 | 73 | 3 | 29 | 208 |
| did not answer | 25 | 79 | 49 | 3 | 84 | 240 |
| total | 894 | 2,297 (46.9%) | 1,806 (36.9%) | 19 (0.3%) | 776 | 5,792 |

There is no significant difference concerning schooling although more of the women who finished only the eight years of primary school say that they beat their children than the men with the same level of schooling. The findings of several international research projects show that concerning the use of physical violence the number of women is higher, which confirms the statement we have made above (Tables 11. and 12.).⁵

Table 11.

The distribution of the interviewees who use corporal punishment in disciplining children according to gender

| Has it happened that you beat a child for doing something wrong? | gender | | total |
|--|--------|-------|-------|
| | men | women | |
| have no children | 513 | 381 | 894 |
| no, never | 1,055 | 1,242 | 2,297 |
| yes, sometimes | 733 | 1,073 | 1,806 |
| often | 4 | 15 | 19 |
| did not answer | 382 | 394 | 776 |
| total | 2,687 | 3,105 | 5,792 |

⁵ National Institute of Justice: Prosecution of Child Abuse and Neglect Cases. In: Legal Interventions in Family Violence: Research Findings and Policy Implications. National Contest Journal, July 1998, pp. 12–20.

Table 12.

The distribution of the interviewees who use corporal punishment in disciplining children according to schooling

| Has it happened that you beat a child for doing something wrong? | highest qualification | | | | | | total |
|--|-----------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|------------------------------|--------|-------------------|-------|
| | 8 years of primary school or less | trade school | vocational school | final exam at grammar school | degree | no answer/no data | |
| have no children | 150 | 200 | 215 | 191 | 135 | 3 | 894 |
| no, never | 647 | 607 | 364 | 332 | 345 | 2 | 2,297 |
| yes, sometimes | 593 | 460 | 265 | 238 | 246 | 4 | 1,806 |
| often | 14 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 19 |
| did not answer | 228 | 187 | 142 | 120 | 98 | 1 | 776 |
| total | 1,632 | 1,457 | 988 | 881 | 824 | 10 | 5,792 |

One explanation for this is that women spend much more time with their children so they have to do most of the disciplining as well. Among all those who mention physical punishment in the sample, the number of women is higher (106 men, 141 women), although more women answered this question than men. This is a significant figure also because it shows that there is a need for further examinations if we are to take violence within the family, and the prevention and treatment of child abuse seriously.

At the same time we need to be careful when handling and interpreting the data in the survey because some of them are contradictory. For example, we can give no explanation why 12 of those who said in their answer to one of the questions that they punished their children by beating them, answer to another question that it had never happened that they had beaten their children; and six of those who have no children say the same. Most of those who use corporal punishment beat their children only sometimes and some of them do not even think – rightly – that this means that they punish by beating (meaning, obviously, in general). 19 of the parents (2.7%) who punish by beating, beat their children often, the others do it only sometimes.

671 people among those who were punished by beating in their childhood say that sometimes they themselves beat their children but only eight of them say that it happens often (Table 13.).

As the number of people answering this question is small, we can interpret these data with some reservations only but presumably it means that those who received corporal punishment do not think it is a good instrument. 110 of those who were beaten in their childhood said that they do not punish their children at all, while 417 said that they discuss what happened, which means that they looked for and found some other techniques of disciplining that are better or more acceptable for them.

Table 13.

The impact of frequent corporal punishment in the interviewees' own practice of disciplining

| Has it happened that you beat a child for doing something wrong? | were punished by beating in their childhood | | | |
|--|---|-----------------|----------------|-------|
| | mentioned | did not mention | did not answer | total |
| have no children | 181 | 704 | 9 | 894 |
| no, never | 397 | 1,863 | 37 | 2,297 |
| yes, sometimes | 671 | 1,111 | 24 | 1,806 |
| often | 8 | 10 | 1 | 19 |
| did not answer | 145 | 538 | 93 | 776 |
| total | 1,402 | 4,226 | 164 | 5,792 |

We can see an interesting difference in whether the interviewees mention beating among the punishments and what they answer to the question "Has it happened that you have beaten your child for doing something wrong?" While there were altogether 247 "yes" answers to the former, there were 297 "yes" answers to the latter and 294 of these interviewees said they beat their children sometimes. The difference between the two figures is not significant but it raises the question that why is it that those who do not regard beating as a form of punishment, beat their children. This also indicates that sometimes even the parents themselves do not agree with corporal punishment and they would not like to use it as a form of punishment and an instrument of discipline but they beat their children only because they feel helpless and cannot alleviate their tension in any other way. This is also an important argument and contribution to understanding the nature of corporal punishment and to preventing abuse.

61.6% of those who filled the questionnaire in this survey (3,565 people) feel that corporal punishment is not an acceptable means of disciplining and only 2.5% think that it is, while 1,837 (31.7%) answered that – in spite of this – sometimes you simply have to beat children. This is an extremely important and telling proof again that adults are well aware of the unsuitability of corporal punishment as a means of discipline and obviously even those who say now that sometimes they have to resort to it would give it up if they received effective help. At the same time it is a good thing that this figure is lower than the research we referred to⁶ although we cannot explain the reason why it is so. There may be issues concerning methodology and content but it would definitely be useful and important to conduct further research in order to get a more exact and detailed picture of the public opinion about this topic. Some suppose that religious views and the practice of religion are related to methods and approaches to disciplining. In the

⁶ Tóth, Olga: op. cit.

present survey we found that only a few (altogether 5 people; 0.6%) of those who regularly attend religious meetings said that they often beat their children, while 33.8% sometimes 38.9% never uses this form of punishment. 3.25% of those who attend religious meetings regularly agree with the statement that corporal punishment is an acceptable means of disciplining, 37.7% think that sometimes one has to do it and the majority, 54.5% think that it is not acceptable. These proportions are somewhat different than those in the whole survey and those among the people who never attend religious meetings, where 2.3% accept corporal punishment, 63.4% do not accept it and 30% resort to it because "they have to". It would be worth having more information about why those practicing their religion find corporal punishment more acceptable.

If we examine the issue with regard to financial situation, then again, we find a similar distribution as in the case of childhood experiences (Table 14.).

Table 14.
The opinions of the interviewees on the acceptability of corporal punishment according to their position in society

| How would you categorise the financial situation of your family or household? | Is corporal punishment an acceptable form of disciplining in your opinion? | | | | |
|---|--|-------------------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | yes | sometimes, if necessary | no | did not answer | total |
| the best 1% | 3 | 3 | 18 | 1 | 25 |
| the best 20% | 5 | 8 | 25 | 6 | 44 |
| the upper half | 22 | 349 | 679 | 31 | 1,081 |
| the lower half | 79 | 1,158 | 2,185 | 105 | 3,527 |
| the worst 20% | 24 | 216 | 399 | 28 | 667 |
| the worst 1% | 8 | 54 | 133 | 13 | 208 |
| did not answer | 3 | 49 | 126 | 62 | 240 |
| total | 144 | 1,837 | 3,565 | 246 | 5,792 |

The proportion of those who mention corporal punishment is still very low, much lower than many – we among them – would suppose. There may be several reasons for this; one of them, again, is the vagueness of the definitions – does a slap on the face or a spanking count as beating – and the other is whether the interviewees were willing to answer the question at all. If we take the proportions we got as realistic, the situation is much more favourable and it would create a very favourable atmosphere for new legislation concerning a complete ban on corporal punishment with the support of the overwhelming majority of the public and would present an occasion to help the minority to change their theories and practice of disciplining.

It is worth considering Table 15., in which we compare the answers on the acceptability of beating by those who use corporal punishment themselves.

Table 15.
The acceptance and the use of corporal punishment among the interviewees

| Has it happened that you beat a child for doing something wrong? | Is corporal punishment an acceptable form of disciplining in your opinion? | | | | |
|--|--|-------------------------|-------|----------------|-------|
| | yes | sometimes, if necessary | no | did not answer | total |
| have no children | 19 | 338 | 529 | 8 | 894 |
| no, never | 20 | 308 | 1,959 | 10 | 2,297 |
| yes, sometimes | 85 | 1,031 | 684 | 6 | 1,806 |
| often | 5 | 7 | 7 | 0 | 19 |
| did not answer | 15 | 153 | 386 | 222 | 776 |
| total | 144 | 1,837 | 3,565 | 246 | 5,792 |

This means that 7 of those who do not accept beating as a form of disciplining, often and 687 of them sometimes beat their children. At the same time, there are far fewer of those who accept beating as an acceptable means of disciplining, most of them regard it as something not good but necessary.

Summary

In consequence of the above, we can summarise the results of the research based on the data, saying that it seems clear that if parents received help for other more effective, non-violent methods, they would presumably be happy to use them instead of beating, which is something that they themselves do not approve in most cases. This, again, seems to support our supposition that much of the population do not regard corporal punishment as good and acceptable but as something bad but sometimes necessary. It follows from this that it would be worth amending legislation – and it would be necessary, too – and to ban all forms of corporal punishment and besides there should be consultations, parents' clubs, self-help groups, parents' schools or other forms of teaching parental skills and good means and methods of disciplining.

Both professional literature⁷ and experience underlines that emotional support and bonds are the most important factors concerning the healthy development of children, still, even those professionals whose job it would be to inform and help parents and protect children do not know or recognise the different forms of emotional abuse, and they take corporal punishment leniently as long as it does not go beyond a limit of brutality, which is not defined.

7 J. Bowlby: Attachment and Loss. Penguin, London, 1969; Alice Miller: Kezdetben volt a nevelés (In the Beginning Was Disciplining). Pont Kiadó, Budapest, 2002

It seems as if there is a gap concerning both the approaches and the practice between theory and the knowledge acquired on the one hand and their application on the other. Children and young people are not prepared and supported to become parents and to be successful in parenting so it is hardly possible to call them to account for the lack of knowledge and skills. One reason for this is that the basic rights to have one's individual choices and decisions respected and to have a family life free from outside intervention can be in conflict with the rights of those who become defenceless in this situation, which is – or seems – protected in every respect.

In the case of the corporal punishment and physical abuse of children the overall picture is more complex, as on the one hand, it is mostly something visible, tangible in contrast to emotional abuse but it is supported very strongly, or at least condoned by society – and unfortunately by the organs of the administration of justice as well. It is especially true because of the acceptance of the "necessary" slap on the face or the "home discipline right", which has been introduced into practice by the courts although it is not defined clearly and is not mentioned in the law. From a legal point of view, it is especially problematic how those applying the law can interpret those undefined acts that are punishable according to the current laws – for example, the Child Protection Law – or a new law in preparation concerning acts within the family. According to the current legislation "*children cannot be subjected to cruel, inhumane, humiliating corporal punishment, discipline or treatment*"⁸. The interpretation of this passage gives rise to a lot of debate and the practice of courts varies in the judgement of beating and physical violence. "*The aim should be the rejection of the use of corporal punishment of children and other forms of humiliation as means of disciplining by emphasising the necessity of those methods of disciplining that are free of violence*"⁹.

The 19th paragraph of the UN convention on the rights of children, which constitutes part of the Hungarian legal system, covers all the forms of physical and psychological violence. The Committee of Children's Rights, which supervises the observance of the convention, expressed its view in the 1990s that corporal punishment is against the spirit of the convention and suggested that the countries that signed the convention should ban it. The 37th paragraph gives protection for children against torture, humiliating or inhumane treatment and punishment and this was included in the Hungarian law on child protection as well.

⁸ The 1997/XXXI. Law on the Protection of Children and the Administration of Guardianship Chapter 2. Basic Rights and Responsibilities 6. § section (5)

⁹ The N (90) 2 recommendation of the Council of Europe Ministerial Committee.

An increasingly higher number of professionals agree with the proposal that the ban on corporal punishment should be included in the law on child protection, to supplement the passage mentioned above, which was codified in the legislation of 13 European countries already¹⁰. This regulation does not concern criminal law but child protection, which makes the point of view of the legislator clear, and at the same time it gives orientation to the parents, helps them and protects the children. The law in preparation on violence within the family would in itself justify this change in the legislation as all kinds of corporal punishment and physical abuse of children must be prohibited if we take it seriously that violence within the family must be prevented and treated suitably with all the instruments available. Also, in order for children to come to know their rights and use them, to be in partnership with the adults and to become adults and parents who have good self-esteem, who are self-respecting and who can respect others as well and who can manage their conflicts, there is a need for them to learn crisis management and discussion manners while respecting communication free of violence, human dignity and the differences in opinion.

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Opinions on Traffic Deviance

The most important results and lessons

According to the data for the year 2002 about 0.7% of the adult population (approximately 56 thousand people) are injured in accidents involving personal injury. In contrast to it in the official statistics only about 20 thousand injuries are registered.

Every year about 640 thousand adults are involved in minor road accidents. We had no information available about it earlier.

Considering a five-year interval the following seem to be worthy of mentioning:

- Among those involved in accidents there were more than three times as many people who had been under a procedure for a minor offence and had been convicted and twice as many people who had been under a procedure for a minor offence and had not been convicted than among those who had never been involved in such a procedure.
- The closest relationship can be established between a past with or without accidents and victimisation in other crimes.
- The survey proves through many facts that being victimised is not something accidental but it is the consequence of a many-sided predisposition concerning partly one's way life, partly one's behaviour. This is manifested more or less in inadequate behaviour compared to the concrete expectations of society and to one's own abilities. People with a victimisation predisposition can comply with the expectations of the world around them to a smaller extent than the majority. Therefore they become involved more often than the average man not only in intentional crimes but also in crimes committed out of negligence, which are part of everyday life and even in their so-called preliminary acts. *The real dividing line in traffic is not between the person who causes an accident and the victim but between the persons who get involved in accidents and those on the road who are not involved in accidents.*
- The so-called invulnerability myth, which is one of the main dangers leading to victimisation, makes one third of the total Hungarian population unable to defend themselves against unexpected road accidents.
- The people involved in accidents have a higher level of intolerance and anxiety towards their environment than those not involved in accidents. This is projected not only on the past and the present but also on the future expectations.

Statistical overview

Two kinds of approaches can be used best to express the danger that a certain crime or certain groups of crimes pose to society¹. One of them is the size of quantitatively measurable criteria; the extent of the changes in the quantity. The other is the viewpoint mainly to be detected in public surveys that the public forms of some phenomenon. This is an important aspect because people's opinions sometimes tend to be completely independent of the figures²; fear of crime accounts for the way some crime is received in society as the resultant of several different factors. Preferring the exclusive use of one single method to gain knowledge can be suitable to prove certain concepts (mostly to ourselves) but it can surely not give a true picture of the examined phenomenon.

In the following, first of all, relying on the instruments mentioned in the first place, we will have an opportunity to get an overview of the main structural and dynamic characteristics of the so-called traffic offences. Knowing them, of course, cannot give us any authentic information about how the public receives the danger of the examined crimes and what impact the changes in the figures have on the general feelings of people.

Our starting point is the scope of crimes described in the Chapter XIII. of the Criminal Law on the one hand, and the Unified Police and Prosecution Crime Statistics (UPPCS) on the other. Before presenting the details, it seems necessary to call attention to some of the basic weaknesses, including the following:

- Criminal statistics can give only a *superficial* picture of traffic security because the causes of accidents that have the highest percentage are shown in the system only through multiple distortions and even then deficiently. Statistics *distort* because some of the accidents are shown independently and some others are shown in the category of drunk-driving, together with crimes not involving police action and not resulting in accidents, included in one figure. Statistics are also *deficient* because – according to the Criminal Law currently in force – causing accidents that involve only minor injuries (the number of which is the highest) does not constitute a crime.

¹ The position and the role of the danger crimes pose to society are debated at present. About this issue most recently see: Földesi, T.: Gondolatok a társadalmi veszélyesség kategóriájának büntetőjogi szükségességéről (Thoughts on the Necessity of the Category of Social Danger in Criminal Law). *Belügyi Szemle*, 11–12/2003., pp. 115–122. and the literature referred to there.

² In connection with it, see the following study – among others – prepared earlier: Kó J.: Vélemények a bűnözésről (Opinions on Crime). *Kriminológiai és Kriminalisztikai Tanulmányok*, 35. OKKri, Budapest, 1998, and the relevant conclusions of this research in other studies in the present volume.

- The number of incidents registered as drunk-driving could express the *changes* in the basic phenomenon if we supposed that there were no changes in the *intensity of law enforcement*. We have, however, no reasons to suppose this. Therefore we should emphasise the fact instead that the changes that may have taken place in the figures reflect mainly a change in law enforcement practice of the police and not in the basic tendency.
- Finally, we should also mention that UPPCS is so-called *output statistics*, which is suitable to portray structural and dynamic movements through the comparison of long term time sequences. It is, however, unsuitable to provide reliable information on how many crimes were committed in a certain year (or in an even shorter interval).

In view of the above, through a broad approach, we summarised the main characteristics of traffic offences, more specifically the causes of road accidents, in the following.

- 1) The *total number of crimes that became known* showed a continuously increasing tendency between 1980 and 1998, in the following years a decreasing tendency started, but the *number of traffic offences* that became known was also increasing until the exceptionally high proportion in 1992 and then it was decreasing until 1996 and since then it has been stagnating. Its proportion within criminal statistics was continuously decreasing until 1998 but in recent years, owing to the more favourable changes in the number of other crimes, its share in the total number of crimes has started to increase again (*Table 1. and Chart 1.*)*
- 2) Among *traffic offences* road offences constitute the largest category but the role of rail traffic, which is the second largest statistical group, has also strengthened a lot since 1996 and continues to have an increasing tendency (*Table 2.*).
- 3) Among *criminal offences against the safety of traffic* the importance of rail and road traffic is approximately the same but the other two (air and water traffic) is insignificant. There has been a growing tendency in the number of crimes against the safety of rail traffic since 1990 and the number of these crimes was more than twice as high in 2002 as ten years earlier. The number of crimes against the safety of road traffic was increasing all throughout the examined period and in the past ten years the number of these crimes has nearly trebled (*Table 3. and Chart 2.*).
- 4) Looking at the figures of *road traffic offences* we can see that drunk-driving of a road vehicle has traditionally the highest percentage in this respect, followed by actions falling into the category of negligence leading to road accidents. Hit-and-run accidents are third on the list. We can also see, however, that

* The tables and the charts are on page 137.

- the number of drink-driving incidents reaching top figures in 1991–1993 has been continuously decreasing since then and by now it has dropped to the level it had twenty years ago,
 - negligence leading to accidents, after reaching a peak between 1989 and 1993 has dropped to the level it had in the middle of the 1980s (in spite of the highly dynamic spread of motor vehicles since the beginning of the 1990s),
 - the number of crimes that are typically intentional – and concerning the method of their commission dangerous – is low compared to the previous category but it was growing all throughout the examined period. The number of crimes against the safety of traffic has become about ten times as much in the past twenty years and the number of hit-and-run accidents has become four times as much in the same period. The number of acts intentionally endangering others has also trebled. Only the number of crimes amounting to the case of drink-driving of a road vehicle remained the same (Table 4. and Chart 3.). All this shows that although with the spread of motor vehicles traffic security has also grown as shown by the number of accidents (although we know from other sources that not at the desirable, Western-European standards), crimes that are not primarily due to negligence but low moral standards and which cannot be controlled through traditional instruments have multiplied. At the same time, the increasing sensitivity of the population to these deviant tendencies may have a role in the higher figures – although it is not known to what extent.
- 5) The analysis of road accidents according to the outcome shows that after the exceptionally high figures between 1990 and 1992 (which were not characteristic of only the category of the crime of causing mass disasters) were followed by a tendency of decreasing figures, dropping to the level of the middle of eighties. As a result of the decreasing tendency in the figures of causing road accidents resulting in deaths, which started in 1992, the figures for 2001–2002 were lower than the ones at the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. In view of the fact that these crimes are strongly related to the number of accidents and their outcomes, their number can be expected to increase in 2003 compared to the previous years (Table 5. and Chart 4.).
- 6) The analysis of causing road accidents and drunk-driving according to outcomes (Table 6.) shows that negligence leading to accidents as well as the proportion of offences both leading to death and to lasting disability decreased significantly among those who commit the crime of drink-driving road vehicles. This decrease was sharper in the case of drink-driving.

- 7) Analysing the changes in the number and the proportion of offenders in general and the perpetrators of traffic offences who became known we can see a drop in the proportion of the latter. Besides, it is also clear that there has been no significant change in the proportion of detected crimes compared to the number of crimes in contrast to most of the intentional crimes, where this proportion has been declining in the past twenty years (Table 7. and Chart 5.).
- 8) The number of perpetrators of road offences follows the changes in the number of crimes. By the end of the decade the high figures of negligence resulting in an accident in 1990 and drink-driving between 1991 and 1993 fell back to the level they were at two decades before. The figures are nearly four times higher in the case of crimes against the safety of traffic, more than twice as high in the case of intentionally endangering others and nearly four times higher in the case of hit-and-run accidents. Drink-driving plays a dominant role in the statistics of perpetrators as about two-third of them are in this category (Table 8., Charts 6. and 7.).

We should make note of the fact that only some of the road accidents are crimes. Accidents can be categorised into two main groups: ones involving personal injuries and ones that involve only material damage. We have no reliable information available about the latter at present in Hungary because only insurance companies have records of them and the information is stored in connection to the particulars of the clients and not in connection to events, locations, offences, etc. The police are informed only if any of the parties involved insists on it but have no statistics of these accidents that have been reported either.

The number of accidents involving personal injuries is important because it influences the general feeling of the people as well as the international reputation of Hungary. We can state that the situation of the country has deteriorated recently. Instead of decreasing, the number of deaths resulting from accidents has increased (Table 9.). The goal of the EU for decreasing the number of deaths resulting from accidents by half by 2010 compared to the beginning of the decade seems quite unattainable. With regard to this the information about the situation of the country in comparison to the other countries of Europe is especially worth paying attention to. In this respect there is a special problem in Hungary not generally but concerning the seriousness of the outcomes. An example of it is Chart 8., which shows the number of deaths as the result of accidents compared to the number of motor vehicles³.

3 The source of this chart and the following ones: Holló, Péter: A hazai közúti közlekedésbiztonság az EU-csatlakozás tükrében (The Safety of Traffic in Hungary in View of the EU Accession). Belügyi Szemle, 1/2004. The additional parts were also prepared relying on the information kindly provided by Péter Holló.

The frequency of the movements of vehicles signifies a connection to those conflicts that the participants in traffic have to solve. In theory, the more often a car is used in traffic the higher the chance that the driver will be involved in a serious accident. Chart 9. shows that the statistics in Hungary are bad in this respect, too.

Chart 10. shows that the overall picture in Hungary is unfavourable not only concerning the high number of accidents resulting in deaths but concerning the seriousness of the accidents as well.

As we know from earlier research, people regard accidents common occurrences to some extent. We also know that it is not purely by chance who will cause accidents and who will become victims of them. However, we know relatively little about the individual characteristics of these people, about the attitudes they have towards their closer environment and towards society as a whole. So far it was mainly researchers of behaviour (psychologists, doctors) who have carried out surveys about how the personality (mainly psycho-physical) traits of the people involved in accidents are different from those of the other people on the road who do not get involved in accidents. But it has rarely been discussed, if at all, how these two large groups are embedded in society. Therefore we lack the information about how those involved in accidents are different from those who are not or only rarely involved in accidents⁴. This would be really necessary for us in order to understand better why people who seem perfectly healthy are involved in accidents and why others with much lower psycho-physical performances can stand their grounds on the roads for decades. We know that proper knowledge of the rules can guarantee a safe behaviour in the traffic only to a very small extent and that the breach of rules is an everyday occurrence. Defensive behaviour, which is essentially important on the road, lays the stress not on keeping the rules (even less on forcing others to keep them) but on foreseeing breaches of rules by others and in view of this knowledge on protecting against the results of these breaches of rules. This requires knowledge of the typical forms of behaviour on the road on the one hand and skills of being able and ready to recognise dangerous situations

⁴ We know the typical attitude of shifting responsibility on the part of people involved in accidents. This means that they try to present themselves as innocent in the eyes of the authorities, friends and others, even in their own eyes although careful examinations clearly show their – often exclusive – responsibility. Therefore we do not attach special importance to what they say when we ask them about their “experiences” of the accident. Earlier research, however, clearly shows that there is a clearly distinguishable group of people who are involved in accidents more often than the average. From a legal aspect this role may be that of the offender or the victim, sometimes partly both. Often the roles are exchanged.

at the right time and to protect against the possible consequences. This is possible only if one is a social being to the fullest extent, having the necessary knowledge with an attitude of not being keen on asserting one's rights against others but on actively contributing to the prevention of trouble resulting from the breaches of the rules by others.

The following analysis will give a somewhat more complex picture about these social aspects than what we know now and this can be used in the prevention of accidents as well. Even more so, as we have known for several decades that the people on the road cannot be divided into the two large groups of those guilty of causing accidents and the rest but into the group of those who get involved in accidents and those who do not.

THE INTERVIEWEES FACTS

The socio-demographic characteristics of the interviewees

Victimisation in traffic

Have you been the victim of a crime or an accident? (K80)

The professional literature mostly agrees that the majority of people never become victims of crimes in their lives. Opinions, however, differ sharply in their estimates concerning what percentage of the population becomes victimised – and the repeated surveys, similar to this present survey do not really help to decide this question. Several factors play a part in this insecurity. For example, people often cannot distinguish crimes from minor offences and grievances that have no legal consequences from breaches of norms with legal consequences⁵. According to the results of our research *somewhat more than two third of the adult Hungarian population say that they have never been victims of crimes in their lives.*

Taking all the interviewees into consideration, we can conclude that approximately 15% of the adults become (have become) the victims of road accidents *in the course of their lives.*

In the following question we wanted to find out whether the interviewees had been involved in road accidents resulting injuries in the five years before

⁵ Of course all the comprehensive surveys – including ours – paid great attention to the training of the questioners and tried to make sure that they would have as accurate information as possible. Errors and therefore insecurity, however, cannot be totally excluded in this area.

the interview that were – in their opinions⁶ – due to the faults of other people (K74_1).

According our examination between 1998 and the middle of 2003 2.3% of the adult population (228 of the 10,020 interviewees) were injured in accidents. For the total adult population of about eight million this means that in five years altogether about 184 thousand adults were injured in road accidents.

According to official statistics⁷ this number is about 70 thousand smaller although including the people under 18 who were involved in accidents as well. This is not the main reason for the difference, which seems big only if we examine the issue superficially. Examinations of this issue⁸ clearly indicate that especially the accidents involving one vehicle and resulting in minor injuries are not known by the police authorities.

The part of the adult population directly involved in accidents resulting in injuries is relatively small, 2.8%. The harmful consequences of the accidents, however, affect even more people within the family than the beneficial effects of possessing a car. Besides, we have not touched on – and owing to the nature of the survey we will not – the impacts of the approximately 5,500 deaths resulting from accidents in the examined period.

Out of the 228 people who considered themselves to be victims of accidents, 129 reported it to the police. This means that in five years 56.6% of the accidents the authorities came to know about the accidents through the victims as well. We must emphasise, however, that – as the comparative figures mentioned above also show – the police come to know of accidents in a much higher proportion than that, mainly from other sources (such as reports by emergency medical staff, other people involved in the accident and citizens not involved in the accident).

We get more exact information if we ask the interviewees whether they were involved in accidents resulting in injuries *during the last calendar year*.

Altogether 62 people said that they suffered injuries in accidents in 2002. According to the data, three quarter of the people involved in accidents throughout the whole examined period were free of accidents in 2002 and

⁶ This is an important addition to the question. It is a fact established by experience that people tend to shift the responsibility for the accident even if the authorities (the police, the courts) establish their responsibility finally. Since this survey did not afford any procedural or criminal priority (now it would not even be possible to carry out such survey owing to reasons of the protection of personal data) we have no way of knowing to what extent personal conviction and the judgement of the authorities agreed or differed in this respect.

⁷ Közlekedési balesetek 2002 (Road Accidents 2002). KSH, Budapest, 2003

⁸ The last survey of this kind in Hungary took place between 1988 and 1989 in Vas county, where we concluded that the police do not know of every fifth road accident resulting in minor injuries.

about one quarter of the interviewees said they were involved in accidents in 2002 as well. This can lead us to conclude that **every year about 0.7% of the adult population (approximately 56 thousand people) are injured in accidents**. As we can see, this figure is higher than one fifth of the five-year period. This is mainly due to the fact that people can remember the unpleasant events that are nearer to them in time more clearly than the ones that happened earlier.

We also looked at how many people said that they had been involved in accidents not resulting in injuries in the one year period before the survey (K76). Examining the **involvement in (minor) accidents not resulting in injuries in the past one year** we can see that the majority of the people were not involved in such accidents. It can also be seen, however, that 8 out of 100 interviewees were involved in such accidents. Projected to the adult population it means **approximately 640 thousand people annually**. This figure is rather high although we have no basis for comparison. The police do not keep a record of these cases – even if they take action in a few cases – and insurance companies – usually out of considerations of business policy – also withhold such information.

In a different interpretation, the above figures also mean that 5.8% of the adult population were involved in accidents not resulting in injuries between 1 July 2002 and 30 June 2003. Involvement in accidents resulting in injuries with a proportion of 0.6%, as mentioned above, is added to it. According to this – with not the same probability, of course – we can say that **every year every 15th people among the adult population are involved in some kinds of road accidents⁹**. Furthermore: involvement in accidents not resulting in injuries is about ten times as frequent as involvement in accidents resulting in injuries: **within one year every 167th person has a chance to be involved in an accident resulting in injuries and every 17th person has a chance to be involved in an accident resulting only in material damage**.

The connection between victimisation in general and on the road

We received answers to one of the important questions of the survey, the existence or the lack of a *connection between general and special victimisation* if we compared the frequency of victimisation in general and in

⁹ The actual figure is somewhat lower than that since – as the present survey has also shown – there are several people who are involved in accidents repeatedly within one year. The figures also show that although the majority of the people are involved in only one accident, about 80 thousand adults were involved in two or three accidents and another 16 thousand people were involved in minor accidents more than three times. Relatively many people refused to give information (2.2% of the interviewees, which means approximately 176 thousand people projected to the whole adult population).

road accidents. We conducted the survey from different approaches in this respect as well. We asked the interviewees again whether they had been victims of accidents resulting in injuries in the five years preceding the time of the interviewing and also in certain sections of this period and finally we asked them if they had been victims of accidents not resulting injuries (minor accidents) in the past one year. After receiving the basic information – owing to the number of cases – we found it necessary to have more details about only two questions: had the interviewees been victims resulting in injuries in the past five years and victims of accidents not resulting in injuries in the past one year.

The result confirmed an – although not absolutely surprising, still – important connection that has not been examined empirically for a long time. Comparing the frequency of victimisation in the five years examined with victimisation throughout people's lifetime we came to the conclusion that these two groups are significantly different from each other.

36.4% of the people who have been involved in accidents and 69.2% of those who have not been involved in accidents have been the victims of crimes. The two groups are only slightly different concerning the people who have been victims of crimes only once (16.7% of the people who have and 11.4% of the people who have not been involved in accidents belong to this group). 20.2% of those who have and 10.4% of those who have not been involved in accidents have been victimised twice or three times, while 26.3% of those who have been involved in accidents and 7.3% of those who have not have been victimised more than three times (Chart 11.).

69.2% of those who have not and 36.4% of those who have been victims of road accidents in the examined five years' period have never been victimised. On the other end of the scale, 26.3% of those who have been victims of road accidents more than three times and 7.3% of those who have not been involved in road accidents have been victims of other crimes as well.

We can also say that 98.8% of those who have never been victims of other crimes and 92.2% of those who have been victims of crimes more than three times have not been involved in accidents. From another aspect: 1.2% of those who have never been victims of crimes, 3.3% of those who have been victimised once, 4.4% of those who have been victimised two or three times and 7.8% of those who have been victimised more than three times have been involved in accidents.

In the following, we will analyse only the accidents resulting in injuries in the past five years and the questions about involvement in minor accidents in the past one year.

The role of gender and age

The proportion of men among the victims of road accidents (61.3% in 2002) is much higher than among the victims of other crimes in 2002 (48.7%) (Chart 12.).

If we examine whether the interviewees have been injured in road accidents owing to the fault of others in the past five years (SZ2_REC), we find that involvement in accidents is increasing from the older age groups towards the younger ones. It is relatively the highest among those born between 1968 and 1977. Almost the half of the victims of accidents in 2002 belongs to this group. From another approach: 32.8% of those aged between 18 and 29 and 34.4% of those aged between 30 and 39 were involved in accidents resulting in injuries in 2002. The involvement of both age groups in other crimes is much lower than the above figure.

If we enquire about involvement in minor road accidents owing to the faults of others in the past one year we can see again that proportions are getting higher as we continue from the older age groups (5.8% among those born between 1900 and 1942) towards the younger ones (11.3% among those born between 1978 and 1984).

The role of schooling (SZ15)

Considering the five-year period we can conclude that usually there is no significant difference except for one case: the proportion of those involved in accidents among those who have a schooling not higher than the eight years of primary school is half as high as among those who have a higher schooling than that.

Taking a one-year period into consideration, the higher schooling the interviewees have the higher their involvement in accidents is. The proportion of this involvement is 4.1% among those who have finished the eight years of primary school or less than that and 11.9% among those who have a degree in higher education.

The proportion of those with a basic level of qualifications or without even that is lower among the victims of road accidents compared to the victims of other crimes (9.7% and 15%) and the proportion of those who learnt a trade is higher (32.3% and 21.1%).

The role of family status (SZ3)

In the five-year period the proportion of people among married couples who live separately and who were involved in accidents was twice as high as the proportion of those who were not involved in accidents (2.2% and 1.1%). The

proportions are reversed among widowers and widows living on their own (3.5% and 8.6%). The proportion of divorced people is relatively high among those who have been involved in accidents (10.1% and 7.2%).

Looking at the previous year, we can see that divorced people who live separately (12.9%) and those living together with their parents (10.9%) have the highest percentage among those who were involved in accidents – within their own category. Widowed people have the smallest proportion of involvement in accidents (5.3% and 6.2%). There is no significant difference between the two main groups. The proportion of people living in marriages and cohabitation is smaller compared to the victims of other crimes (54.8% and 63.1%) and the proportion of people living in their parents' home as singles (21% and 16.5%) and after a divorce (11.3% and 7.3%) is higher (Chart 13.).

The number of children (SZ4)

There is no difference in the number of children. In the case of the relative majority (46.8% of the victims of accidents and 40.6% of the victims of other crimes) there are no children.

The role of work

Are you in employment at present? (SZ16)

Considering a five-year period *the involvement of those in full-time employment and those in temporary employment in accidents is at least twice as high as those employed part-time and those not in employment.*

Regarding the one-year period, those not in employment are significantly different from those who are employed, whose involvement in accidents (12.5%) is twice as high as the involvement of those who are not in employment (6%). The proportion of people *in full-time employment* is the highest (69.4%) among the victims of road accidents. They are followed by the victims of other crimes (54.4%) and by those who were not victimised in 2002 (48.6%) and finally by those who were not victimised during the five years (41.6%). The order is reversed in the case of those who are not in employment: their proportion is the smallest among the victims of accidents (25.8%) and their proportion is the highest (54.4%) among those who were not victimised during the five years.

Why are you not in employment? (SZ17)

On the basis of this division it is clear that

- within the five-year period, the favourable distribution of those not in employment is exclusively due to *the old-age pensioners*, who has the

highest percentage in this group. The picture is especially unfavourable concerning *students* in this division and also that

- according to the survey the different categories have different characteristics in the one-year period. Students were involved in accidents at the highest proportion (10.2%) and pensioners were involved at the smallest proportion (5.1% and 4.7%). We can also see that the proportion of old-age pensioners is exceptionally low (18.8% in contrast to 41-55% in other categories) and the proportion of the unemployed is exceptionally high (25% in contrast to 10-11.5% in other categories) among those people who were victims of road accidents in 2002 – compared to those who were victims in other crimes in that year, those who were not victimised in that year and those who had not been victimised in the previous five years as well.

The role of the place of residence

The interviewees' places of residence (I3)

There is no difference in the five-year period concerning the type of the residential building.

In the one-year period the people in the two groups were significantly different, which can be primarily explained by the high proportion of people living in modern houses with a garden or in condominiums among those involved in accidents (12.7%) and even more by the low involvement of people living in houses with a garden in villages (5.3%).

The legal title of the interviewees to live in their present home (SZ6)

Examining the five-year period we can see that the proportion of people renting their homes is nearly twice as high among those who have not been involved in accidents than among those who have (4.5% and 2.6%).

There is no difference if we compare the people involved in accidents in the past one year with those who were not involved in accidents in that period. The legal title to live in their homes as relatives of the owners characterises the people involved in accidents more than any other group. (Their proportion is 29% among those involved in accidents in 2002, 21% among the victims of other crimes, 19.2% among the people not victimised in 2002 and 18.4% among those who were not victimised in the five-year period.)

The time spent in the same building (SZ7)

We can see that the proportion of people involved in accidents in the five-year period among those who had spent more than 40 year in the same building is only half as high as among the others (6.1% and 13%).

Concerning the one-year period we can note that the longer people have lived in the same place the smaller their proportion is among those involved in accidents. The proportion of people involved in accidents who have lived in the same place for one to five years is 10.4% while the involvement of those who have lived in the same place for more than 40 years is only 4.8%.

The number of places where the interviewees lived for longer than six months (SZ5)

There is no difference in the five-year period.

The more often the interviewees have changed their places of residence in their lives the more probable it is that they were involved in accidents in the one-year period. This shows a marked difference especially in the case of six different places of residence they have had: while this proportion is 4.8% among those who were victimised in 2002 and 3.5% among the victims of other crimes it is 2.9% among those who were not victimised in 2002 and only 1.9% among those who had not been victimised in the past five years.

The role of the financial situation

Are you satisfied with your present financial situation? (SZ22)

There is no difference concerning satisfaction with the financial situation.

The situation of your own household compared to the situation of the country? (O15)

There is no difference between the two groups for the five-year period.

There was a significant difference between the two groups in the one-year period: the dividing line is between the upper and the lower 50%. Those who categorised their financial situation to be among the lower 50% were involved in accidents in smaller proportions and the worse they saw their situation the less they were involved in accidents.

There was no significant difference between the different groups for the year 2002.

Have you got a car? (SZ13)

There is no significant difference concerning the five-year period although those who drive a car are slightly overrepresented among the people who were involved in accidents (57.5% and 42.1%) (Chart 14.). Those who do not have a car are in majority among those who were not involved in accidents.

The two groups are significantly different from each other within the one-year period: those who have cars were involved in accidents more often than those who have not. The difference is significant compared to the other groups as well: 37.1% of those who do not have a car were involved in accidents in 2002 and 41.5% were the victims of other crimes and 45% were not victims of crimes in 2002 and 59.7% of them had not been the victims of crimes in the previous five years.

The value of your car? (SZ14)

Considering the five-year period there is no significant difference between the people who were injured in accidents and those who were not although the owners of vehicles worth less than 500 thousand HUF tend to have fewer accidents and the owners of more expensive cars are in majority among the people involved in accidents.

The two groups are significantly different within the one-year period and we can perceive a general tendency that the more valuable one's car is the more involved they are in accidents not resulting in injuries.

Culture, religion

There were two questions about this topic. We can see that there was no difference between two main groups either in the respect which culture they belonged to (O22_1) or in the respect whether they visited religious meetings or not (SZ24).

The role of deviances

The frequency of alcohol consumption (O1)

First, it seems necessary to refer to the fact that 26.9% of the interviewees representing the whole adult Hungarian population (which means two million people) drink alcohol at least every week, 33.9% considered themselves to be occasional drinkers and 39.2% said that they did not consume alcohol at all.

Following the five-year period: in the sample the percentage of occasional drinkers and those who never drink any alcohol is practically the same. In the former group (that is, among the occasional drinkers), however, twice as many people said that they had been involved in accidents in the past five years than in the latter.

The proportion of those who do not drink any alcohol (39.9%) among those who were not involved in accidents in the one-year period (100%) is higher than the proportions of the regular drinkers (26.6%, that is +13.3%) and of occasional drinkers (33.5%, that is +6.4%). In other words: among the

people involved in accidents not resulting in injuries (100%) the proportion of regular drinkers is 30.6%, of occasional drinker is 39.6% and of those who do not drink any alcohol is 29.7%. We cannot speak of any significant difference here.

We can also state that the proportion of those who *never drink any alcohol* is the smallest among those who were involved in accidents in 2002 (27.9%) and they are followed by the victims of other crimes in the same year (32.4%) and then by those who were not victims of crimes in 2002 (34.1%). The proportion of those who do not drink any alcohol is the highest among those who have not been victims of crimes in the past five years (42.1%).

Have you driven a car after drinking alcohol in the past one year? (O2)

4.3% of the interviewees (projecting it to the whole adult population it means approximately 344 thousand people) admitted driving a car after drinking alcohol in the past one year, while 44.3% (approximately 3.5 million adults) said that they do not drive a car. This means that among the adult population 7.8% of the drivers in the sample drove a car after drinking alcohol in the examined period.

A significantly higher proportion among the people who *drove a car after drinking alcohol* were involved in accidents in the five-year period than among those who did not drive after drinking. Those who have no cars were involved in accidents in the smallest proportion.

Concerning the one-year period we can say the same as in the case of involvement in accidents resulting in injuries: those who drove a car after drinking alcohol in the past one year were involved in accidents significantly more often than those who did not drive after drinking. Those who do not drive a car were involved in accidents in the smallest proportion here again.

11.6% of those who were involved in accidents in 2002 said that they had driven once, and another 2.3% said that they driven more than once after drinking alcohol. The proportion of those who drove after drinking once is substantially higher among those who were involved in road accidents than in the other categories (Table 10.).

Have you ever been suspected by the police? (O5)

6.3% of the sample in the survey (about half a million adult projected to the whole population) said that they had been suspects in police procedures earlier in their lives.

Almost twice as high proportion of the people who have ever been suspected by the police were involved in accidents in the five-year period than among those who have not taken such a part in a police investigation.

Concerning the one-year period we can see that the same tendency prevails as in the case of accidents resulting in injuries: there was a higher proportion of people (although not significantly higher in this case) involved in accidents in the past one year among those who had been suspects in police procedures (9.7%) than among those who had not (6%).

There were almost four times as many people among the victims of accidents resulting in injuries (16.3%) who had been suspects in police procedures than among those who had not been victims of crimes in the past five years (4.6%). It is worth noting that the proportion of earlier police suspects among those who were victims of other crimes in 2002 is below 10% (9.7%) just as among those who were not victims of crimes in 2002 (8.6%).

Procedures concerning minor offences in the past one year (O16_B)

3.1% of the people in the survey said that in the past 12 months a procedure for a minor offence had been started against them (this means about 250 thousand people projected to the whole population) and 2.2% of the interviewees (about 175 thousand people projected to the whole population) said that they had also been punished in the procedure.

Concerning the five-year period we can make the following statement, which cannot be supported by a mathematical-statistical method owing to the low number of cases but can be accepted as a tendency: *among the people involved in accidents there are more than three times as many who had a procedure started against them for a minor offence and have been punished and more than twice as many who had a procedure started against them for a minor offence and have not been punished* compared to those who have not been involved in such a procedure in the past one year.

There was a significant difference between the two groups, however, concerning the one-year period. Among the people involved in accidents, the proportion of those who were found guilty in a procedure started for a minor offence was 17.9%, the proportion of those who were involved in such a procedure but were not punished was 26.9% and the proportion of those who were not involved in such a procedure was 7.1%.

16.3% of the people involved in accidents in 2002 have been punished in a procedure started for minor offences at least once, while this is true of 1.8% of those victimised in other crimes in 2002, of 3.1% of those not victimised in 2002 and of 1.3% of those who have not been victimised in the past five years.

As a conclusion we can say that examining the past record of individuals in road traffic reinforces connections that have already been known, such as the increased danger threatening young people, the higher vulnerability of

those who go out to work and the higher security of elderly people on roads as well (although – in lack of empirical knowledge – many deny this). There are connections that we did not know of before and that can be regarded as explanations for several accidents: for instance the close connection between habits of drinking alcohol and involvement in accidents¹⁰. This behaviour, moreover: attitude, which is deviant – at least from the point of view compliance with the law – seems an even more probable cause owing to a past in which these people have broken the law more often than those who have not been involved in accidents. According to the results of our survey that have come to light so far the closest connection can be established between a past with or without involvement in accidents and victimisation in other crimes. The survey dispels all doubt: **victimisation does not happen by chance but it is the consequence of a complex predisposition both concerning way of life and behaviour.** This is manifested in behaviour more or less inadequate to the expectations of society and one's own behaviour. Individuals with a predisposition for victimisation can comply with the expectations of the outside world less than the majority, which is also proved by the fact that the number of people who have been involved in police procedures is significantly higher among them. Therefore, they are more often involved than the average not only in intentional crimes but also in crimes resulting from negligence that are parts of everyday life and in the so-called pre-acts of these.

OPINIONS

In the following we took a look at some of the important characteristics of people's general feelings and their sense of security, to find out if there is a difference between people who have not been involved in accidents and those who have been involved in accidents resulting in injuries not due to their own faults in the past five years and in 2002 and if yes, where this difference lies.

The role of general feelings (K1A, K1B, K2C)

The opinions of those who have been involved in accidents resulting in injuries in the past five years and those who have not been involved in

¹⁰ It may be worth mentioning again that the own opinions of the interviewees were recorded here when they said that they had not been responsible for the accidents they had got involved in. It is an especially often debated question concerning accidents that who is responsible for them. Again, we can refer to the earlier experience of our research: about 70-80% of the pedestrians could have avoided the accident with a behaviour that is adequate to the situation and about half of them were guilty in the legal sense as well (they contributed to the accident through breaking rules) although they took part in the criminal procedure as victims.

accidents as well as the those who were the victims of accidents and other crimes in 2002 and those who were not victimised are all perfectly the same (which means the opinions of these different groups do not differ from the opinions of the public in general at all) if we examine their general feelings at present and how these feelings have changed in the past five years and what changes can be expected for the next five years.

Concerning these questions there is no difference between the people who have been involved in minor accidents and those who have not and at the same time the opinions are exactly the same as in the category examined earlier. We can establish a tendency that – in contrast to the group examined earlier – in this respect those who have been involved in minor accidents gave more favourable opinions than those who have not.

Sense of security – in general

We can have a quite complex picture of the general state of the police and public security by comparing the people who were involved in accidents resulting in injuries in the past five years and in 2002 and the people who have not been involved in such accidents. In the following we will discuss this matter.

After answering the following questions we can have our final conclusions:

Can the police guarantee public security at present? (K5)

The tendency on the basis of the five-year period is the following: those who have been involved in accidents tend to think that the police cannot guarantee security more often (37.9%) than those who have not (31.7%), while a higher proportion of those who have not been involved in accidents consider the work of the police average (50.8% and 47.1%) or have a positive view of it (17.5% and 15%).

The connection between the experiences of the year 2002 and the activity of the police is shown by Table 11.

The victims of road accidents in 2002 have the worst opinions about the police, while those people have the least negative opinions who have not been victimised in the past five years.

Public security at present? (K6)

The tendency for the five-year period is the same as above: the majority of those who have been involved in accidents think that public security is bad at present (42.2% and 33%). The proportion of people not involved in accidents is higher among those who think public security is average (53.7% and 48%). Also, most of those who tend to consider it good have not been involved in accidents (13.3% and 9.8%) (Table 12.).

The information acquired about the year 2002 supports the earlier standpoint in essence.

Public security in Hungary in the past five years (K8)

On the basis of the answers given to this question we can conclude that the proportion of people who have been involved in accidents is higher (39.8%) than the proportion of people who have not (35.1%) among those who think public security has become worse in the past five years. The majority of those who think it has not changed have not been involved in accidents (45.6% and 40.3%). The data for 2002 also confirm this statement.

Public security in the next five years (K9)

A higher percentage of those who have been involved in accidents expect public security to get worse (21.8%) than those who have not (19.5%). Also, the majority of those who think the situation will not change have not been involved in accidents (40.4% and 38.4%).

The impact of the accession to the EU on public security (K10)

The analysis of the expected change in public security as the result of Hungary's accession to the EU also showed that the proportion of those who expected a change for the worse was higher among the people who have been involved in accidents (23.4% and 20.7%). There was a slightly higher proportion of people who have not been involved in accidents among those who thought the situation would not change or would change for the better.

Will there be fewer or more crimes after the accession to the EU? (K12_1)

The tendency seen earlier prevailed concerning the question whether fewer or more crimes will be committed after the accession to the EU, with a small difference in the actual figures. There was a higher proportion of people who thought there would be fewer crimes among those who have not been involved in accidents (29.4% and 26.1%), while there was a slightly higher proportion of people who thought the number of crimes would not change or would be higher among those who have been involved in accidents.

Is car theft a problem in Hungary at present? (K21_A)

Although most of the interviewees – whether involved in accidents or not – regard car theft as a problem, a higher proportion among those who have been involved in accidents said a firm yes to this question (79.7%) than among those who have not (72.9%). However, there are a higher proportion of people not involved in accidents among those who said it was a problem

on average (20.6% and 16.3%) and among those who do not find it a problem (6.5% and 4%). There are an exceptionally high proportion of people who think this crime is a very big problem (61.3%) among those who were victims of accidents in 2002 (this proportion does not exceed 44% in the other groups but among those who have not been victims of crimes in the past five years, it is "only" 39.4%).

Is organised crime a problem in Hungary? (K21_C)

In the same way as at the previous question, although the majority of people both involved and not involved in accidents consider organised crime a problem, there are a higher proportion of people among them who have been involved in accidents earlier (74% and 66.9%). However, those who have not been involved in accidents are in majority among those who regard it an average problem (20.6% and 15.4%).

Is violent crime a problem in Hungary? (K21_F)

If we examine the five-year period, we can see the earlier tendencies repeated. There is no difference between the four groups, however, in the comparison for the year 2002.

Are thefts a problem in Hungary? (K21_G)

There is no difference between the two groups.

Finally, we can see that there was no significant difference in the answers given to any of the questions about people's opinions on their general sense of security between those who have been involved in accidents and who have not. Still, we can regard it as an important observation that with the exception of thefts, which concern the widest scope of people, in all the other cases the people who have been involved in accidents consider these issues more serious problems than the people who have not and they also have a more negative view of both the past and the future concerning the situation of crime – including the impact of Hungary's accession to the EU on crime. Besides, when comparing the four groups included in the data for the year 2002 we can come to the conclusion that the level of anxiety among the people who have not been victimised in the past five years is significantly lower than among the people in the other three groups.

There is no difference within this group of questions between the people who have been involved in minor accidents and those who have not, while the picture is exactly the same as in the category we examined earlier. There is only one exception: those who have been involved in minor accidents had

a somewhat more unfavourable opinion on the law enforcement activity of the police than those who have not.

The role of the general feelings in the environment

Basically, the opinions in this group of questions can be divided into two parts from the point of view of motivation. In the first group there are such environmental considerations for which somebody – some other people – can be made responsible according to many.

The second group of questions lists circumstances that the residents in that area have to live together with and they have no or hardly any means or chances to influence this situation.

The following questions were included in the first group:

Do you like living in your present place of residence? (K32)

- Problems in the neighbourhood:
 - a) Street noise? (K36_2)
 - b) Gypsies? (K36_3)
 - c) Drug abuse? (K36_4)
 - d) Undisciplined motorists? (K36_5)
 - e) Homeless people, beggars? (K36_6)
 - f) Drunks? (K36_9)

Table 13. gives an overview of the most important results.

It is worth mentioning the following question:

Problem in the neighbourhood: Undisciplined motorists? (K36_5)

In general (among all the interviewees) the proportion of those who do not think it a problem (40%) is basically the same as the proportion of those who have the opposite view (36.6%). The rest (23.3%) did not take a stand in this issue or did not have an emotional attitude toward it.

There were, however, significant differences in the comparison of the data for the year 2002 – especially in the comparison of the extreme values. Table 14. shows this.

The figures clearly show the difference between the level of tolerance among the people who were not involved in accidents in 2002 and especially in the past five years. It is not a problem exclusively pertaining to motorists but it is a problem of the level of tolerance toward the unpleasant circumstances in the environment. This is shown by the fact that the same differences that were shown in Table 14. are repeated in connection to the

questions "Problem in the neighbourhood: homeless people, beggars?" (K36_6) and "Problem in the neighbourhood: drunks?" (K36_9)

The following questions were included in the second group:

Problems in the neighbourhood:

- Bad public lighting? (K36_7),
- The lack of job opportunities? (K36_8),
- Litter and rubbish in the streets and in the green areas? (K36_10),
- Too many foreigners and people seeking asylum? (K36_11),
- Bored youngsters? (K36_12).

The most important results are shown in Table 15.

In conclusion: The first group of questions made it possible for the individual to blame another person for the causes, while on the basis of the second group although it was about persons, it was possible to judge the environment around us.

The distribution of the answers to the questions also shows that the people who have been involved in accidents resulting in injuries in the past five years tend to project their problems to another person much more often and besides that – in comparison to the people who have not been involved in accidents – there is a high proportion of them who are hesitant or who cannot or will not decide. In contrast, the people who have not been involved in accidents are more critical of the environment, the "system" than those who have. We must emphasise again that there has been no difference anywhere but – with a few exceptions where there was not any difference between the two groups – the tendency is clear.

Looking at past one year, there is no significant difference between those who have been involved in minor accidents and those who have not within this group of questions. It is to be noted that the opposite tendency consistently prevails here as well. Apart from the lack of job opportunities in all the other cases, it is again the people who have been involved in minor accidents among whom we can observe a tendency to project the problems to the environment; however, this cannot be exactly proved with mathematical-statistical means here either.

Sense of security – in the close neighbourhood

A sense of security in the neighbourhood is an especially important factor in the respect how people live their everyday lives and what their attitudes are like toward their environment. It seems highly probable that the impact is mutual, which means that one's behaviour and attitude toward one's environment has a feedback on one's sense of security.

We analysed this issue considering the following questions, according to the answers concerning a five-year period (group I.), a one-year period (group II.) and where justified, victimisation in 2002 (group III.).

Is your neighbourhood secure? (K33)

The proportion of those who gave a positive answer was higher in both intervals among those who have not been involved in accidents (in group I. "yes" answers by 62.7% of those who have been involved in accidents and by 67.3% of those who have not; in group II. "yes" answers by 64% of those who have been involved in accidents and by 67.4% of those who have not).

Do you leave your flat or house after dark? (K38)

Among the members of group I. the more often people leave their homes after dark the higher percentage of them are involved in accidents, and the other way round.

In the case of groups II. and III. again, the people who have been involved in accidents leave their homes after dark much more often and the proportion of those who have not been involved in accidents is higher among those who tend to spend less time out in the evening and at night.

Problem in the neighbourhood: crime? (K36_1)

In group I. the proportion of those who think crime is a problem is higher among those who have been involved in accidents (29.4%) than among those who have not (24.9%). The situation is similar if we compare the people in group II. (those involved in accidents: 30.6%, those not involved: 24.6%). In view of the fact that the number of people who are hesitant and unable to make a decision is also somewhat lower among those who have not been involved in accidents, the difference is even greater among the people who have not been involved in accidents and those who have among those who deny that crime is a problem in the neighbourhood – both in group I. and group II. In group III. – compared to the others – a significantly high proportion of people (32.2%) who have not been victimised in the past five years think that crime is not a problem at all (this proportion varies between 18.5% and 23% in the case of the others).

How many crimes are committed compared to other parts of the country? (K37)

Both in group I. and II. the proportion of people among those who have not been involved in accidents and who think that the situation concerning crime is better in their locality than in the rest of the country is a few percent higher than those who think otherwise. The people involved both in accidents resulting injuries and in minor accidents have worse opinions about crime in their neighbourhood compared to the above.

In conclusion: in view of the data about accidents in the past five years we can say that those who have not been involved in accidents consistently have a greater sense of security although we know that no significant difference can be measured between the two groups in this case either.

The picture we have in connection with minor accidents is rather contradictory. On the one hand, those who have not been involved in accidents are less sensitive to this phenomenon itself and on the other hand, compared to those who have been involved in accidents, they have worse opinions overall about crime and the changes in the situation of crime, while at the same time a smaller proportion of them consider their own locality less secure compared to the rest of the country than in the other group. When comparing the data from 2002, the only thing we took special note of was that those who were not victimised for a longer period are different from the other three groups concerning several indicators.

Our everyday anxieties of crime

A basis for comparison: Have you been the victim of an accident resulting in injuries in the past five years?

Previously, we had the opportunity to have a look at what the two large groups think of crime. In the following we would like to find out if there is a difference between those who have been involved in accidents and those who have not concerning their everyday experience of crime (Table 16.).

- Is your everyday life influenced by crime? (K41),
- Do you ever think of the possibility of your home being burglarised? (K42),
- Do you find your neighbourhood secure? (K46),
- Would you feel secure alone in your neighbourhood after dark? (K47),
- Can you imagine being assaulted in the street in your neighbourhood? (K48_1),
- Can you imagine being assaulted in a residential building in your neighbourhood? (K48_2),
- Can you imagine your home being burglarised? (K48_3),
- Is there a place in your locality where you would not like to go during the day for fear of crime? (K49),
- Is there a place in your locality where you would not like to go at night for fear of crime? (K50),
- Does it happen that you do not dare to leave your home for fear of crime during the day? (K51),
- Does it happen that you do not dare to leave your home for fear of crime after dark? (K52),

- Does it happen that you are afraid of criminals at home at night? (K53),
- Can it happen that you will be slandered? (K56_2),
- Can it happen that you will be the victim of an assault (resulting in a minor injury)? (K56_3),
- Can it happen that you will be the victim of an assault (resulting in a serious injury)? (K56_4),
- Can it happen that your child will suffer a serious physical injury at school? (K56_5),
- Can it happen that you will be harassed or molested? (K56_6),
- Can it happen that your home will be burglarised? (K56_7),
- Can it happen that your wallet will be stolen with your money in it? (K56_8),
- Can it happen that some of your other valuables will be stolen? (K56_9),
- Can it happen that you will be overcharged in a shop or in a restaurant? (K56_10),
- Can it happen that your car gets stolen? (K56_11),
- Can it happen that someone tries to take your life? (K56_13),
- Can it happen that your property or valuables get damaged? (K56_14),
- Can it happen that you will be bitten by a dog? (K56_17),
- Can it happen that you will be disturbed by other people's unpleasant (loud) behaviour? (K56_18),
- Do you ever think of the possibility of becoming a victim of a crime? (K57).

In conclusion: in the case of nearly all the possible incidents listed above that can cause anxiety – wherever there was a difference at all – there was at least a tendency toward a difference between the two groups (in two cases the difference was significant). Both the tendencies and the significant differences suggest that there are a higher proportion people who have anxieties, and mainly people who cannot decide on this issue and cannot form a realistic picture of the size of the danger among those who have been involved in accidents. At the same time, there were a higher proportion of people who have not been involved in accidents among those who reject the possibility of immediate danger. By comparing the answers that analyse victimisation in 2002 we can conclude that those who were involved in road accidents in that year are less afraid of becoming victims of crimes than those who were victimised in other crimes. The following examples serve to illustrate this (Tables 17., 18., 19., 20., 21.).

Special approach: Can it happen that you will become a victim of an accident resulting in injuries? (K56_1)

The answers given to the question show the distribution seen in Table 22.

The figures show that the adult population of the country can be broadly categorised into three groups consisting of an equal number of people if we

ask them the question "can it happen that you will become a victim of an accident resulting in injuries in the future?" Projected to the total Hungarian population it means that about 2.4 million people think that they may become the victims of accidents. Slightly more than that, about 2.5 million cannot decide (maybe, it might be possible) and approximately three million adults think that such an event will not happen to them.

This opinion is fairly stable and independent of several factors that can influence behaviour. So people's opinion on this question is not influenced by how they feel now in general, how their general feelings have changed in the past five years, how satisfied they are with their lives at present, what their hopes are for the next five years and what they think of public security in the past and in the next five years and after Hungary's accession to the European Union. People's opinion on the possibility of their victimisation is also independent of their relationship with the immediate social environment (K31).

This opinion, which is independent of all the influences of the environment and seems very stable and, of course, determines people's attitudes toward their environment, induces further examinations. We have no doubts that the so-called myth of invulnerability", which poses one of the greatest dangers of victimisation, makes one-third of the Hungarian population unable to defend themselves against unexpected road accidents.

This myth of invulnerability can be shattered by stories of victimisation (Table 23.).

The data suggest that those who were victims of road accidents in 2002 find it more probable than the other groups that they can become victims of road accidents again.

We performed the following analyses in search of the possible causes:

Have you got a car? (SZ13)

Although there is a significant difference between the two groups, it can be explained primarily by the confidence of those who do not have a car about avoiding involvement in accidents in the future. They find it less probable that they can get involved in accidents compared to the people who have cars.

The value of your car? (SZ14)

There is no difference concerning the value of the car that the people use if we ask them whether they find it possible that they will be involved in accidents resulting in injuries in the future.

Problem in the neighbourhood: crime? (K36_1)

Among *problems in the neighbourhood* crime indicates a connection to fear of victimisation in an accident. Among those who experience **crime as an everyday problem in the neighbourhood** there are more who are afraid of being victimised in an accident.

The same – that is positive – connection can be seen concerning traffic in the street, noise, gypsies, drug users and drug addicts – and to a higher degree – highly undisciplined motorists – and to a smaller degree – homeless people, beggars, inadequate public lighting, the lack of job opportunities, drunks, litter and dirt in public areas, too many foreigners and people seeking asylum and furthermore – to a higher degree – bored and idle youngsters.

Not talking about causative relations in this place yet, we can say that those who **find it more difficult to bear the burdens of civilisation and the environment, which is primarily characteristic of an urban environment and** – independently of their personal impressions – have worse opinions of it, are more afraid of becoming the victims of accidents – significantly more in all the cases measured.

Among the same people there is a significantly higher number of those who think that more crimes are committed in their locality than in other places.

The more often people leave their homes after dark, the more they feel that they are in danger of becoming victims of accidents as well (K38). Among those who do not install different instruments of security in their homes there is a higher number of people who are not afraid of road accidents. There was no difference between the two groups except in the respect of keeping a watchdog. Consequently, we can say that a higher level of anxiety about attacks by strangers go together with a higher frequency of fear of involvement in road accidents.

The same can be observed about the connection between fear influencing everyday life and involvement in accidents: the two kinds of anxieties indicate a significantly positive connection (K41). This statement characterises the sub-categories of the fear of crime we selected: the distribution of the fear of burglaries and assaults.

Those who think their neighbourhood is secure (both during the day and after dark) are less afraid of becoming victims of accidents. There is a much higher proportion of people with anxieties about road accidents among those who have anxieties about leaving their homes either by day or by night.

Among those who are afraid of becoming victims of accidents resulting in injuries there is also a significantly high proportion of people who worry about the possibility of other crimes as well; including those, of course, who are afraid that they will be slandered, they will be assaulted resulting in a

minor or a serious injury, their children will suffer a serious injury at school, they will be harassed or molested, etc., or even that a dog will attack and bite them. This tendency is clearly present in the case of the people who were the victims of accidents in 2002 as well. Involvement in road accidents, therefore – at least within a certain period of time – destroys the myth of invulnerability, which is present everywhere.

There are a significantly higher proportion of those who think that they will not be **victims of road accidents resulting in injuries** in the next year among the people who are satisfied with the activity of the police aimed at improving public security and also among those who are more or less satisfied with the present state of public security.

There are a significantly higher proportion of people who do not expect to become victims of accidents in the near future among those who have a positive picture of the security of their locality (K33) on the whole.

The same relationship can be established also when we asked people about their opinions about the change in public security in their neighbourhood in the past (K34) or the next (K35) five years.

There are a smaller proportion of those who make or are planning to make extra efforts for self-defence among those who are less anxious about accidents (K58).

Those who have been injured in accidents owing to the faults of others in the past five years tend to think more often that the same thing can happen to them again. This connection – although not so markedly – is characteristic in the opposite direction as well: there are a smaller proportion of those who do not think that an accident resulting in injuries can happen to them among those who have not been involved in such accidents in the past five years. As for those who have not told us whether such accidents had happened to them, there is the highest proportion of people among them who cannot or will not talk about their opinions on the possibility of an involvement in accident in the future. (the undecided). There are a slightly higher proportion of the undecided among those who have been involved in accidents than among those who have not.

Usually, there is no difference in the case of minor accidents that happened in the past one year if we look at the different categories within the previous group of questions, including the questions K46, K48_3, K50 and K56_14, in the case of which there were significant differences in the previous category. Here again, there are a higher proportion of people with anxieties among those who were involved in accidents. The proportions are even only in the case of the questions K50, K52, K53.

There is a significant difference in the case of K56_1: there are a higher proportion of people who think that they will not become victims of accidents resulting in injuries among those who have not been involved in accidents (39.0% and 29.9%) than among those who have been involved in minor accidents in the past one year (27.6% and 41.0%).

In conclusion: Fear of involvement in an accident can be regarded as part of the positive relationship with the closer and wider environment, opinions on the environment, a general sense of security or its opposite, a general anxiety. All this indicates a connection to the picture people have with their wider environment, the system of institutions in the environment, the existence or perhaps the lack or the deficient operation of a protecting shield provided by the government.

It is worth remembering here again that in the previous section the dividing line between those who have been involved in accidents and those who have not lied at nearly the same characteristics. There is, however, a significant difference: concerning past events there were only differences that could be regarded as tendencies between the two groups but concerning the future the differences are significant. This is mainly due to the fact that there were a much higher number of interviewees who were not so confident in giving their opinions about the past but had a more definite opinion about the future. It follows from all this that the higher level of intolerance and anxiety observed among those who have been involved in accidents is projected to the expectations for the future as well.

Considering the involvement of the interviewees in minor accidents in the past one year it seems clear that the opinions of those who have not had any accidents in this period is significantly different concerning the possibility of involvement in an accident in the future compared to those who have not been involved in accidents resulting in injuries. Among those who have been involved in accidents, the proportion of those who find an involvement in an accident possible is twice as high as the proportion of those who do not expect an accident to happen to them. The proportions are reversed in the case of the people who have not been involved in accidents although the difference is not so marked as in the previous cases. There is no significant difference among those who were undecided.

Increasing security on one's own initiatives

There is no difference within this group between those who have been involved in minor accidents and those who have not, while at the same time there is perfect agreement with the category examined earlier (Table 24.). In this case again – as a tendency – those who have been involved in

accidents resulting in injuries pay more attention to increasing their security. This tendency is not broken even in the case of keeping a watchdog. Furthermore, it should be emphasised that in the case of K58_1 (self-defence course) the same proportion of those involved in injuries (group I.) and those who have been involved in minor accidents (group II.) choose the same strategy. The proportion of those who have been involved in accidents is nearly twice as high as the proportion of those who have not in both groups among those taking part in self-defence courses and those who indicated their intentions to take part. We can also conclude that there is a tendency of different behaviour between those who were victimised in 2002 and those who were not victimised in that year on the one hand and those who have not been victimised in the past five years (group III.) on the other. This is characteristic of their activities aimed both at their protection and precautions. Those who have not been victimised in the past five years take these two issues much more "easily", which is a clear sign of a lower level of anxiety among them. There are only a few exceptions: keeping a dog, for example, and an alarm connected to an emergency centre.

In the case of K58_2 what we observed at accidents resulting in injuries repeats itself: 7.9% of those who have been involved in accidents and 4.1% of those who have not take an instrument of defence with them when going out.

In the case of K58_6, the tendency is the same in the two groups but the differences are not so marked in this case: 40.6% of those who have been involved in accidents and 35.4% of those who have avoid certain streets and places as a precaution.

The analysis of the five-year period shows the following connections:

The questions:

a) Protection against burglaries:

- Security lock? (K39_1),
- Locking bars? (K39_2),
- Bars on doors/windows? (K39_3),
- Local alarm? (K39_4),
- Alarm hooked up to an emergency centre? (K39_5),
- Watchdog? (K39_6),
- Other instruments? (K39_7),

b) Precautions:

- Self-defence course (K58_1),
- Instrument of protection when going out (K58_2),
- I do not travel on public transport in the evenings (K58_4),
- I avoid people in gangs in the street (K58_5),
- Avoiding certain streets and places (K58_6),

- Keeping a dog (K58_7),
- I do not let the child(ren) leave home alone in the evening (K58_8).

Keeping in touch within the community

The survey (questions evaluated: K31_1 ... K31_5) did not show any connection between having a past with or without an involvement in accidents resulting in injuries and the close neighbourhood (exactly the relationship with the neighbours). It is worth noting, however, that the analysis of minor accidents showed that although there is no significant difference between the two groups this time either, the difference between the tendencies can be important: social (more exactly: neighbourhood) relationships and cooperation are still more characteristic of those who have not been involved in accidents than those who have. In the case of the questions enquiring about involvement in accidents in 2002 such a connection was observable only in one case: nearly twice as many people who were victims of road accidents in 2002 said that they had no relationships with their neighbours (K31_1). Still, only a minority (11.3) held this view.

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Table 1.
The distribution of crimes and traffic offences that became known
(1980–2002)

| year | the number of | |
|------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | crimes that became known altogether | traffic offences that became known |
| 1980 | 130,470 | 16,906 |
| 1981 | 134,914 | 17,719 |
| 1982 | 139,795 | 17,574 |
| 1983 | 151,505 | 19,492 |
| 1984 | 157,036 | 19,010 |
| 1985 | 165,816 | 18,582 |
| 1986 | 182,867 | 20,187 |
| 1987 | 188,397 | 19,421 |
| 1988 | 185,344 | 18,856 |
| 1989 | 225,393 | 20,568 |
| 1990 | 341,061 | 25,976 |
| 1991 | 440,370 | 29,942 |
| 1992 | 447,222 | 33,130 |
| 1993 | 400,935 | 29,362 |
| 1994 | 389,451 | 26,556 |
| 1995 | 502,036 | 24,633 |
| 1996 | 466,050 | 20,689 |
| 1997 | 514,403 | 21,203 |
| 1998 | 600,621 | 22,423 |
| 1999 | 505,716 | 20,503 |
| 2000 | 450,673 | 19,566 |
| 2001 | 465,694 | 19,561 |
| 2002 | 420,782 | 21,588 |

Chart 1.
The number of crimes and traffic offences that became known
(1980–2002)

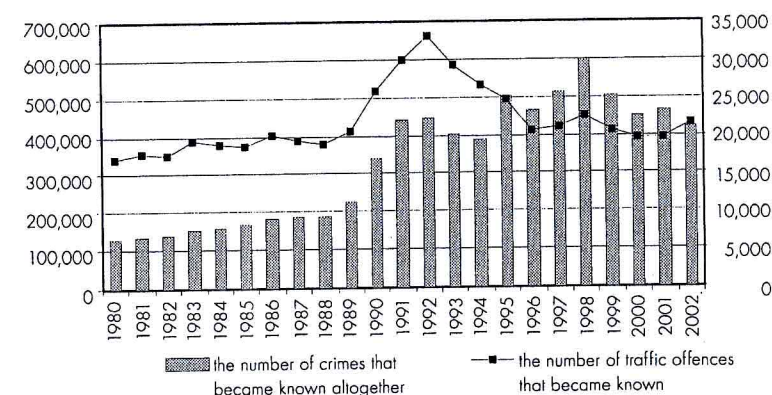


Table 2.
The distribution of traffic offences that became known
(1980–2002)

| year | total | traffic | | | |
|------|--------|---------|-----|-------|--------|
| | | rail | air | water | road |
| 1980 | 16,906 | 77 | 10 | 36 | 16,783 |
| 1981 | 17,719 | 89 | 12 | 23 | 17,595 |
| 1982 | 17,574 | 131 | 4 | 31 | 17,408 |
| 1983 | 19,492 | 112 | 9 | 30 | 19,341 |
| 1984 | 19,010 | 82 | 5 | 14 | 18,909 |
| 1985 | 18,582 | 142 | 6 | 24 | 18,410 |
| 1986 | 20,187 | 92 | 7 | 20 | 20,068 |
| 1987 | 19,421 | 89 | 7 | 20 | 19,305 |
| 1988 | 18,856 | 85 | 5 | 21 | 18,745 |
| 1989 | 20,568 | 168 | 5 | 33 | 20,362 |
| 1990 | 25,976 | 474 | 13 | 29 | 25,460 |
| 1991 | 29,942 | 736 | 12 | 34 | 29,160 |
| 1992 | 33,130 | 743 | 7 | 44 | 32,336 |
| 1993 | 29,362 | 539 | 11 | 44 | 28,768 |
| 1994 | 26,556 | 391 | 15 | 50 | 26,100 |
| 1995 | 24,633 | 612 | 22 | 46 | 23,953 |
| 1996 | 20,689 | 988 | 19 | 48 | 19,634 |
| 1997 | 21,203 | 1,513 | 21 | 37 | 19,632 |
| 1998 | 22,423 | 1,634 | 21 | 65 | 20,703 |
| 1999 | 20,503 | 1,136 | 28 | 38 | 19,301 |
| 2000 | 19,566 | 1,254 | 22 | 46 | 18,244 |
| 2001 | 19,561 | 1,547 | 24 | 68 | 17,922 |
| 2002 | 21,588 | 1,513 | 10 | 50 | 20,015 |

Table 3.
The distribution of crimes against the safety of traffic
(1980–2002)

| year | total | crimes against the safety of | | | |
|------|-------|------------------------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| | | rail traffic | air traffic | water traffic | road traffic |
| 1980 | 124 | 37 | | 1 | 86 |
| 1981 | 156 | 40 | 4 | 2 | 110 |
| 1982 | 212 | 85 | | 2 | 125 |
| 1983 | 198 | 60 | 1 | 3 | 134 |
| 1984 | 199 | 53 | 1 | 2 | 143 |
| 1985 | 214 | 69 | 1 | 1 | 143 |
| 1986 | 215 | 50 | | 1 | 164 |
| 1987 | 215 | 54 | 4 | 2 | 155 |
| 1988 | 233 | 56 | 1 | 3 | 173 |
| 1989 | 370 | 144 | 3 | 9 | 214 |
| 1990 | 833 | 434 | 3 | 9 | 387 |
| 1991 | 1,179 | 666 | 2 | 20 | 491 |
| 1992 | 1,180 | 689 | 4 | 22 | 465 |
| 1993 | 1,068 | 505 | 5 | 24 | 534 |
| 1994 | 892 | 363 | 3 | 22 | 504 |
| 1995 | 1,393 | 580 | 12 | 9 | 792 |
| 1996 | 1,939 | 954 | 9 | 32 | 944 |
| 1997 | 2,869 | 1,490 | 11 | 23 | 1,345 |
| 1998 | 3,394 | 1,610 | 10 | 40 | 1,734 |
| 1999 | 2,225 | 1,110 | 6 | 25 | 1,084 |
| 2000 | 2,447 | 1,222 | 6 | 25 | 1,194 |
| 2001 | 2,951 | 1,522 | 10 | 43 | 1,376 |
| 2002 | 2,618 | 1,489 | 2 | 22 | 1,105 |

Chart 2.
Crimes against the safety of traffic
1980–2002

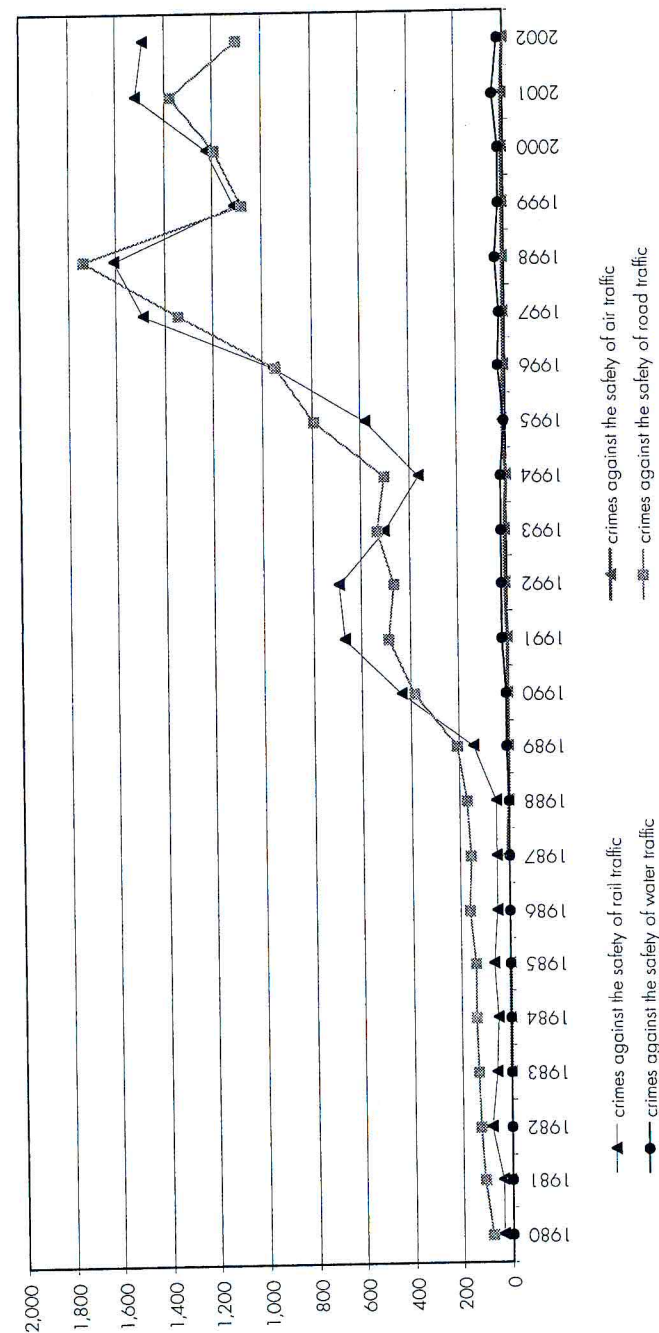


Table 4.
The distribution of road offences
(1980-2002)

| year | total | crimes against the safety of road traffic | endangering other on the road | negligence leading to a road accident | drunk-driving of road vehicles | allowing persons not entitled to it to drive one's vehicle | hit-and-run accidents | driving in a drugged state |
|------|--------|---|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1980 | 16,783 | 86 | 74 | 3,824 | 12,339 | 257 | 203 | |
| 1981 | 17,595 | 110 | 81 | 3,920 | 12,950 | 280 | 254 | |
| 1982 | 17,408 | 125 | 78 | 3,637 | 13,028 | 284 | 256 | |
| 1983 | 19,341 | 134 | 76 | 3,934 | 14,586 | 362 | 249 | |
| 1984 | 18,909 | 143 | 132 | 4,080 | 13,912 | 354 | 288 | |
| 1985 | 18,410 | 143 | 115 | 4,271 | 13,254 | 310 | 317 | |
| 1986 | 20,068 | 164 | 130 | 4,279 | 14,858 | 350 | 287 | |
| 1987 | 19,305 | 155 | 121 | 4,474 | 13,984 | 338 | 233 | |
| 1988 | 18,745 | 173 | 118 | 4,615 | 13,275 | 326 | 238 | |
| 1989 | 20,362 | 214 | 114 | 5,474 | 13,940 | 311 | 309 | |
| 1990 | 25,460 | 387 | 178 | 6,382 | 17,636 | 334 | 543 | |
| 1991 | 29,160 | 491 | 225 | 5,857 | 21,533 | 391 | 663 | |
| 1992 | 32,336 | 465 | 203 | 5,745 | 24,707 | 445 | 771 | |
| 1993 | 28,768 | 534 | 230 | 5,336 | 21,470 | 416 | 782 | |
| 1994 | 26,100 | 504 | 198 | 4,529 | 19,682 | 415 | 772 | |
| 1995 | 23,953 | 792 | 200 | 4,616 | 17,181 | 387 | 777 | |
| 1996 | 19,634 | 944 | 220 | 4,257 | 13,197 | 270 | 746 | |
| 1997 | 19,632 | 1,345 | 192 | 4,200 | 12,912 | 257 | 726 | |
| 1998 | 20,703 | 1,734 | 266 | 4,457 | 13,039 | 299 | 908 | |
| 1999 | 19,301 | 1,084 | 259 | 4,205 | 12,623 | 250 | 827 | 53 |
| 2000 | 18,244 | 1,194 | 242 | 3,995 | 11,669 | 228 | 830 | 86 |
| 2001 | 17,922 | 1,376 | 241 | 3,634 | 11,621 | 206 | 709 | 135 |
| 2002 | 20,015 | 1,105 | 259 | 4,137 | 13,318 | 235 | 810 | 151 |

Chart 3.
Road offences
(1980-2002)

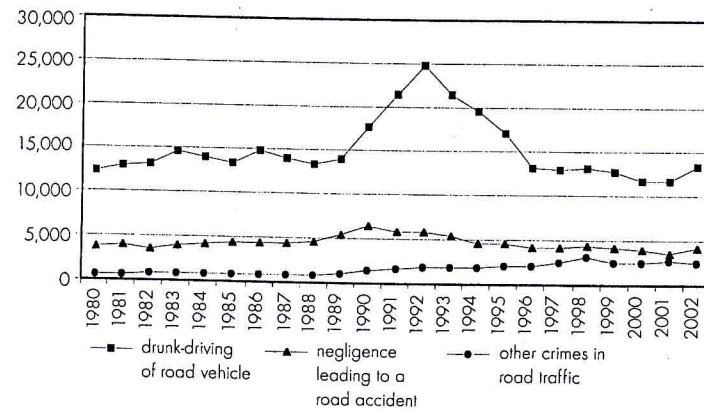


Table 5.
Road accidents according to the outcome
(1980-2002)

| year | resulting in severe injuries | resulting in lasting disabilities | resulting in deaths | resulting in deaths on a mass scale |
|------|---------------------------------|---|------------------------|---|
| 1980 | 3,450 | 252 | 680 | 24 |
| 1981 | 3,597 | 282 | 453 | 9 |
| 1982 | 3,382 | 232 | 628 | 14 |
| 1983 | 3,654 | 265 | 652 | 21 |
| 1984 | 3,794 | 244 | 639 | 24 |
| 1985 | 3,866 | 242 | 761 | 25 |
| 1986 | 3,912 | 279 | 686 | 21 |
| 1987 | 4,025 | 269 | 709 | 15 |
| 1988 | 4,193 | 307 | 673 | 16 |
| 1989 | 4,918 | 310 | 905 | 29 |
| 1990 | 5,765 | 413 | 1,172 | 39 |
| 1991 | 5,403 | 426 | 1,081 | 35 |
| 1992 | 5,242 | 398 | 1,091 | 37 |
| 1993 | 4,778 | 303 | 999 | 40 |
| 1994 | 4,028 | 314 | 791 | 33 |
| 1995 | 4,154 | 316 | 783 | 20 |
| 1996 | 3,836 | 296 | 693 | 22 |
| 1997 | 3,772 | 288 | 628 | 27 |
| 1998 | 4,074 | 282 | 685 | 22 |
| 1999 | 3,805 | 218 | 653 | 34 |
| 2000 | 3,485 | 243 | 635 | 25 |
| 2001 | 3,355 | 226 | 508 | 17 |
| 2002 | 3,826 | 199 | 598 | 25 |

Chart 4.
The distribution of road offences
(1980-2002)

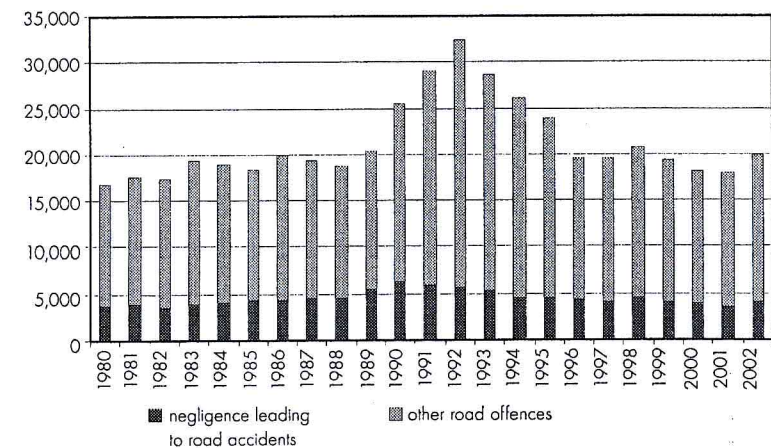


Table 6.
Causing road accidents and drunk-driving according outcomes (1980–2002)

| year | negligence leading to road accidents | among which causing | | | drunk-driving of road vehicle | among which causing | | | among which causing | | |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------------|--|-------|--------------------|---------------------|-------|--|
| | | severe injury | lasting disability | death | | accidents resulting deaths on a mass scale | death | lasting disability | severe injury | death | accidents resulting deaths on a mass scale |
| 1980 | 3,824 | 3,023 | 219 | 564 | 12,339 | 18 | 106 | 29 | 418 | 106 | 5 |
| 1981 | 3,920 | 3,141 | 232 | 540 | 12,950 | 7 | 105 | 46 | 444 | 105 | 2 |
| 1982 | 3,637 | 2,934 | 186 | 507 | 13,028 | 10 | 110 | 42 | 441 | 110 | 4 |
| 1983 | 3,934 | 3,184 | 212 | 521 | 14,586 | 17 | 126 | 48 | 462 | 126 | 4 |
| 1984 | 4,080 | 3,324 | 206 | 528 | 13,912 | 22 | 103 | 36 | 458 | 103 | 1 |
| 1985 | 4,271 | 3,451 | 196 | 605 | 13,254 | 19 | 137 | 43 | 403 | 137 | 6 |
| 1986 | 4,279 | 3,480 | 216 | 567 | 14,858 | 16 | 110 | 49 | 414 | 110 | 5 |
| 1987 | 4,474 | 3,620 | 230 | 611 | 13,984 | 13 | 90 | 34 | 384 | 90 | 2 |
| 1988 | 4,615 | 3,766 | 266 | 567 | 13,275 | 16 | 98 | 36 | 413 | 98 | 0 |
| 1989 | 5,474 | 4,419 | 267 | 760 | 13,940 | 28 | 130 | 38 | 490 | 130 | 1 |
| 1990 | 6,382 | 5,041 | 341 | 967 | 17,636 | 33 | 192 | 66 | 703 | 192 | 6 |
| 1991 | 5,857 | 4,654 | 344 | 834 | 21,533 | 25 | 227 | 74 | 726 | 227 | 9 |
| 1992 | 5,745 | 4,519 | 309 | 886 | 24,707 | 31 | 195 | 71 | 699 | 195 | 6 |
| 1993 | 5,336 | 4,219 | 259 | 828 | 21,470 | 30 | 159 | 37 | 546 | 159 | 9 |
| 1994 | 4,529 | 3,573 | 263 | 666 | 19,682 | 27 | 113 | 46 | 434 | 113 | 6 |
| 1995 | 4,616 | 3,675 | 270 | 658 | 17,181 | 13 | 112 | 40 | 453 | 112 | 5 |
| 1996 | 4,257 | 3,403 | 246 | 590 | 13,197 | 18 | 93 | 44 | 402 | 93 | 1 |
| 1997 | 4,200 | 3,407 | 242 | 528 | 12,912 | 23 | 97 | 42 | 339 | 97 | 4 |
| 1998 | 4,457 | 3,632 | 237 | 570 | 13,039 | 18 | 108 | 37 | 406 | 108 | 4 |
| 1999 | 4,205 | 3,434 | 181 | 562 | 12,623 | 28 | 87 | 33 | 342 | 87 | 4 |
| 2000 | 3,995 | 3,230 | 195 | 553 | 11,669 | 17 | 76 | 36 | 319 | 76 | 6 |
| 2001 | 3,634 | 3,002 | 182 | 435 | 11,621 | 15 | 69 | 31 | 324 | 69 | 1 |
| 2002 | 4,137 | 3,456 | 168 | 494 | 13,318 | 19 | 94 | 22 | 335 | 94 | 5 |

Table 7.
The number of offenders in general and the perpetrators of traffic offences
(1980–2002)

| year | the number of | | % |
|------|---------------------------------------|---|------|
| | offenders who became known in general | perpetrators of traffic offences who became known | |
| 1980 | 72,880 | 15,714 | 21.6 |
| 1981 | 77,649 | 16,317 | 21.0 |
| 1982 | 77,174 | 16,167 | 20.9 |
| 1983 | 83,324 | 17,986 | 21.6 |
| 1984 | 83,493 | 17,393 | 20.8 |
| 1985 | 85,766 | 17,580 | 20.5 |
| 1986 | 93,176 | 18,592 | 20.0 |
| 1987 | 92,643 | 17,896 | 19.3 |
| 1988 | 82,329 | 17,471 | 21.2 |
| 1989 | 88,932 | 18,871 | 21.2 |
| 1990 | 112,254 | 23,639 | 21.1 |
| 1991 | 122,835 | 26,902 | 21.9 |
| 1992 | 132,644 | 30,127 | 22.7 |
| 1993 | 122,621 | 26,578 | 21.7 |
| 1994 | 119,494 | 24,180 | 20.2 |
| 1995 | 121,121 | 21,966 | 18.1 |
| 1996 | 122,226 | 17,765 | 14.5 |
| 1997 | 130,966 | 17,516 | 13.4 |
| 1998 | 140,083 | 18,144 | 13.0 |
| 1999 | 131,658 | 17,440 | 13.2 |
| 2000 | 122,860 | 16,335 | 13.3 |
| 2001 | 120,583 | 15,856 | 13.1 |
| 2002 | 121,885 | 18,050 | 14.8 |

Chart 5.
The outcomes of traffic road offences
(1980–2002)

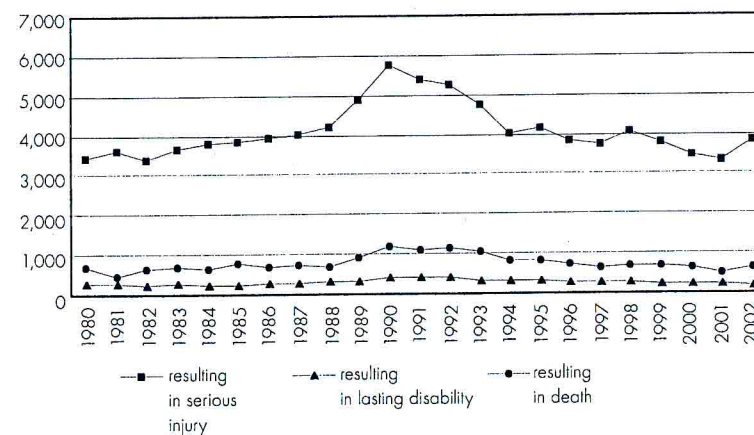


Table 8.
The number of perpetrators of road offences
(1980–2002)

| year | total | crimes against the safety of road traffic | endangering other on the road | negligence leading to a road accident | drunk-driving of road vehicles | allowing persons not entitled to it to drive one's vehicle | hit-and-run accidents | driving in a drugged state |
|------|--------|---|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1980 | 15,573 | 92 | 60 | 3,762 | 11,339 | 202 | 118 | |
| 1981 | 16,205 | 101 | 62 | 3,822 | 11,857 | 216 | 147 | |
| 1982 | 16,029 | 102 | 63 | 3,565 | 11,945 | 224 | 130 | |
| 1983 | 17,844 | 111 | 59 | 3,818 | 13,428 | 282 | 146 | |
| 1984 | 17,300 | 136 | 80 | 4,016 | 12,650 | 275 | 143 | |
| 1985 | 17,405 | 122 | 81 | 4,293 | 12,491 | 245 | 173 | |
| 1986 | 18,470 | 137 | 94 | 4,166 | 13,617 | 276 | 180 | |
| 1987 | 17,790 | 132 | 95 | 4,374 | 12,807 | 248 | 134 | |
| 1988 | 17,378 | 124 | 84 | 4,498 | 12,278 | 254 | 140 | |
| 1989 | 18,764 | 163 | 88 | 5,332 | 12,784 | 239 | 158 | |
| 1990 | 23,478 | 192 | 107 | 6,200 | 16,394 | 289 | 296 | |
| 1991 | 26,706 | 233 | 125 | 5,588 | 20,096 | 299 | 365 | |
| 1992 | 29,928 | 250 | 119 | 5,541 | 23,240 | 359 | 419 | |
| 1993 | 26,423 | 302 | 132 | 5,127 | 20,045 | 340 | 477 | |
| 1994 | 24,033 | 299 | 124 | 4,388 | 18,436 | 337 | 449 | |
| 1995 | 21,788 | 383 | 118 | 4,452 | 16,059 | 316 | 460 | |
| 1996 | 17,559 | 345 | 109 | 4,104 | 12,337 | 221 | 443 | |
| 1997 | 17,286 | 417 | 107 | 4,013 | 12,140 | 206 | 403 | |
| 1998 | 17,844 | 536 | 147 | 4,284 | 12,176 | 243 | 458 | |
| 1999 | 17,185 | 408 | 143 | 4,037 | 11,888 | 199 | 461 | 49 |
| 2000 | 16,069 | 409 | 144 | 3,803 | 11,011 | 200 | 426 | 76 |
| 2001 | 15,572 | 394 | 134 | 3,463 | 10,925 | 182 | 363 | 111 |
| 2002 | 17,749 | 384 | 147 | 3,962 | 12,518 | 192 | 424 | 122 |

Chart 6.
The offenders in general and the perpetrators of traffic offences who became known
(1980–2002)

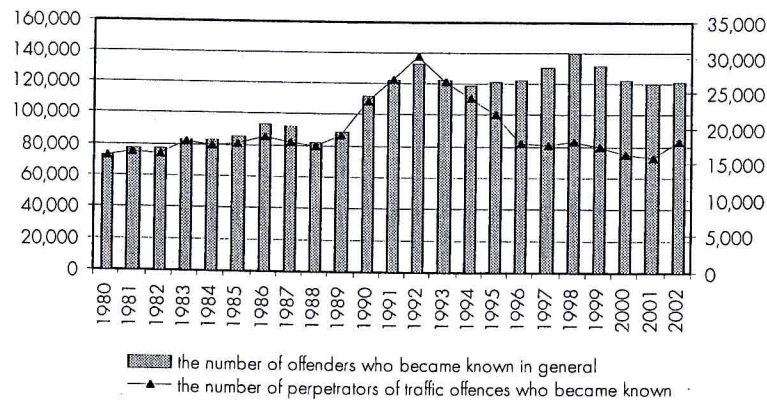


Chart 7.
The distribution of the perpetrators of road offences
(1980–2002)

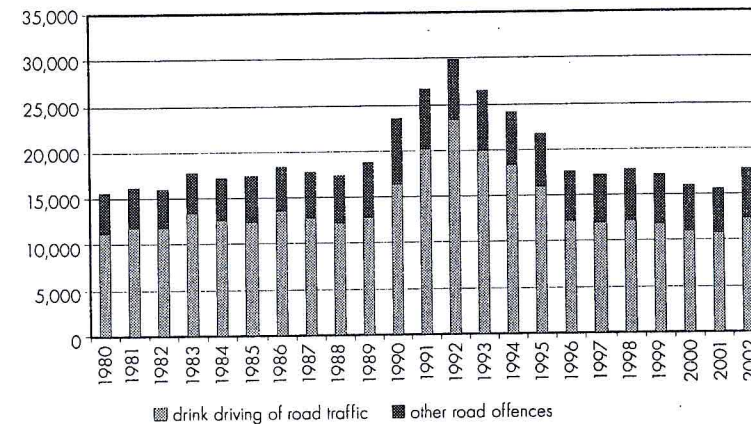


Table 9.
The number of deaths and injuries resulting from road accidents (1991–2002)

| year | deaths | serious injuries | minor injuries | total |
|------------|--------|------------------|----------------|--------|
| drivers | | | | |
| 1991 | 964 | 6,038 | 9,700 | 16,702 |
| 1992 | 990 | 5,880 | 9,753 | 16,623 |
| 1993 | 744 | 4,643 | 7,681 | 13,068 |
| 1994 | 743 | 4,993 | 8,449 | 14,185 |
| 1995 | 742 | 4,881 | 8,128 | 13,751 |
| 1996 | 662 | 4,383 | 7,545 | 12,590 |
| 1997 | 669 | 4,449 | 7,952 | 13,070 |
| 1998 | 690 | 4,760 | 8,584 | 14,038 |
| 1999 | 638 | 4,290 | 8,387 | 13,315 |
| 2000 | 581 | 4,138 | 7,639 | 12,358 |
| 2001 | 652 | 4,302 | 8,031 | 12,985 |
| 2002 | 757 | 4,575 | 8,790 | 14,122 |
| passengers | | | | |
| 1991 | 532 | 3,564 | 8,040 | 12,136 |
| 1992 | 497 | 3,503 | 8,035 | 12,035 |
| 1993 | 419 | 2,693 | 6,192 | 9,304 |
| 1994 | 345 | 2,640 | 6,380 | 9,365 |
| 1995 | 360 | 2,519 | 9,045 | 8,924 |
| 1996 | 276 | 2,201 | 5,717 | 8,194 |
| 1997 | 274 | 2,187 | 5,972 | 8,433 |
| 1998 | 273 | 2,341 | 6,512 | 9,126 |
| 1999 | 272 | 2,060 | 5,977 | 8,309 |
| 2000 | 273 | 1,987 | 5,322 | 7,582 |
| 2001 | 232 | 2,004 | 5,961 | 8,197 |
| 2002 | 294 | 2,160 | 6,543 | 8,997 |

* According to the situation 30 days after the accident
Source: Police

| year | deaths | serious injuries | minor injuries | total |
|------------------|--------|------------------|----------------|--------|
| pedestrians | | | | |
| 1991 | 624 | 2,608 | 2,726 | 5958 |
| 1992 | 614 | 2,611 | 2,795 | 6020 |
| 1993 | 515 | 1,992 | 2,229 | 4736 |
| 1994 | 474 | 2,000 | 2,499 | 4973 |
| 1995 | 487 | 1,949 | 2,364 | 4800 |
| 1996 | 432 | 1,782 | 2,311 | 4525 |
| 1997 | 448 | 1,761 | 2,436 | 4645 |
| 1998 | 408 | 1,829 | 2,366 | 4603 |
| 1999 | 396 | 1,616 | 2,340 | 4352 |
| 2000 | 346 | 1,528 | 2,084 | 3958 |
| 2001 | 355 | 1,614 | 2,237 | 4206 |
| 2002 | 378 | 1,625 | 2,285 | 4288 |
| persons in total | | | | |
| 1991 | 2,120 | 12,210 | 20,466 | 34,796 |
| 1992 | 2,101 | 11,994 | 20,583 | 34,678 |
| 1993 | 1,678 | 9,328 | 16,102 | 27,108 |
| 1994 | 1,562 | 9,633 | 17,328 | 28,523 |
| 1995 | 1,589 | 9,349 | 16,537 | 27,475 |
| 1996 | 1,370 | 8,366 | 15,573 | 25,309 |
| 1997 | 1,391 | 8,397 | 16,360 | 26,148 |
| 1998 | 1,371 | 8,930 | 17,462 | 27,763 |
| 1999 | 1,306 | 7,966 | 16,704 | 25,976 |
| 2000 | 1,200 | 7,653 | 15,045 | 23,898 |
| 2001 | 1,239 | 7,920 | 16,229 | 25,388 |
| 2002 | 1,429 | 8,360 | 17,618 | 27,407 |

Chart 8.

Deaths/10,000 motor vehicles in some of the old and new member states of the EU (2001)

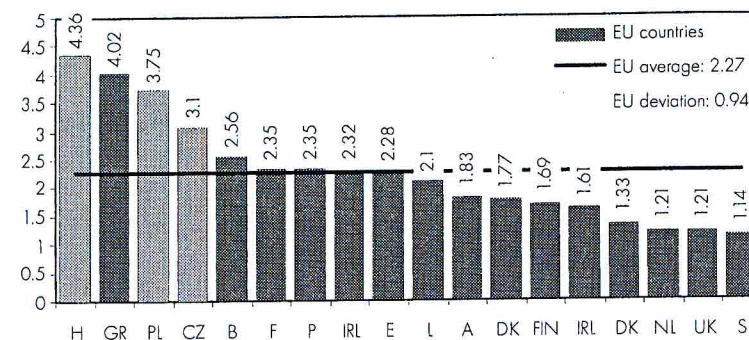


Chart 9.

Deaths/hundred million vehicles in the old and some of the new members of the EU (2001)

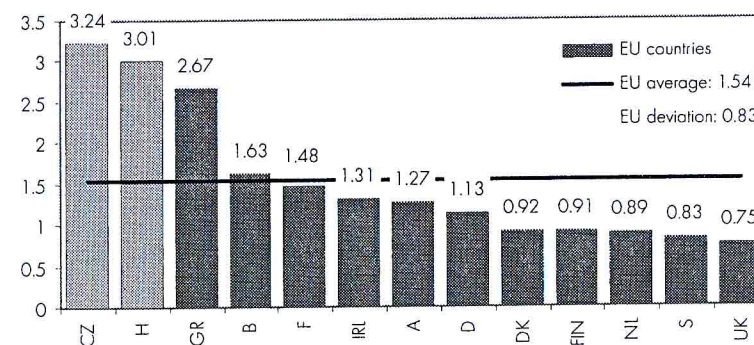


Chart 10.

Deaths/100 accidents resulting injuries in the old and some of the new members of the EU (2001)

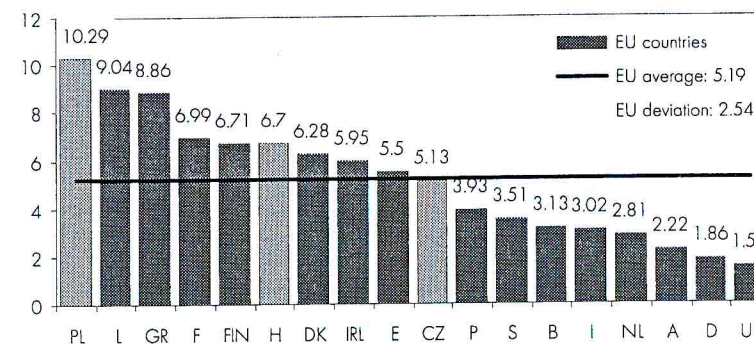


Chart 11.
Victimisation in road accidents in the course of people's lives

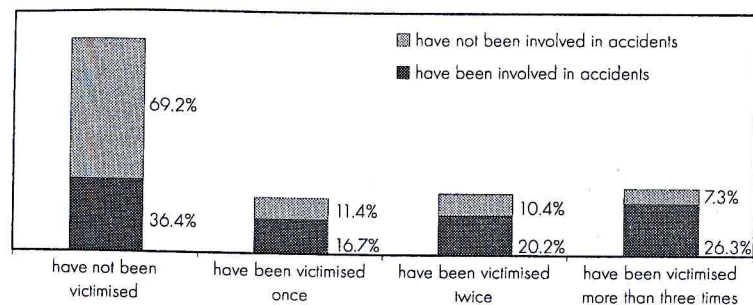


Chart 12.
Distribution according to genders

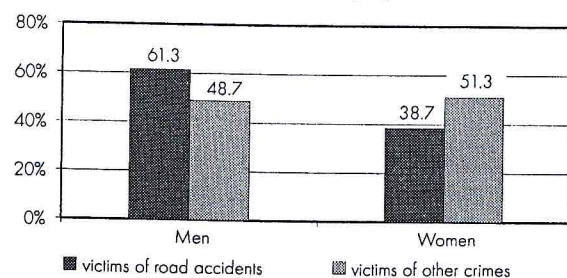


Chart 13.
Family status

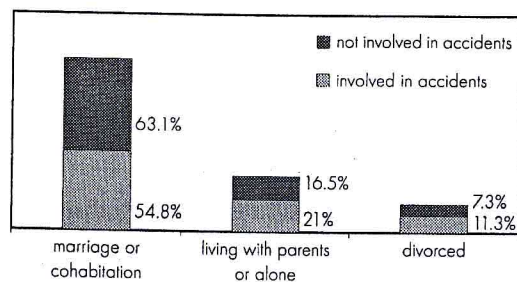


Chart 14.
People involved in accidents

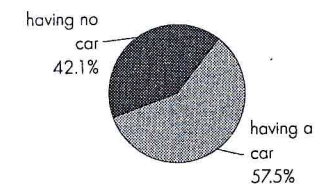


Table 10.
Have you driven a car after drinking alcohol in the past one year? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|----------------|---|--|-----------------------------|---|
| several times | 2.3 | 2.0 | 1.7 | 1.0 |
| once | 11.6 | 4.1 | 4.0 | 2.3 |
| never | 46.5 | 57.7 | 55.9 | 47.4 |
| I didn't drive | 39.5 | 35.1 | 37.4 | 47.6 |

Table 11.
How much are the police able to guarantee public security in Hungary at present? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|------------|---|--|-----------------------------|---|
| not at all | 19.4 | 14.2 | 12.5 | 7.6 |
| not really | 24.2 | 28.0 | 24.4 | 19.6 |
| on average | 40.3 | 44.0 | 48.3 | 50.3 |
| somewhat | 16.1 | 11.1 | 11.5 | 16.4 |
| perfectly | 0.0 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 2.6 |

Table 12.
What is your opinion about public security in Hungary at present? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|-----------|---|--|-----------------------------|---|
| very bad | 9.7 | 11.4 | 9.2 | 7.2 |
| bad | 32.3 | 29.9 | 28.2 | 22.1 |
| average | 46.8 | 48.4 | 51.1 | 52.8 |
| good | 6.5 | 8.7 | 8.8 | 13.4 |
| very good | 3.2 | 0.5 | 0.9 | 1.0 |

Table 13.
General feelings in the environment – I.

| question | role | characteristic opinion, judgement (%) | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| | | somewhat positive | average | somewhat negative |
| K32 (five years) | involved in accidents | 73.7 | – | 10.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 77.9 | – | 7.2 |
| K32 (one year) | involved in accidents | No difference | | |
| | not involved in accidents | | | |
| K36_2 (five years) | involved in accidents | 42.1 | 22.4 | 35.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 51.8 | 18.6 | 29.6 |
| K36_2 (one year) | involved in accidents | 47.4 | 18.1 | 34.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 51.9 | 18.8 | 29.3 |
| K36_3 (five years) | involved in accidents | No difference | | |
| | not involved in accidents | | | |
| K36_3 (one year) | involved in accidents | 68.3 | 13.1 | 12.3 |
| | not involved in accidents | 77.8 | 10.3 | 11.9 |
| K36_4 (five years) | involved in accidents | 70.8 | 12.8 | 16.4 |
| | not involved in accidents | 77.3 | 10.5 | 12.3 |
| K36_4 (one year) | involved in accidents | 68.3 | 13.1 | 12.3 |
| | not involved in accidents | 77.8 | 10.3 | 11.9 |
| K36_5 (five years) | involved in accidents | 27.8 | – | 46.3 |
| | not involved in accidents | 40.3 | – | 36.4 |
| K36_5 (one year) | involved in accidents | 32.2 | 24.3 | 43.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 40.8 | 23.2 | 36.0 |
| K36_6 (five years) | involved in accidents | 68.7 | 15.4 | 15.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 76.8 | 11.4 | 11.7 |
| K36_6 (one year) | involved in accidents | 65.2 | 16.1 | 15.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 77.5 | 11.2 | 11.7 |
| K36_9 (five years) | involved in accidents | 52.9 | 22.9 | 24.2 |
| | not involved in accidents | 58.8 | 22.6 | 18.6 |
| K36_9 (one year) | involved in accidents | 53.5 | 22.8 | 23.7 |
| | not involved in accidents | 59.0 | 22.6 | 18.4 |

Table 14.
How much of a problem undisciplined motorists mean in your neighbourhood? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|----------------------|---|--|-----------------------------|---|
| not a problem at all | 8.1 | 17.0 | 18.2 | 26.0 |
| small problem | 17.7 | 15.1 | 14.8 | 17.1 |
| average problem | 32.3 | 23.3 | 24.7 | 22.4 |
| big problem | 25.8 | 21.7 | 21.5 | 17.8 |
| very big problem | 16.1 | 22.2 | 20.1 | 15.4 |

Table 15.
General feelings in the environment – II.

| question | role | characteristic opinion, judgement (%) | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-------------------|
| | | somewhat positive | average | somewhat negative |
| K36_7 (five years) | involved in accidents | 73.7 | 15.8 | 10.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 74.3 | 13.4 | 12.3 |
| K36_7 (one year) | involved in accidents | 69.6 | 16.1 | 14.3 |
| | not involved in accidents | 74.7 | 13.2 | 12.1 |
| K36_8 (five years) | involved in accidents | 24.1 | 17.1 | 58.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 23.6 | 15.4 | 61.0 |
| K36_8 (one year) | involved in accidents | 27.0 | 16.6 | 56.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 23.3 | 15.5 | 61.2 |
| K36_10 (five years) | involved in accidents | 37.4 | – | 40.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 49.5 | – | 31.7 |
| K36_10 (one year) | involved in accidents | 39.8 | 20.7 | 39.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 50.0 | 19.0 | 31.0 |
| K36_11 (five years) | involved in accidents | No difference | | |
| | not involved in accidents | | | |
| K36_11 (one year) | involved in accidents | 79.1 | 10.1 | 10.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 85.3 | 7.1 | 7.6 |
| K36_12 (five years) | involved in accidents | 48.0 | 22.0 | 30.0 |
| | not involved in accidents | 54.5 | 21.2 | 24.3 |
| K36_12 (one year) | involved in accidents | 51.7 | 18.9 | 29.4 |
| | not involved in accidents | 54.5 | 21.3 | 24.1 |

Table 16.
Our everyday anxieties about crime

| question | role | characteristic opinion, judgement (%) | | |
|----------|---------------------------|--|--|------|
| | | yes | undecided (average, some- times, maybe, possible) | no |
| K41 | involved in accidents | 10.6 | 18.9 | 70.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 8.5 | 19.6 | 71.9 |
| K42 | involved in accidents | 15.9 | 24.3 | 59.7 |
| | not involved in accidents | 15.2 | 19.4 | 65.4 |
| K46 | involved in accidents | 52.0 | 36.1 | 11.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 64.8 | 26.8 | 8.4 |
| K47 | involved in accidents | 53.5 | 25.1 | 21.6 |
| | not involved in accidents | 56.9 | 25.2 | 17.8 |
| K48_1 | involved in accidents | 37.2 | — | 62.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 26.6 | — | 73.4 |
| K48_2 | involved in accidents | 12.8 | | 87.2 |
| | not involved in accidents | 9.7 | | 90.3 |
| K48_3 | involved in accidents | 58.4 | | 41.6 |
| | not involved in accidents | 47.8 | | 52.2 |
| K49 | involved in accidents | 21.8 | | 78.2 |
| | not involved in accidents | 16.5 | | 83.5 |
| K50 | involved in accidents | 50.2 | | 49.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 36.8 | | 63.2 |
| K51 | involved in accidents | No difference, 96.7% think there is no such place | | |
| | not involved in accidents | | | |
| K52 | involved in accidents | 9.7 | 10.6 | 79.6 |
| | not involved in accidents | 9.8 | 8.5 | 81.7 |
| K53 | involved in accidents | 11.0 | 7.9 | 81.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 8.5 | 6.5 | 85.0 |
| K56_2* | involved in accidents | 17.3 | 16.4 | 66.4 |
| | not involved in accidents | 8.3 | 13.8 | 77.9 |
| K56_3** | involved in accidents | 12.9 | 24.0 | 63.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 9.3 | 17.2 | 73.5 |
| K56_4 | involved in accidents | 8.9 | 19.2 | 71.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 7.0 | 13.4 | 79.6 |
| K56_5 | involved in accidents | 26.4 | 15.1 | 58.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 18.8 | 21.2 | 60.0 |
| K56_6 | involved in accidents | 10.6 | 15.5 | 73.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 8.0 | 12.7 | 79.3 |
| K56_7 | involved in accidents | 25.6 | 30.4 | 44.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 19.1 | 26.9 | 54.0 |
| K56_8 | involved in accidents | 33.0 | 29.1 | 37.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 27.8 | 27.3 | 44.9 |
| K56_9 | involved in accidents | 38.3 | 26.9 | 34.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 24.1 | 29.2 | 46.8 |

* The difference is significant.

** The difference is significant at the level of 0.002.

| question | role | characteristic opinion, judgement (%) | | |
|----------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--|------|
| | | yes | undecided (average, some- times, maybe, possible) | no |
| K56_10 | involved in accidents | 43.4 | 24.3 | 32.3 |
| | not involved in accidents | 32.1 | 25.3 | 42.6 |
| K56_11 | involved in accidents | 42.6 | 25.7 | 31.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 29.4 | 26.7 | 43.9 |
| K56_13 | involved in accidents | No difference | | |
| | not involved in accidents | | | |
| K56_14 | involved in accidents | 23.5 | 27.4 | 49.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 14.5 | 21.5 | 64.0 |
| K56_17 | involved in accidents | 29.3 | 27.6 | 43.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 27.0 | 31.4 | 41.6 |
| K56_18 | involved in accidents | 24.9 | 21.3 | 53.8 |
| | not involved in accidents | 17.9 | 20.8 | 61.3 |
| K57 | involved in accidents | 5.5 | 14.0 | 80.6 |
| | not involved in accidents | 4.4 | 13.2 | 82.4 |

Table 17.

How often do you think of the possibility of becoming a victim of crime? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|-------|--|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| never | 46.8 | 31.6 | 37.7 | 51.0 |

Table 18.

How often do you think of the possibility of your home being burglarised? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|-------|--|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| never | 30.6 | 19.4 | 24.8 | 36.3 |

Table 19.

How secure do you or would you feel if you have to or had to walk in the neighbourhood alone after dark? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|------------------|--|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| feel secure | 41.9 | 30.9 | 33.0 | 34.1 |
| feel very secure | 22.6 | 16.4 | 19.1 | 23.9 |

Table 20.

Can you imagine being assaulted in the street in your neighbourhood? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|-----|---|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| yes | 40.3 | 38.9 | 33.4 | 22.4 |
| no | 56.5 | 60.1 | 65.7 | 76.4 |

Table 21.

Can you imagine your home being burglarised? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|-----|---|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| yes | 51.6 | 62.9 | 57.6 | 41.9 |
| no | 45.2 | 36.0 | 41.5 | 56.9 |

Table 22.

Can it happen that you will become a victim resulting in injuries?

| | frequency | | Valid (%) |
|----------------------|-----------|-------|--------------|
| | absolute | % | |
| no | 3,721 | 37.1 | 38.1 |
| perhaps | 3,038 | 30.3 | 31.1 |
| yes | 3,009 | 30.0 | 30.8 |
| all the interviewees | 9,768 | 97.5 | 100.0 |
| no answer | 252 | 2.5 | |
| all the interviewees | 10,020 | 100.0 | |

Table 23.

Can it happen to you that you will be the victim of a road accident resulting in injuries? (%)

| | were the victims of road accidents crimes in 2002 | were the victims of other crimes in 2002 | were not victimised in 2002 | have not been victimised in the past five years |
|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|---|
| I don't think that it can happen at all | 11.5 | 13.4 | 14.5 | 20.6 |
| not probable maybe, it's possible | 14.8 | 17.1 | 18.2 | 20.6 |
| it can happen | 19.7 | 32.4 | 33.3 | 30.3 |
| it can very easily happen | 24.6 | 17.2 | 15.8 | 13.3 |
| | 29.5 | 19.8 | 18.2 | 15.2 |

Table 24.

Increasing security on one's own initiatives

| question | role | characteristic opinion, judgement (%) | | |
|----------|--|--|----------|------|
| | | yes | no | |
| K39_1 | involved in accidents | 68.6 | 18.9 | |
| | not involved in accidents | 66.2 | 19.6 | |
| K39_2 | involved in accidents | 29.6 | 24.3 | |
| | not involved in accidents | 22.7 | 19.4 | |
| K39_3 | involved in accidents | 15.5 | 36.1 | |
| | not involved in accidents | 12.3 | 26.8 | |
| K39_4 | involved in accidents | 8.8 | 25.1 | |
| | not involved in accidents | 6.1 | 25.2 | |
| K39_5 | involved in accidents | 3.5 | — | |
| | not involved in accidents | 1.4 | — | |
| K39_6 | involved in accidents not involved in accidents | no difference | | |
| K39_7 | involved in accidents | 4.0 | | |
| | not involved in accidents | 2.2 | | |
| | | yes | planning | no |
| K58_1* | involved in accidents | 11.9 | 8.0 | 80.1 |
| | not involved in accidents | 5.5 | 5.0 | 89.5 |
| K58_2 | involved in accidents | 9.5 | 5.0 | 85.6 |
| | not involved in accidents | 4.3 | 3.5 | 92.2 |
| K58_4 | involved in accidents | 12.6 | 5.8 | 81.6 |
| | not involved in accidents | 8.4 | 3.5 | 88.0 |
| K58_5 | involved in accidents | 60.4 | 7.5 | 32.2 |
| | not involved in accidents | 52.6 | 6.9 | 40.4 |
| K58_6* | involved in accidents | 50.0 | 7.1 | 42.9 |
| | not involved in accidents | 35.5 | 6.3 | 58.1 |
| K58_7 | involved in accidents not involved in accidents | no difference | | |
| K58_8 | involved in accidents | 30.8 | 2.3 | 19.5 |
| | not involved in accidents | 25.9 | 3.0 | 25.0 |

* The difference is significant.

SZILVESZTER PÓCZIK

Romany Minority Opinions and Aspects in the 2003 National Victimological Data Collection

Preview

In the present study we compared the whole sample of the national representative victimological data collection of the year 2003 with the part of the sample with a gypsy attachment.

If we compare the financial situations we can see that those with a gypsy attachment – among whom as a group there are huge differences in every respect – are in a more unfavourable position on the whole. Although their distribution according to age is much more favourable than in the whole sample the opposite is true of their schooling. A third of the gypsy part of the sample lives in large families. In the age groups that are able to take active employment, unemployment among the gypsies is three times as much as in the whole sample. Owing to the larger sizes of their families, they are in a more unfavourable situation concerning their housing conditions as well. Nearly half of the homes owned by gypsies have very little market value. In three quarter of their households the net monthly income is below 100 thousand HUF. Only less than half of them have relatively balanced living conditions. In the past few years only about one third of them have been able to preserve the quite limited living standards they used to have. The gypsy sample as a whole is about 15-30% behind the whole sample in social aspects. We estimate that 25% of them are in the periphery of society. There is a group in both samples whose situation is improving; its proportion is between 15 and 18% in the whole sample and between 8 and 10% among the gypsies. The negative phenomena accompanying social disadvantages can be clearly seen in the sample with a gypsy attachment both in the area of health care and deviances. The gypsy minority has a higher than average proportion among those who have been convicted or suspected for some crime, have been under a procedure started for some minor offence and fined.

The dissatisfaction of those with a gypsy attachment with their financial situation has a negative impact on their general feelings; still, in the next few years a lot of them expect positive developments and an improvement in their general feelings. The different aspects of employment, earning a living and livelihood have a priority when they talk about the problems both the

nationwide and at the local level, especially among those among with a gypsy attachment whose living conditions are at a low level; among local problems the aspects of infrastructure and public security also have a special significance. About two third of the interviewees considers public security and the work of the police acceptable and expects an improvement in public security in the near future. The neighbourhoods where those with a gypsy attachment live are in a more unfavourable position concerning infrastructural and social problems than the average of the whole sample.

The interviewees estimate the frequency of crimes against property to be the highest and they worry the most about them in connection with their own possible victimisation and the victimisation of the members of their families. Fear of victimisation concerning violent crimes is strongest among those with a gypsy attachment. Crime does not influence the everyday lives of either group although a higher proportion of those with a gypsy attachment take the possibility of victimisation into consideration. Measures of property protection and self-defence are within the limits of traditional practice. Nearly half of both parts of the samples have never been the victims of crimes. We received no answer concerning what specific crimes caused victimisation among those with a gypsy attachment we received some results concerning sexual insults only. In this area women with a gypsy attachment have a higher than average proportion and there is a considerable latency in both groups.

A few methodological considerations

The analysis of the data – as in several other cases – cast light on a few methodological problems. Owing especially to the lack or the deficiencies of databases not collected directly from the research we have not been able to answer all the questions clearly. Nevertheless, the comparative analysis of the different concrete aspects clearly shows the tendencies in the similarities and the differences of the two examined groups. Among the databases outside our research, wherever it was possible, we relied on the findings and the estimates of the Central Statistical Office, the Unified Police and Prosecution Criminal Statistics and other empirical research and last but not least of our surveys.

The most important problem significantly influencing the interpretation of the first data and other data as well in certain cases is the insecurity about the population and demographic data of the Romany population. According to an estimate based on the generally accepted principle, which is used in the data collection by István Kemény, that gypsies are those people whom their non-gypsy environment considers to be gypsies, 5-6% of the 10,142 thousand inhabitants of Hungary are of gypsy origin, which means 510-610 thousand

people. In contrast to it, according to the data from the last census based on the statements of the people themselves, the Romany population numbers 190,046, that is, 1.87 % of the total population. The data collection could not be regarded as representative concerning the size of the population supposing the proportion of the gypsy population to be 5-6% but as a final word we can say that the 1.7% of gypsies in the sample corresponds to the data of the census, therefore there is no problem of representation concerning the size of the population since in all probability the same people regarded themselves as gypsies in the data collection as in the census. The problem is made somewhat more complicated by the sophisticated character of the question (Q22) – the same question as the one used in the census –, which opens wide perspectives for interpretation and offers a possibility for multiple answers. The application of some correction factor could have been considered theoretically but we have no such factor: the 40% factor concerning the change of identity¹ in the survey conducted among prisoners of gypsy origin cannot, of course, be applied among the civil population outside prison doors. However, if we considered this idea anyway, we would have a gypsy population of about 270 thousand, which is still just half of the estimate by István Kemény, so the issue of the size of the Romany population (the population of Romany origin) is still open for further research.

Therefore in the following we will mainly discuss those who "have an attachment to Romany cultural values and traditions" according to the collection of data.

The 169 people with a gypsy attachment constituting 1.7% of the sample is rather small both compared to the total population and the gypsy population within that and to the total sample as well, therefore, in theory, we could not have any claims to call it representative in other respects. Still, the gypsy sample proved representative in the distribution according to genders and in several respects it provides a good approximation to the findings of other body of research and statistical data systems in some socio-demographically and criminologically relevant areas. Nevertheless, we should leave the question open whether the sample represents the totality of the gypsies documented in the census in every respect. Owing to the small number of people in the sample with a gypsy attachment, we were able to process the data only within the framework of two-dimensional comparison; breaking down the data further according to genders, age groups and other factors was hardly possible.

¹ Póczik, Sz.: Cigány integrációs problémák (Gypsy Integration Problems). Kölcsey Intézet, Budapest, 2003a, p. 57.

Another question was whether the data about the majority population or the whole sample should constitute the basis for the comparison of the information about the minority group. In view of the small size of the gypsy sample and the difficulties resulting from ethno-cultural attachments, overlaps of identity and problems of differentiating between categories, we compared the gypsy sample with the data of the whole sample, especially because the majority of interviewees with a gypsy attachment (60%) indicated an attachment to Hungarian culture as well. Comparison with the whole sample in this case was just as suitable to demonstrate tendencies as if we had referred it to – the only virtually existing – majority group. However, if we separated the people belonging to the majority and the minority within society – as we have shown theoretically in a few places – the differences would not be much more marked either. Since we could not take into consideration the answers that were not suitable for evaluation and were not valid throughout the comparison, for the difference in the willingness of the interviewees at each question of the two samples, we used the abbreviation WI (WSR–GSR–%), when it was necessary. WSS means the whole sample selected – including those who could not answer or refused to answer – WSR means the whole sample of respondents, GSS means the gypsy sample selected and GSR means the gypsy sample of respondents. The percentages always refer to the whole sample of respondents (valid percentage), except where we specifically indicated a cleaning of the data. The code numbers in the text refer to the questions in the questionnaire and serve the purpose of helping the readers to find their way through the text.

The well-known paradox of the glass of water – whether it is half full or half empty – accompanied the interpretation of data all throughout the process: in many cases it was difficult to decide whether the picture we get from the multitude of figures – especially about GSR – could be interpreted, using an analogy from music, as a happy "a capella" or a tragic "staccato".

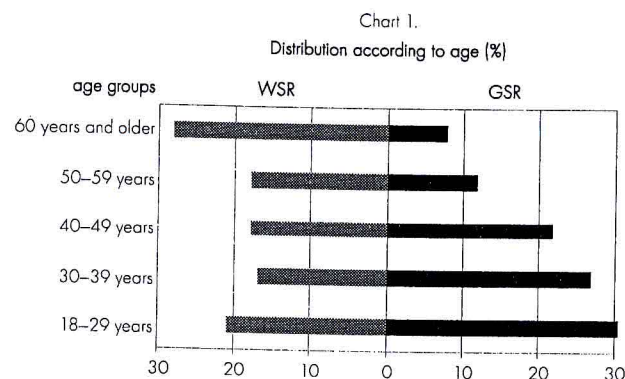
Facts

The comparison of social features

The distribution of genders and age groups

The distribution among genders in the two parts of the sample (SZ1) is in complete harmony, men and women have a 46.5% and 53.5% share in both and this corresponds to the distribution of men and women nationwide. Distribution according to age groups also met the expectations, as we know from earlier surveys that the distribution of the gypsy population according to

age is much more favourable than the average. In the aggregate 18–39 age group, the gypsies have a proportion that is about a third higher than the WSR and their proportion in the age group above 60 is two third higher (Chart 1.).



Regional size of the population in the collection of data

The whole sample was selected according to the population of the counties, therefore it is representative. Considering the small number of people in the GSR, we did not expect it to be representative regionally although the proportion of the gypsy population by each counties² has a 0.7 correlation to the proportion of gypsy people in the whole sample selected. The regional size of the population in the GSR is outstanding in Budapest and in the following counties: Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén, Bács-Kiskun, Heves, Pest, Somogy, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg and Zala (Chart 2.).

The distribution of the WSR according to the type of municipalities is also representative and we are content to say that the same can be said of the GSR as well. The comparison of the two parts of the sample serves to illustrate well the truthfulness of the picture known from earlier research according to which the proportion of the gypsy population that lives in the country, in rural areas, is much higher than the proportion of the majority population living in such places. This means about 30% of the total population and about 60% of the gypsy population according to earlier research³ and 50% according to the census in the year 2001⁴. The proportion of people living in villages or farms in the GSR was 44%. Every

² Központi Statisztikai Hivatal: Népszámlálás 2001. 4. Nemzetiségi kötet, a nemzetiségi, etnikai kisebbségek adatai. 4.2. fejezet (Central Statistical Office: Census 2001. 4. Attachment to nationalities, the data of national, ethnic minorities. Chapter 4.2.) Budapest, 2002, pp. 92–127.

³ Póczik, Sz.: Cigányok és idegenek (Gypsies and Foreigners). Kölcsey Intézet, Budapest, 2003b, p. 19.

⁴ Central Statistical Office op. cit.

Chart 2.
Population by counties

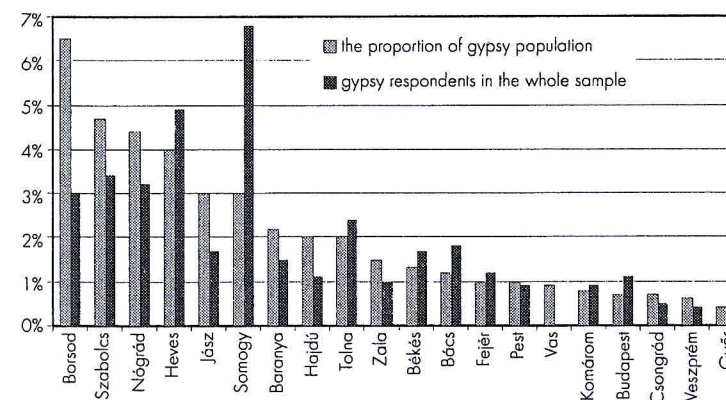
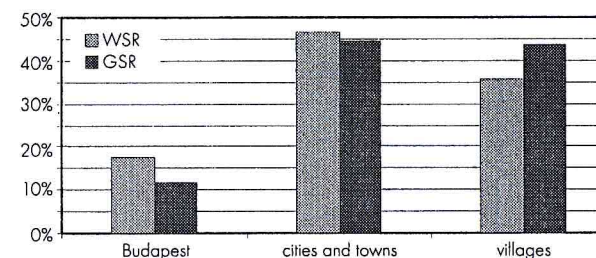


Chart 3.
Distribution according to the type of municipalities



survey of good professional standards confirms the gradual urbanisation of the gypsy population and its movement toward more developed areas⁵ (Chart 3.).

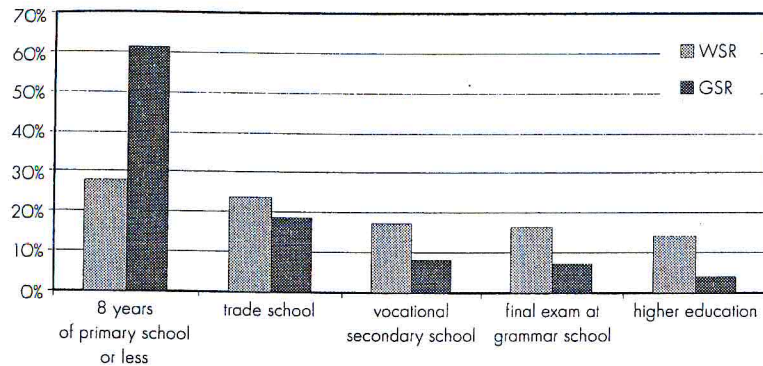
Schooling

Concerning schooling (SZ15), as we expected on the basis of earlier findings, there is steep decline towards the GSR with regard to primary schooling already, since the proportion of those who finished the eight years of primary school or less is twice as high in the GSR as in the WSR and the

⁵ See e.g. Habcsek, L.: A magyarországi cigányság demográfiája. A magyarországi cigányság az elmúlt tíz év kutatásainak tükrében. A hosszú távú kormányzati cigány/roma stratégia előkészületi anyaga (The Demography of the Gypsy Population in Hungary. Gypsies in Hungary in the Light of Research in the Past Ten Years. Draft for the long-term gypsy/Romany strategy of the government). NKEH–MTA Kisebbségkutató Műhely, Budapest, 2000, pp. 3–19.

proportion of those with a secondary schooling is also twice as high in the WSR (33.7%) as in the GSR (15.5%). Finally, the proportion of those with a degree in higher education in the GSR is hardly more than a quarter of the proportion in the WSR (Chart 4.).

Chart 4.
Schooling



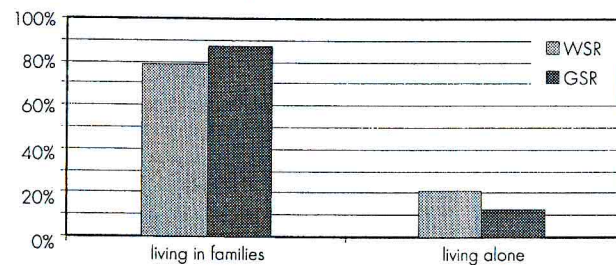
Marital status

There is an approximately 8% difference between the two parts of the sample concerning the proportion of those living in families or living alone (SZ3): the proportion of those living in families is 79% in the WSR and 87% in the GSR (Chart 5.). This includes the young adults who have not left their parents' households. The data received here confirms the findings about the family-oriented character of gypsy communities in earlier research projects.

The size of the households

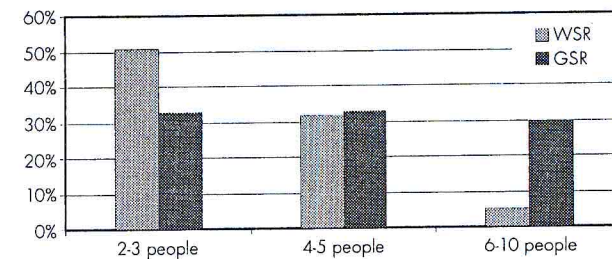
There are significant differences concerning the size of households (SZ8) between the WSR and the GSR. In the GSR the households are much larger;

Chart 5.
People living in families and alone



the number of people in a household is between 6 and 12 in 30% of the gypsy part of the sample, which is six times as much as in the total sample (Chart 6.). With a similar proportion of small-, medium- and large-size families the GSR shows the picture of social entity that is able to reproduce itself with an increasingly slower rate of growth and more than 60% of which – as a sign of its modernisation – adapting themselves to their abilities in producing an income or aiming at a growth in the per capita income, live in smaller households than the previous generations. The number of those living alone is 11% in the WSR and 5% in the GSR.

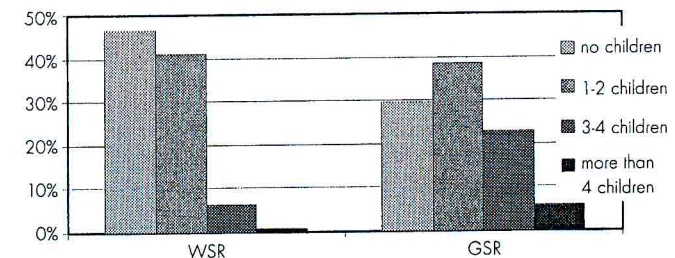
Chart 6.
Size of households



The number of children in the households

Looking at the number of children in the household we find that while the proportion of households without any children in the WSR is nearly 50%, it is only 30% in the GSR. The proportion of households with one or two children is about 40% in both samples. The proportion of households with 3 or 4 children is below 1% in the WSR but it is almost ten times as much in the GSR. There are 59 households in this last group from the majority of society and 10 households from those with a gypsy attachment (Chart 7.).

Chart 7.
The number of children in the household

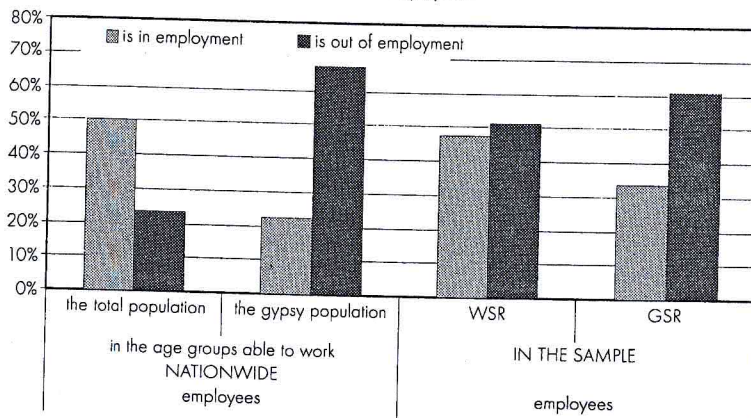


Being employed, the structure of employment, unemployment

According to the data of the Central Statistical Office, 50% of the total population in the age groups that are able to work are in employment, 26.5% are not in employment for other reasons and 23.5% are unemployed permanently or temporarily⁶. These proportions are reversed among the gypsy population according to research by István Kemény⁷. The whole sample analysed here (SZ16) is representative with regard to employment among the whole population but the rate of employment is somewhat more favourable in the GSR compared to the data both from the Central Statistical Office and the research by István Kemény since it is only 12% lower than the average indicator of the whole population. It is worth noting that the proportion of part-time workers among the gypsies is 75% smaller, while the proportion of those working temporary jobs is 75% higher than in the WSR. Therefore part-time employment and the opportunity to permanent jobs are less open to gypsy employees (Chart 8.).

About one quarter of those who are in employment (SZ18A) are civil servants in both samples but there are no civil servants in the GSR, where the

Chart 8.
People in and out of employment nationwide and in the sample in the age groups able to take employment

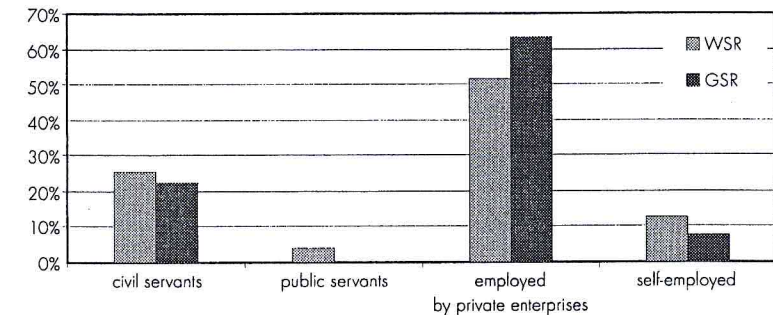


⁶ <http://www.ksh.hu/pls/ksh/docs/>. The figures of the Central Statistical Office (Központi Statisztikai Hivatal – KSH) refer to the age groups between 15 and 74, we included those above 18 in our sample.

⁷ Kemény, I. – Janky, B.: A cigányok foglalkoztatásáról és jövedelmi viszonyairól a 2003. évi országos cigánykutatás alapján (On Employment and Income Situation among Gypsies on the basis of the National Research of Gypsies in the year 2003.) <http://www.romaweb.hu/doc/szociologia/kemeny.doc>

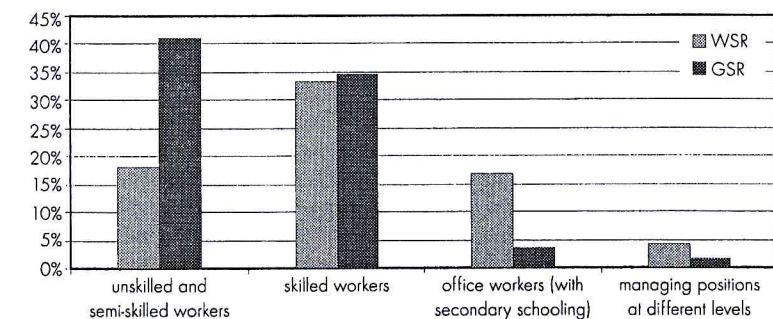
proportion of people who work for private companies is 10% higher but the proportion of those who are self-employed are only slightly higher than in the WSR (Chart 9.). In view of the data about schooling, it means that the higher positions in public institutions are unattainable or hardly attainable for the gypsy population and their participation among entrepreneurs is also very limited.

Chart 9.
Structure of employment



The proportion of unskilled or semi-skilled workers among the employees in the GSR (SZ18C) is more than twice as much as in the WSR but the proportion of office workers is only about a sixth. We find hardly any work supervisors and professionals among them. There are a few respondents in management positions but presumably it mostly means being a director of a small enterprise consisting of only a few people (Chart 10.).

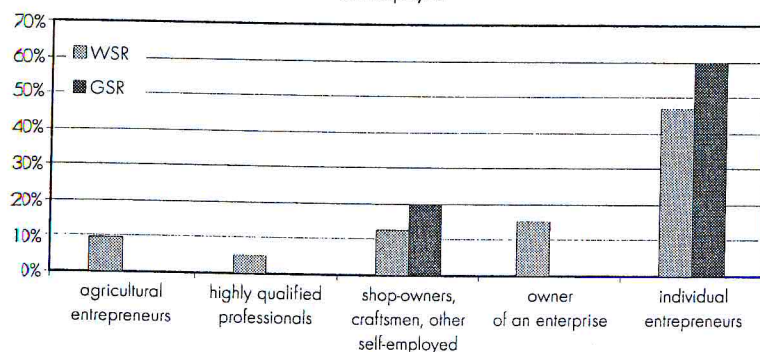
Chart 10.
Employees



In the GSR among those who are self-employed (SZ18B) there were no or hardly any agricultural entrepreneurs, highly qualified professionals and owners of (at least relatively substantial-sized) companies. The great majority of self-employed people with a gypsy attachment (80%) are owners of small

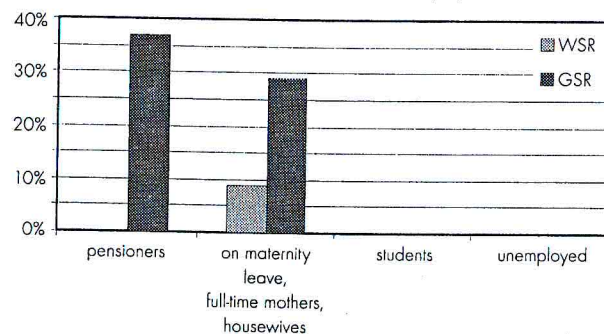
shops and workshops or entrepreneurs involved in activities that cannot be described more exactly, most of them presumably traders (Chart 11.).

Chart 11.
Self-employed



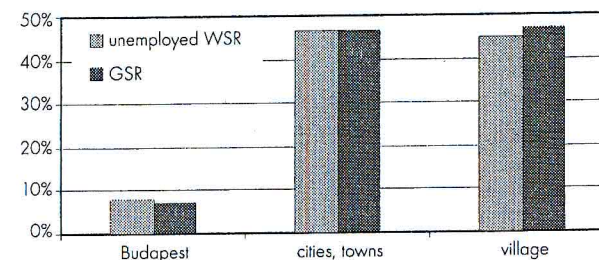
The proportion of – old-age or disability – pensioners among those who are not in employment (SZ16) in the WSR, as the data about the age of people also suggested, is nearly twice as much as in the GSR. On the other hand, the proportion of people on maternity leave, housewives and unemployed people among those not in employment is three times as much in the GSR, while the proportion of students is only a third (WI: 50-60%) (Chart 12.).

Chart 12.
The distribution of those out of unemployment



There is no significant difference between the two part samples – in contrast to the expectations – in the distribution of unemployment according to the different types of municipalities. Half of the 90% of the unemployed live in cities and towns and roughly the other half live in villages, while only about 40% live in Budapest (Chart 13.).

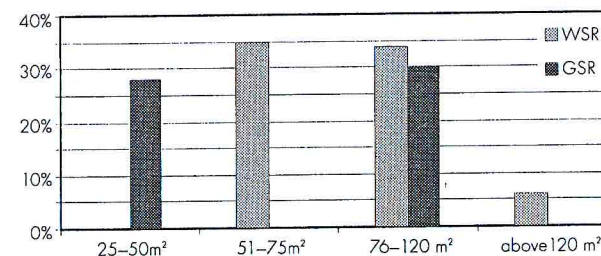
Chart 13.
Unemployed people



Comparison of the housing situation

Concerning the average size of homes, the 71 m² in the WSR is only slightly below the 81 m² in the GSR. It is to be noted about the size of homes (SZ9) – especially in view of the higher proportion of large families – that twice as many people in the GSR live in small homes of 25-50 m² as in the WSR and the indicator in the GSR is somewhat below the indicator for the whole sample in the case of larger homes as well. The size of the homes in the bulk of the GSR constituting 60% of it is only slightly below the bulk of the WSR and the proportions are similar in the case of large homes as well (Chart 14.). These data, of course, can be interpreted more exactly in comparison with the size of the households (see below).

Chart 14.
The size of homes



Similar statements can be made on the basis of the number of rooms in the homes (SZ10) since 70% and 80% in the two samples respectively live in homes with 2 or 3 rooms and there is a similarity in the case of homes with 4 to 6 rooms as well (Chart 15.).

Taking three categories about the size of households and homes into consideration, we also examined the connection between the size of households and homes crosswise. There is a linear connection between the

size of households and the size of homes in both sample parts, but in the GSR the size of the homes is smaller, to a varying degree, in the case of all the three categories for the size of the families (Chart 16.).

Chart 15.
The number of rooms in the homes

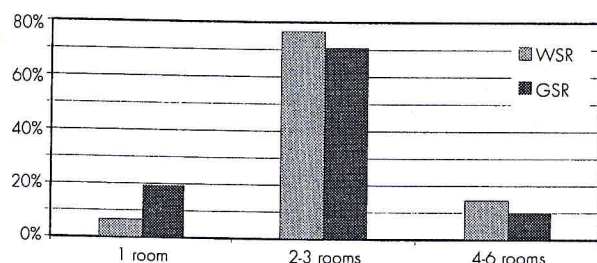
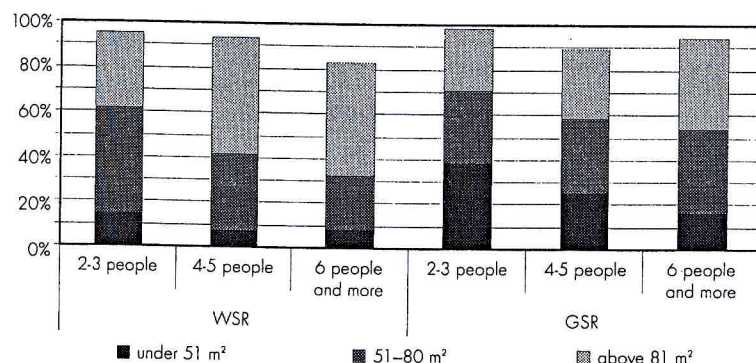


Chart 16.
The connection between the size of households and homes

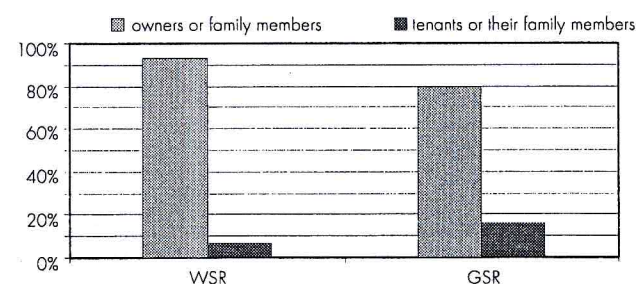


It is easily noticeable, for instance, that the growth in the size of homes in the case of families with six or more members is not as high as the growth in the WSR but it is worth looking at the other categories as well. More than 70% of the households with 2 or 3 members in the WSR and only half as much in the GSR live in homes sized between 50 and 80 m² while the proportion of people living in homes sized under 50 m² is three times as high in the GSR as in the WSR. The proportion of owners of homes under 50 m² in the case of households with 4-5 members in the GSR is also about three times as high as in the WSR, while the proportion of people living in homes sized between 51 and 80 m² is about the same but the proportion of homes above 80 m² is 20% smaller in the GSR.

The legal title for occupying the home

Concerning the legal title for occupying the home (SZ6) there is no significant difference between the two samples; the legal title in most of the cases is ownership or a family relationship with the owner: being a spouse, a child or some other close relative. The proportion of people living in rental flats is 7% and 16% in the WSR and in the GSR respectively. (The proportion of people living in homes rented in the private rental market was below 1% in both sample parts.) (Chart 17.)

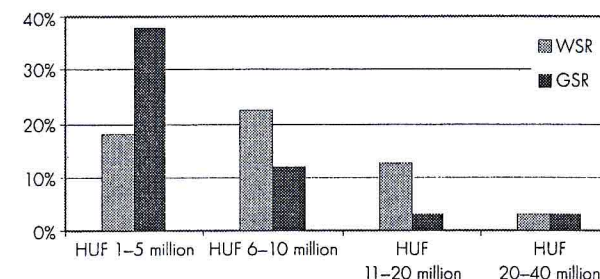
Chart 17.
The legal title for occupying the home



The market value of homes

There is a significant difference concerning the market value of homes (SZ11) since nearly 40% of the homes in the GSR could be sold at prices between 1 and 5 million HUF, which means that they are homes of low quality or located in an unfavourable location and neighbourhood. The proportion of homes in the category between 6 and 20 million HUF in the GSR is much smaller than in the whole sample but the indicators for the highly valuable homes worth between 20 and 40 million HUF are the same in the two sample parts (3-3%). 7% in the WSR and 3% in the GSR have summer houses (Chart 18.).

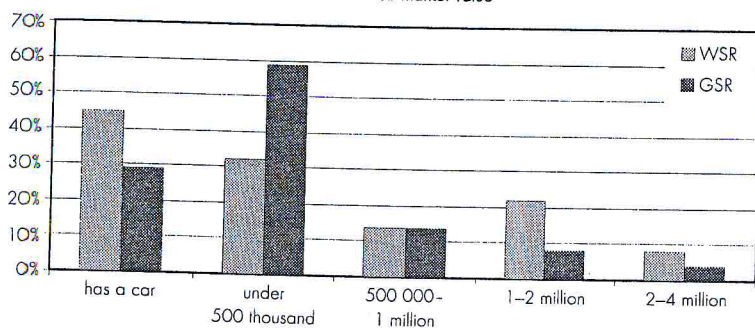
Chart 18.
The market value of homes



The use of cars

The use of cars is widespread in both sample parts (SZ13). 40% in the WSR and 30% in the GSR have cars but the difference between the WSR and the GSR can be clearly seen in the value of cars as well: in the GSR the value of 60% of the cars is below 500 thousand HUF, which means that most of them are older – often much older – than 10 years, are outdated and often need to be serviced (Chart 19.).

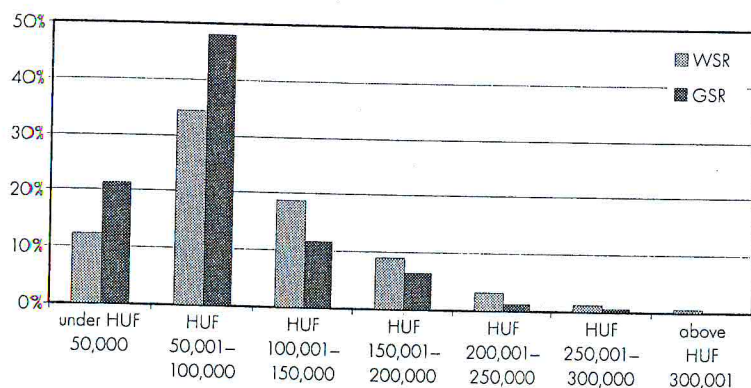
Chart 19.
Cars and their market value



The monthly average incomes and expenses of families

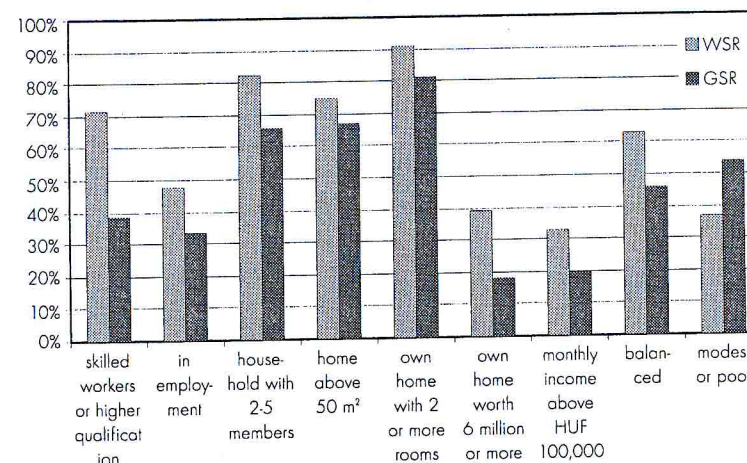
The distribution of the monthly average incomes of families (WI: 84-93) shows again that the sources of income are much smaller in the GSR: 70% in the GSR have incomes below 100 thousand HUF, twice as high proportion as in the WSR (Chart 20.).

Chart 20.
The monthly income of households



Without going into more details about the analysis of the different items and based on the weighted sum of the factors mentioned above, we can come to the conclusion that 63% of the respondents live among balanced circumstances and 37% live among poor or humble circumstances on the whole, while these proportions are 46% and 54% in the GSR: this means that the living standards of more than half of the sample part with a gypsy attachment can be termed as rather modest. This confirms the opinions according to which about one third of the Hungarian population and within this about half of the gypsies can be regarded as poor (Chart 21.).

Chart 21.
People living among balanced and modest circumstances

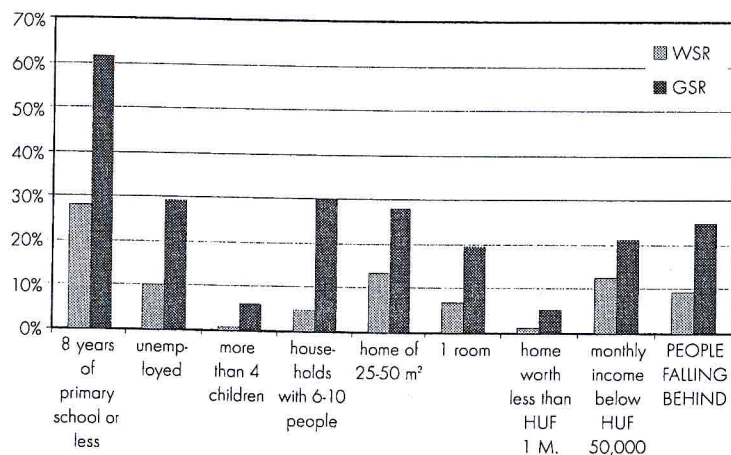


According to surveys by János Ladányi, approximately 6% of the population and 37% of the gypsy population nationwide can be categorised to be among the social group of those who are excluded in many respects and have finally dropped behind the others regarding their social indicators and opportunities⁸. According to our survey conducted with regard to eight indicators, the proportion of this group is estimated to be 9.5% in the WSR and 25% in the GSR (Chart 22.).

In contrast to the group of those who seem to be finally marginalised, there is a group comparable in proportions in both sample parts that live among outstanding financial circumstances. They have finished secondary school at

⁸ Ladányi, J.: Szegény szegények. Milyen legyen az állam: gondoskodó, vagy esélyteremtő? [These Poor People are Poor. What Should the State Do: Taking Care of People or Creating Opportunities for Them?] Népszabadság – Hétvége, 7 February 2004

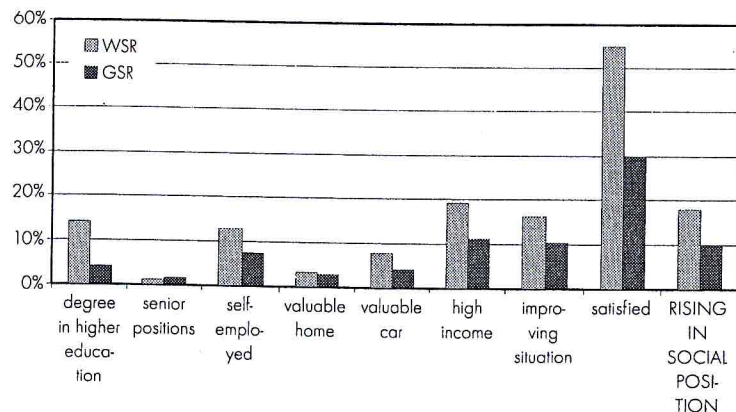
Chart 22.
People falling behind socially



least or have degrees in higher education more often, live in small households, are in management positions or are self-employed, entrepreneurs (mostly individual entrepreneurs in the case of gypsies), have homes worth between 20 and 40 million HUF, expensive cars, consider themselves to be in the highest income category, have definitely been able to improve their situations in the past five years (as well) and are satisfied on the whole. Considering the above factors, their proportion is between 15% and 18% in the whole sample and between 8% and 10% among the gypsies (Chart 23.).

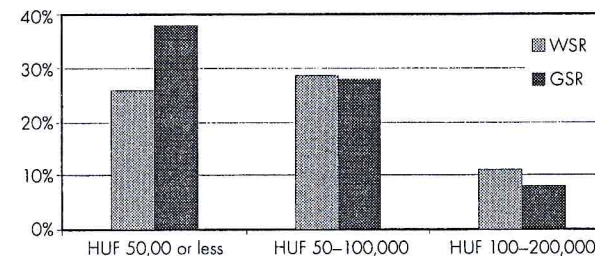
The interviewees were reluctant to answer the question about their monthly expenses (O13) (WI: 57-74), therefore the data measured here

Chart 23.
People rising in social position



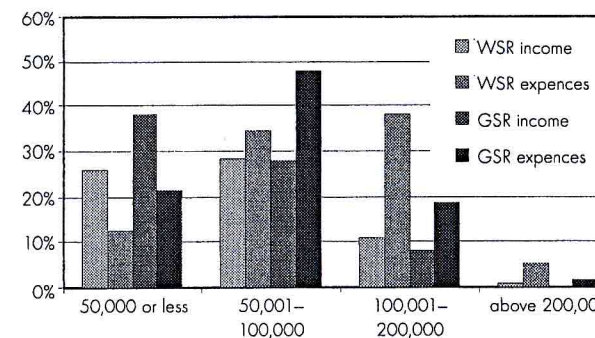
cannot even be regarded as very reliable. The proportion of those who live on 50 thousand HUF or less is significantly higher in the GSR than in the WSR, while the proportion of those who live on an income between 50 and 100 thousand or between 100 and 200 thousand is similar (Chart 24.).

Chart 24.
The monthly expenses of households



If we did not take into consideration the distortion resulting from the differences between the two sample parts concerning their incomes and expenses, we would see that net incomes in the income categories above 50,000 HUF fail to cover the expenses by far in both sample parts. It is especially conspicuous in the categories of the WSR of 100-200 thousand HUF and higher and also in the categories of the GSR of 50-100 thousand HUF and higher (Chart 25.). In these categories in the case of half to three quarter of the respondents expenses exceed incomes by far, which – beyond the immanent potentials for errors in the process of interviewing – suggests a tendency of significant potential income sources in both sample parts that the respondents fail to talk about. Some of them, presumably, have a significant amount of debt recurring or growing every month, which, in our opinion, is made up of transfers partly from within, partly from without the family but not from financial institutions.

Chart 25.
Incomes and expenses together



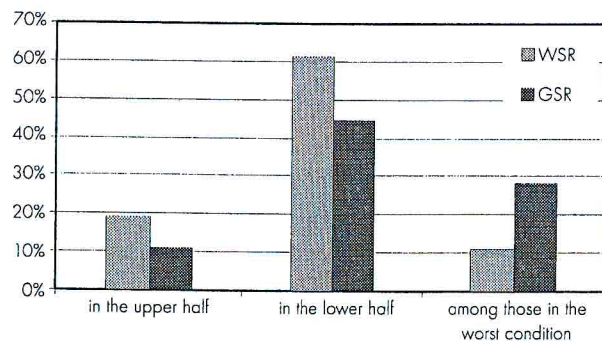
The self-assessment of households concerning their standard of living in comparison nationwide

The interviewees had to assess their complete household in the context of the living standards nationwide as they know or imagine them to be (O15). The question in the questionnaire did not make it possible to give an average assessment so the picture we get from the answers is difficult to interpret. We saw above that 60% of the WSR live among balanced conditions yet here they place themselves among the lower third of the population concerning their financial situations. Many among this 60% are presumably in an average, but not too favourable financial situation, which does not satisfy their needs. This same methodological problem pertains to the GSR as well although the opinions of those who place themselves in the lower third concerning their standard of living – considering the proportions of people who consider themselves to be among those in the worst situation – may be somewhat nearer to the picture produced by harder indicators. Nearly 20% of the WSR and 10% of the GSR consider themselves to be in the upper half of the income categories: presumably they are the social group who we defined as to be rising in their social positions. 11% of the WSR and 29% of the GSR consider themselves to be among the one fifth in the worst situation, which also shows a good correspondence to the group we described above as falling behind the others (Chart 26.).

Changes in the financial situation in the past five years

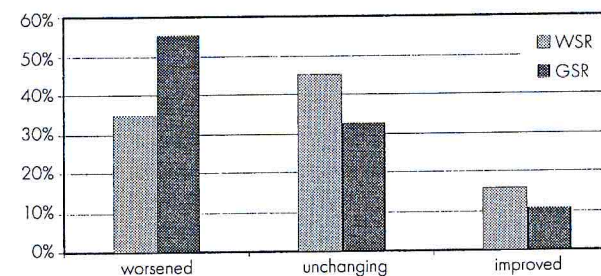
There is a strong divergence concerning the subjective self-assessment of the change in the financial situation in the past five years (O14) in both sample parts. Almost half of the WSR say that their financial situation has not changed and more than a third say that it has become worse. 16% of the

Chart 26.
Self-assessment of living standards



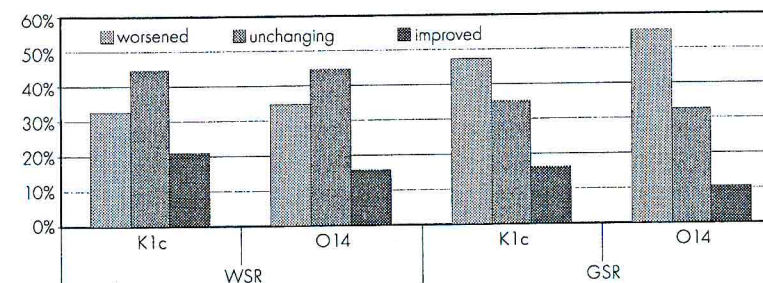
WSR and 11% of the GSR see improvement. According to the findings of earlier research, there must have been a really significant improvement among the latter, while in the case of those who think that their situation has become worse we could take into consideration the significant increase in the level of demands related to the exceptionally high increase in the supply, although the questions did not touch on these issues. It is worth noting, however, that in the answers given to the two questions about the changes in the financial situation (O14–K1c) there are also some differences in spite of certain overlaps (Chart 27.).

Chart 27.
The change in financial situation in recent years



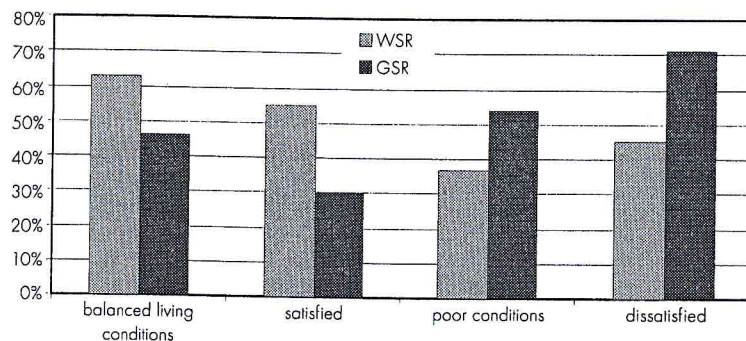
Thus, the subjective assessment of progress or regress in the financial situation – depending partly on the situational differences manifested when the questionnaires were filled and partly depending on the mood the interviewees were in – may change to some extent. (13% gave better and 23% worse opinions when the K sheets were used and not the O sheets.) We can observe similar differences when comparing the answers given to the two questions measuring satisfaction (K2a–SZ22) (Chart 28.).

Chart 28.
Difference in the answers given to questions about changes in the financial situation



We examined satisfaction with the financial situation (SZ22) in comparison with the answers about balanced or poor financial situations and the changes in the in the financial situations. There is a good correspondence between those who live among balanced or poor conditions and those who are satisfied and dissatisfied in both of the sample parts we examined. 63% of the WSR live among balanced conditions and 55% of the respondents are satisfied on the whole. The remaining 8% are not very happy with the present situation; they would like more and they feel they should have more. 46% of the GSR can be said to live among balanced conditions and 30% are more or less satisfied but about one third of the gypsies living among balanced conditions would like to have more. Thus, one sixth and one third of the people who are satisfied in the two samples respectively aim to move clearly upwards from their already balanced conditions. 45% of the WSR and 71% of the GSR were positively dissatisfied and both of these data show a good correspondence to the estimates about those who live among poor conditions. The proportion of those who are perfectly satisfied also show good correspondence to those who have made considerable financial progress in the past five years and – we could say – are satisfied with what they have achieved in the past half decade (Chart 29).

Chart 29.
Living conditions and satisfaction



Shopping habits

There was only one question with little information value about shopping habits (O36), which asked the interviewees whether they go to the Chinese market. In our earlier research we came to the conclusion that the Chinese people specialised in trading with cheap goods at large quantities and the selection and the quality they offer as well as the legality of the procurement and trading of the goods are not different from other shops or chains; there

is a difference concerning only the circumstances among which the goods are sold⁹. Quite a lot of the shops that provide more comfort for the shoppers buy their stock from the Chinese people in huge quantities. Considering this, we cannot draw far-reaching conclusions from the fact that 63% of the WSR and 76% of the GSR go to these markets more or less regularly either about their social standards or any other criminologically relevant factors. It has no criminological relevance also because the security of these markets is not below any other concerning security measures and inspections.

A comparison of other characteristics related to the social standing of the people

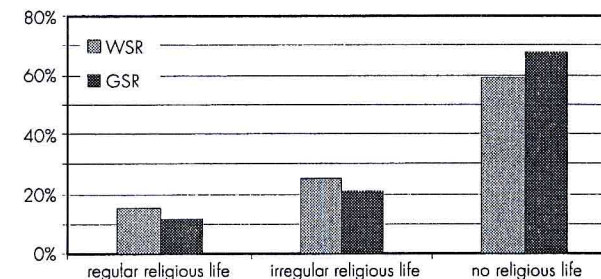
Participation in social organisations and in religious life

11% of the interviewees in the WSR and 8% in the GSR said they took part in activities in some social or community organisation (political party, sports club, club) (SZ25). 40% of the WSR and 33% of the GSR practice their religion in a community with more or less regularity (SZ24), which, for a considerable proportion, means only performing some religious traditions on special holidays a few times a year (at Christmas, at Easter or at Pentecost) (25-21%). Only 16% of the WSR and 12% of the GSR practice their religion regularly in fact. Although this high level of passivity towards transcendence is a very unfavourable tendency and puts huge responsibility and burdens on the churches, it coincides with the European trends although according to research it is even more unfavourable than those (Chart 30).

Unfair treatment received by minorities

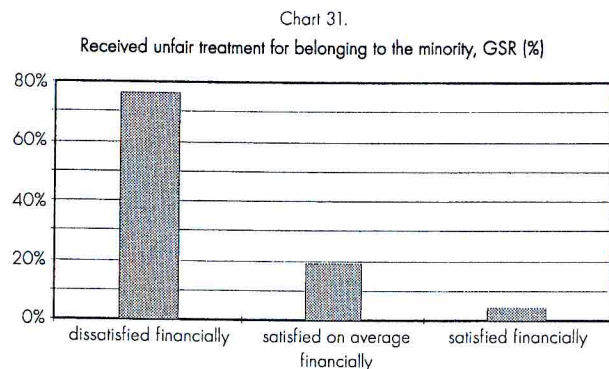
1% of the WSR mentioned discrimination related to the fact that they belong to a minority (O24). 42% of the GSR – 68 people – feel that they have

Chart 30.
Participation in religious life



⁹ Póczik Sz.: Rendszerváltás és kriminalitás: külföldiek és cigányok a bűnpiacra (Change in the Regime and Criminality: Foreigners and Gypsies in the Criminal Market). Volátság, 6/1996., pp. 73–102.

suffered discrimination or unfair treatment in the past 12 months owing to their minority (gypsy) identity. Considering the individuals it means 68 people suffered real or supposed unfair treatment and 60 of them were gypsies. Since 99% of those who suffered unfair treatment or had the perception of it were gypsies, these incidents took place almost only among them. In contrast to it, almost 60% of the gypsies (97 people) said that they suffered no unfair treatment. In the case of those who complain of discrimination on ethnic grounds we can ask the question whether their sensitivity was induced by other factors. The cross proportions of unfair treatment received owing to being part of a minority and satisfaction with the financial situation show that more than three quarter of those who have complaints for wrongs suffered as part of a minority are seriously dissatisfied and about one fifth are satisfied on average with their financial situations, while there are hardly any who have complaints of this kind among those who are satisfied financially. This seems to prove the thesis we advanced earlier that there are mostly social disadvantages behind the complaints about real or perceived wrongs in connection with discrimination and the ethnical aspects – if there are any – play only a secondary, additional role¹⁰ (Chart 31.).



Physical and mental health, everyday deviances

People in need of in-patient hospital treatment

Since the questions did not cast light on the deeper aspects of the interviewees' state of health, we deal only with those who are in need of in-patient treatment in hospitals several times or regularly with a serious disease (O3) (WI: 57–100%). Their proportion in the WSR is 27% and in the GSR it is 30% but we can also find a similarity if we add those to our data who had

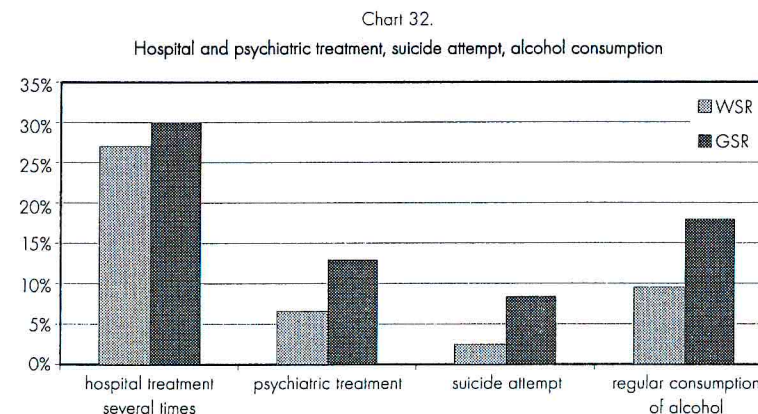
¹⁰ Póczik Sz. (2003b): op. cit. pp. 21–23.

a "one-time stay in a hospital". On the basis of the facts that the average age in the gypsy population is about 10 years lower than in the majority of society and people's health in general is worse we could theoretically come to the conclusion that a high proportion of the gypsy respondents do not know of their serious diseases, are not referred to doctors or sent to hospitals or this issue cannot be interpreted correctly owing to the size and the composition of the GSR. However, the 15.5% proportion of those in need of in-patient hospital treatment in the whole sample and the 30.2% proportion in the GSS contradicts to the above as it shows an almost 100% overrepresentation.

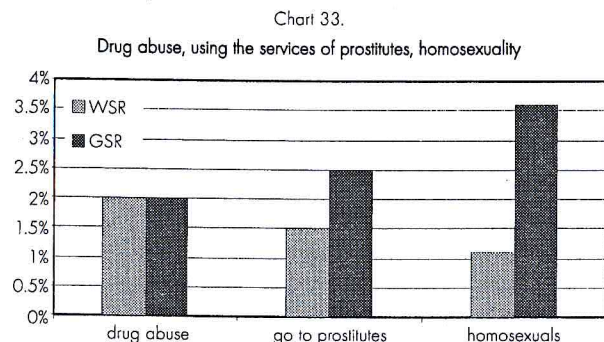
Psychiatric treatment, suicide, alcohol, drugs, homosexuality

The difference in the need for psychiatric treatment (O7) is much more noticeable: the proportion of those under psychiatric treatment is 6.5% in the WSR and twice as high, 13% in the GSR. The proportion of those attempting suicide (O4) is 8.3% in the GSR, that is, almost four times as high as in the WSR. There is only very little difference between the two sample parts in the proportion of those who drink alcohol rarely (once a week, more rarely or never) or regularly (O1): 83% of all the respondents drink rarely and presumably with measure, while 9.5% of the WSR and 18% of the GSR are regular drinkers. (Taking the whole sample interviewed into consideration, the proportions in the WSR and the GSR respectively are 3.6-13% concerning psychiatric treatment, 1.4%-8.4% concerning suicide attempts and 1.4-8.4% concerning regular drinkers. This would mean a 250%, 500% and 80% overrepresentation of the gypsies in this order, if we supposed that these negative phenomena are not present in the case of those refused to answer) (Chart 32.).

3.5% of the WSR and almost 5% of the GSR have been in touch with drug abuse (O8). In the great majority of these cases there were light drugs involved,



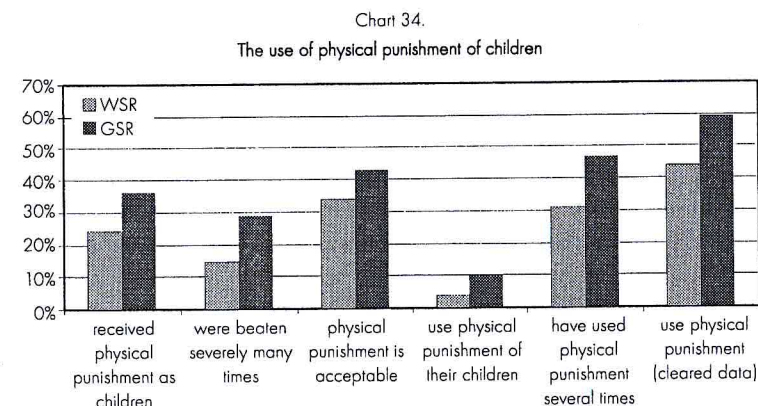
most of the times marijuana, sometimes speed or hashish (O9). We categorised those who took to drugs on several occasions, more or less regularly as "drug addicts". Comparing the WSR and the GSR, 5% and 6% admitted having a relationship with a prostitute; relative regularity, however, characterised only 1-1.5% and 2.5%. Although the proportion of those who declared themselves to be homosexuals (O23) in the GSR (3.6%) is more than three times as much as in the WSR, beside the low number of respondents we also have to take the fact into consideration that in the groups with a lower status in society – to mention only one factor – sexual attitudes do not count such a taboo subject, so this figure has to be interpreted with some caution. (Considering the whole sample selected there would be a 500% overrepresentation of gypsy homosexuals, which does not seem very probable.) (Chart 33.)



The beating of children

Here we must mention that the physical punishment of children as an instrument of discipline or punishment was mostly accepted in earlier generations and it is still widely used among many in spite of the extensive activities aimed at providing information to stop this practice. 24% of the WSR said that they had been beaten in their childhood (O25-4), which must have meant such regularity of this kind of punishment that left a lasting mark in the memory of the individuals. The proportion of people suffering physical punishment in the GSR is higher, 36%. 14.5% of the WSR and 29% of the GSR mentions repeated or severe beating (O27), usually by the natural fathers and in a smaller proportion by the mothers. More than one third of the people still accept physical punishment as an acceptable means of discipline (O35): 34% of the WSR and almost half of the GSR. The proportion of those who said that they beat their children (O33-5) was 4% in the WSR and 10% in the GSR but the answers given to another question (O34) show that those who accept physical punishment theoretically – and

sometimes even those who refuse it in theory – also use it in practice (WSR: 31%; GSR: 47%). After further clearing of the data (removing those who refused to answer and those who have no children) we will see that 44% of the parents in the WSR and 59% in the GSR use physical punishment more or less regularly (Chart 34.).



Conflict with the laws – becoming offenders

People with a past record of conviction in the sample

The proportion of those convicted finally (O6) is 3% in the WSR and 8% in the GSR. The data in the GSR show a frequency more than double than in the WSR and projected to the proportion of the population calculated by the Central Statistical Office it means an overrepresentation of almost three times as much. This clearly corresponds to the findings we received on the basis of the verdicts in the last criminal statistics of gypsies (1987) where we measured a double frequency and a 100% overrepresentation calculated for the estimated population of half a million gypsies¹¹ (Chart 35.). We sought to find an answer for the obvious overrepresentation of the gypsy minority among those who have been convicted finally for crimes in our earlier research projects in prisons¹².

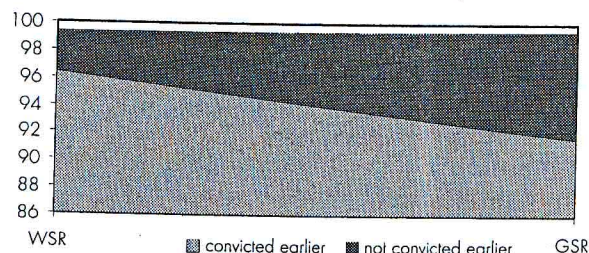
People suspected of committing crimes in the sample

The proportion of those who have been suspects in police procedures (O5) is 5.8% in the WSR and 20.7% in the GSR. Accordingly – separating the two

11 Póczik, Sz. (1996): op. cit. pp. 73–102., p. 92.

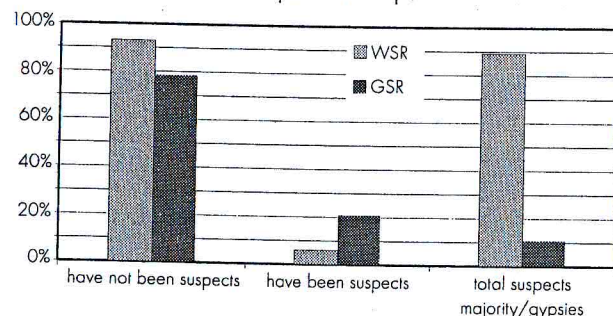
12 Póczik, Sz. (2003a): op. cit. pp. 106–108.

Chart 35.
People with a past record of conviction in the sample (%)



ethnically different groups and considering the number of respondents – 89% of all the suspects belong to the majority group in society and 11% belong to the gypsy majority, which, projected to the proportion of these groups in the whole population, means an about six times more frequent occurrence among gypsies and a 500% overrepresentation. The data received here corresponds well to the data of the last gypsy criminal statistics in 1987: according to this, 9.1% of the known offenders in that year were of gypsy origin¹³ (Chart 36.).

Chart 36.
Past suspects in the sample

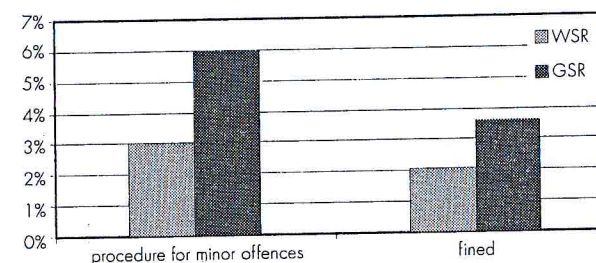


People brought under a procedure for minor offences and fined on the spot in the sample

Procedures for minor offences (O16B) were started only among 3% and 6% of the two samples respectively in the last year. The proportion of those who were under a procedure and were fined is twice as much or nearly twice as

much as the proportion in the WSR, which means that procedures and fines were definitely more frequent among gypsy offenders. (Fines for repeated offences were three times as frequent in the GSR). The data, however, are not fully reliable owing to the small number of cases (10 respondents in the GSR). The procedures were started for traffic offences in about half of the cases in the WSR and we received no answer about the nature of the offences in the GSR. It seems that the proportion of those who paid a fine on the spot is also somewhat higher in the GSR: 4% of all the people who paid a fine on the spot had a gypsy attachment. Theoretically, we could have supposed a visible difference – in this case in the finances – generating added disadvantages on the basis of a cross-proportion calculation for the values of the cars and the fines as well as the frequency of the procedures but we could find no such connection here (Chart 37.).

Chart 37.
Were under procedures for minor offences and fined



People paying bribes

There seems to be no difference between the WSR and the GSR in the proportion of those who are forced to pay bribes (O18); we measured a value around 10% in both with about 2% who pay bribes to policemen to avoid punishment (O19) in both groups but this cannot be interpreted more exactly owing to the low number of respondents, especially in the GSR.

OPINIONS

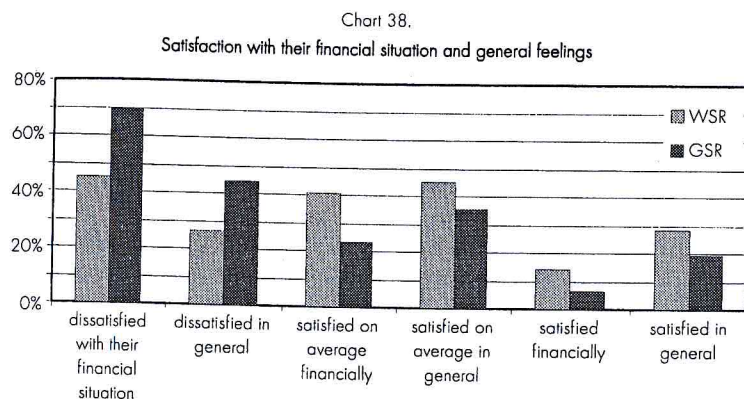
General feelings, problems, perspectives

Satisfaction with material goods and general feelings

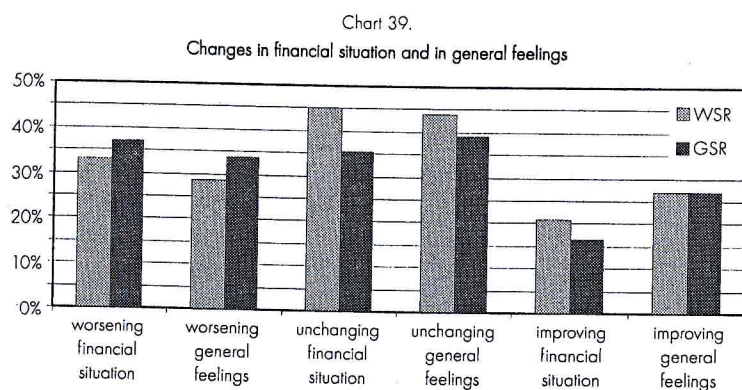
The satisfaction of the respondents with their financial situation (SZ22-K1a) and their general feelings are closely related in both groups compared. While 45% of the WSR are satisfied with their financial situation, 40% are satisfied on average and 15% are satisfied, 26% are dissatisfied in general, 45% are

¹³ Vavró, I.: A cigánybűnözés vizsgálatának elméleti és módszertani kérdéseiről (On the Methodological Theoretical and Methodological Issues of Gypsy Crime). Belügyi Szemle, 2/1984., pp. 65–68.; Póczik, Sz. (1996): op. cit.; Magyar Helsinki Bizottság: Árványok és különbségek. Cigány/roma terhek a büntetőeljárásban. Munkaanyag (Hungarian Helsinki Committee: Nuances and Differences. Gypsy/Romany suspects in the criminal procedure. Draft) Budapest, January 2004, p. 40.

satisfied in general on average and 28% are satisfied in general (Chart 38.). These proportions in the GSR are 70–44%, 23–35% and 6.5–19.5%.



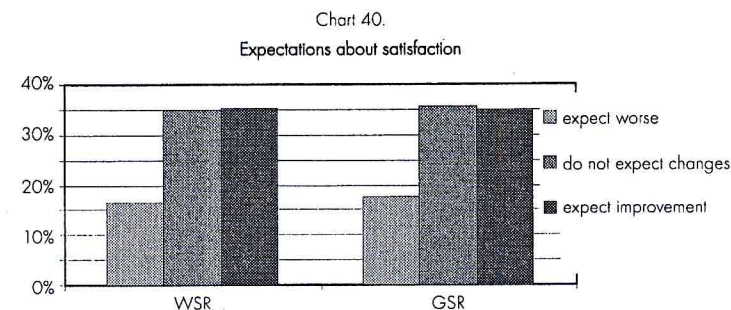
There is an even closer correlation between the changes in the financial situation and in the general feelings (O14/K1c–K1b). At the same time, it seems that the subjective experience of a change in the financial situation does not go hand in hand with a similar change in the general feelings: worsening financial situation results in a somewhat smaller worsening of the general feelings and improving financial situation results in a somewhat stronger improvement in the general feelings (Chart 39.).



Expectations for the next five years

There is almost exactly the same, high level of optimism in the two samples about the prospects for the next five years (K2c). There is a 35% improvement both in the WSR and in the GSR; another one third expect satisfaction on

average and only about 17% of both samples expect to be less satisfied than now (Chart 40.).



It is a commonplace in the social sciences that satisfaction with one's life and destiny strongly depends on age. We experience this among those who expect negative changes and expect to be less satisfied in the near future: 36% of those who have negative expectations in the WSR are older than 60, and 60% (including the previous group) are older than 50 and the proportion of negative expectations is increasingly lower in the following three age groups covering a decade each. This tendency, as a whole, is similar in the GSR as well, with the important difference that there is a much more even distribution of those who expect to be less satisfied in the different age groups and also that the people older than 50 have the same proportion in the GSR as the people older than 60 in the WSR. The proportion of those who expect a decline in the course of their lives is 8% higher in the age group between 18 and 29, 15% higher in the age group between 30 and 39 and 10% higher in the age group between 50 and 59 in the GSR than in the WSR.

Nationwide and local problems

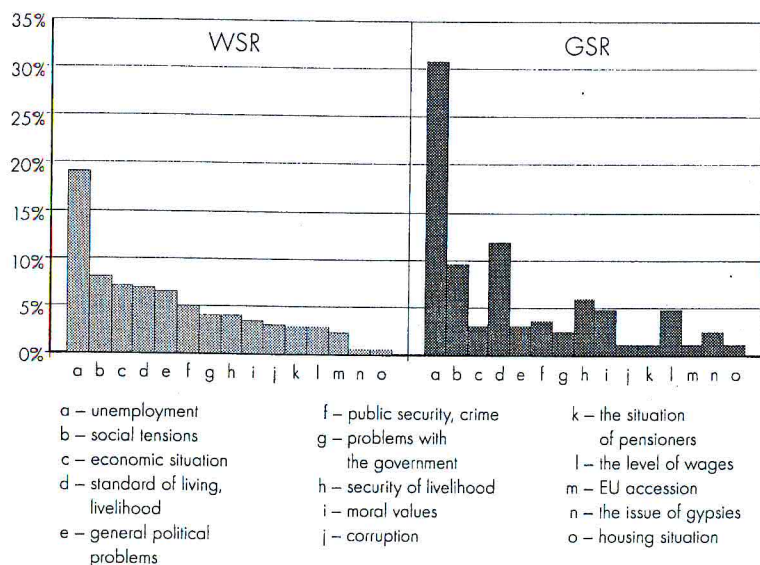
The two crucial points concerning the interpretation of the answers related to the opinions on the most important problems nationwide (K3) are a methodological issue and a fact known from earlier research already. Interest in the different factors and their perception as problems are increasing or decreasing depending on how easily they can be connected to factors influencing individual lives: descriptions of problems containing generalities, factors that cannot be influenced by the individuals and phrases that cannot be understood clearly enough were received with only little interest in both groups; they did not result in the perception of problems.

There is a high degree of similarity between the two samples concerning the perception of nationwide problems; in both samples – especially in the

GSR – the problems related to employment and livelihood have a prominent place; 20% of the WSR and 30% of the GSR marked these as the most important problems. The problems related to public security and crime have a less prominent place in both samples, far behind economic, financial and welfare problems, on the sixth place in the order of importance: only 5 or 4% of the respondents marked them as problems of primary importance. A similar proportion, only 3-5% think that the moral state of the country is a main problem. Besides these, only the situation of health care and agriculture appear as priorities among a few people but the other issues, especially the ones concerning democracy in politics and issues regarding special sectors (infrastructure, transport, law, military- and security policy) were considered to be of primary importance by less than half a percent. The "gypsy issue" raises, of course, a somewhat higher interest (2.4%) in the GSR than in the WSR (0.6%) but the respondents do not attach special importance to it in either sample (Chart 41.).

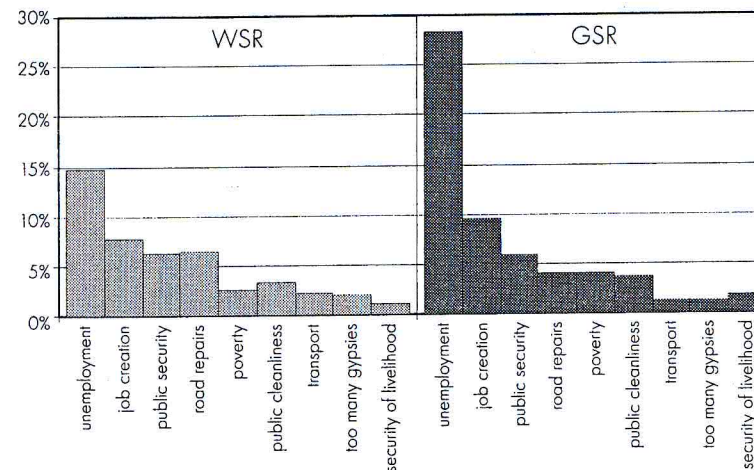
On the whole, a similar picture can be seen concerning the opinions on the most important problems in the locality (K4). In this case also, the problems related to jobs and livelihood are in the first places but the condition of the roads and public security are also coming to the foreground among the primary problems; 6% and 4% of the respondents in the two sample parts respectively marked them as primary problems. Thefts, vandalism and the

Chart 41.
National problems



homeless receive special attention among the factors endangering public security. 1.5-2% of the respondents in both samples complain of the many gypsies, which suggests that the presence of the gypsies is far from being as disturbing for the majority as the media often portrays it and it also indicates differences in the composition and the opinions among the gypsy minority¹⁴ (Chart 42.).

Chart 42.
Local problems

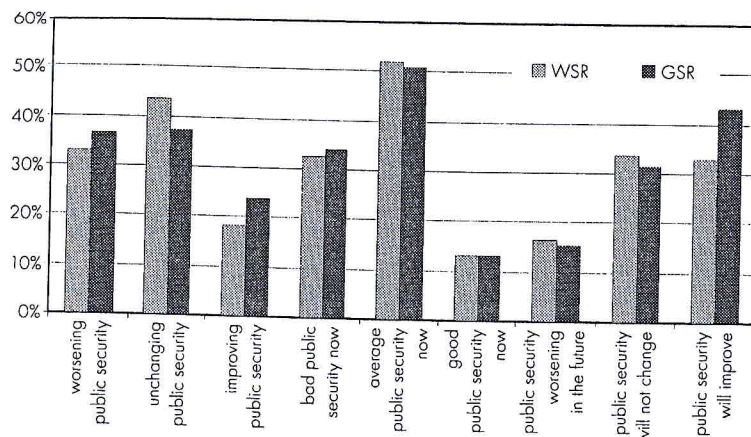


Opinions on public security nationwide

The opinions on public security at present and on its changes in the past and the future (K8–K6–K9) are very similar and sometimes even the same in the WSR and the GSR again. 33–37% in both sample parts sensed found a change for the worse in public security in recent years, while 19-24% found an improvement. Those who found public security worsening also considered it to be bad. The bulk of the two sample parts, 40 and 50% respectively, find public security unchanging on the one hand and average and acceptable on the other, while 13-13% consider it to be good, which means that these people were not affected experientially by the growth and the fluctuation in the number of crimes in the last third of the 1990s. Thus, we can conclude that nearly 65% of the respondents consider public security in Hungary as acceptable. Many in both samples expect unchanging and improving public security for the next few years, which indicates optimism on a large scale (Chart 43.).

¹⁴ At the evaluation of national and local problems we took only the first option among the three into consideration.

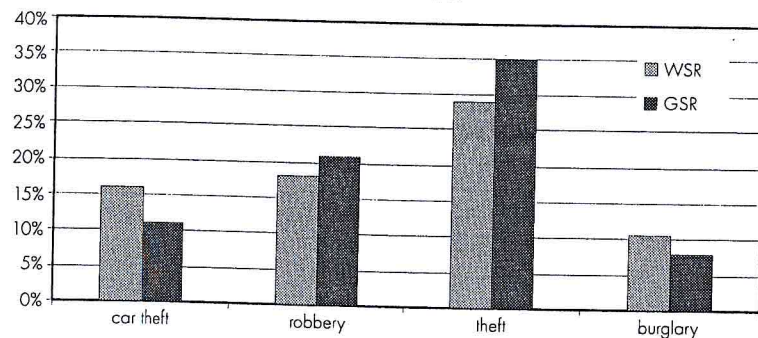
Chart 43.
Opinions on public security nationwide



*An estimate
on the most frequently committed crimes*

In the estimates on the most frequently committed crimes (K18) there is a high degree of similarity between the WSR and the GSR. The majority in most groups marked a few major crimes against property: theft, robbery, car theft and burglary as the most frequently committed types of crimes, which can be interpreted to mean that they are afraid of these the most. Robbery and theft are mentioned somewhat more frequently in the GSR. The overall picture of the interviewees, however, is not mistaken since in the average of the years between 1998 and 2002 all the crimes were committed against property, half of them thefts, 20% burglaries and only 1.2% were robberies (Chart 44.).

Chart 44.
An estimate on the most frequent crimes
committed nationwide



In the case of robbery, however, we must take into consideration its violent character: it impact results in strong emotions and fear¹⁵.

Hungary's accession to the EU and public security

It is related to the general positive expectations about accession to the EU (K10) that 40-45% of the two sample parts expect an improvement as the result of Hungary's membership (and only 17-16% expect a change for the worse), more exactly they regard in advance the expectations they have about improvement of public security as the outcome of the accession.

*Deficits in public security, general opinions on the police
and on the civil guards*

The opinions on the activities of the police aimed at guaranteeing public security correlate well with the above (K5). About one third of the respondents in both groups think that the police cannot guarantee public security at an acceptable level, 70%, however, – independently of their ethnic background – consider the efficiency of the police activities to guarantee public security as average or good. Those who give a justification to their opinions – independently of their ethnic background again – most often blame partly the extent of crime, partly the deficiencies in the work of the police (low police presence, inadequate police actions, impotency) for the deficiencies in public security but in a smaller proportion there are complaints about the administration of justice and the weak criminal judicial practice as well. A higher proportion in the GSR mentioned inadequate police actions and corruption within the police. At the same time, more than 3% of the WSR and 6% of the GSR consider the police to be very good (Chart 45.).

Wherever there is a civil guard (K16), the respondents are mostly (more than 50%) satisfied independently of their ethnic background with the activity of the civil guard and its role in improving public security and only 12-16% mentioned being dissatisfied.

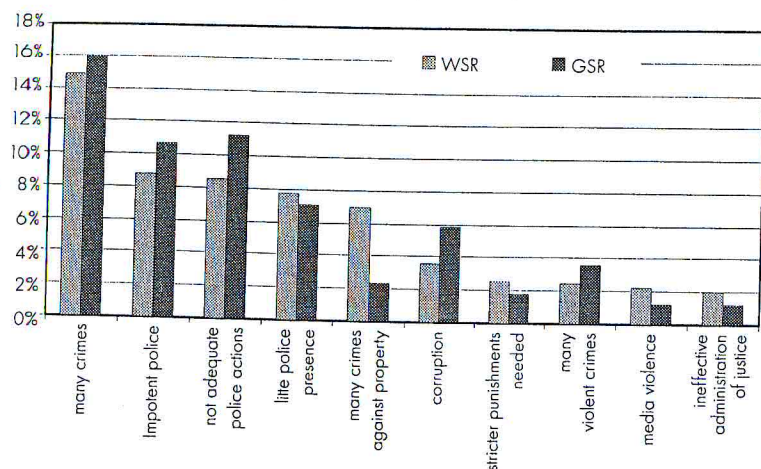
Place of residence, locality

Emotional attitudes toward the locality

The answers given to the question about attitudes toward the locality (K32) indicate that those with a gypsy attachment are less satisfied with the locality

¹⁵ Tájékoztató a bűnözésről 2002. (Information on Crime 2002.) BM Informatikai Hivatala–Legfőbb Ügyészség Számítástechnika-alkalmazási és Információs Főosztály, Budapest, 2003, pp. 19–20.

Chart 45.
Major deficiencies of public security

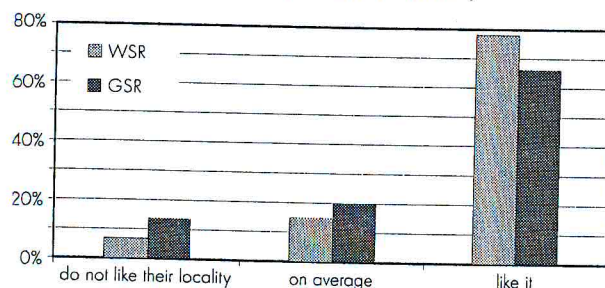


they live in. The proportion of those in the GSR who do not like to live at their present place of residence at all is twice as high as in the WSR and the proportion of those who positively like their places of residence is more than 10% less in the GSR than in the WSR. Still, it seems – considering the advantages and the disadvantages – that the great majority of the respondents (WSS: 78, GSS: 66%) are satisfied with their locality on the whole (Chart 46.).

Relationship with the neighbours

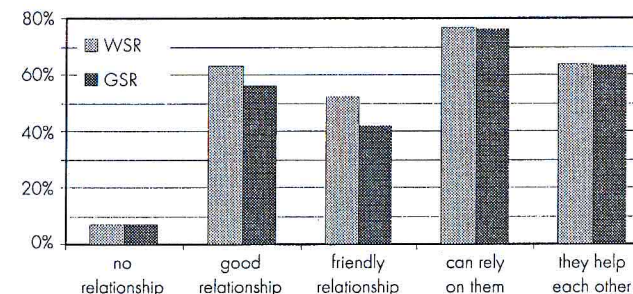
There seems to be no substantial difference between the WSR and the GSR with respect to any of the relationships to the neighbours (K31). About 7% of them do not have any relationships with their neighbours, nearly 60% in both groups have good relationships (although they do not meet very often) and

Chart 46.
Emotional attitudes toward the locality



50-40% have almost friendly relationships. More than 70% of the respondents can rely on the help of the neighbours and more than 60% mentioned the possibility of cooperation in case of need. Even if we suppose that the neighbours have the same ethnic background as the respondents, the findings here suggest that those with a gypsy attachment do not separate themselves sharply from the members of the community who are of other ethnic background and they, in turn, do not do so either. Although they have friendships with them more rarely, they can rely on their help and can act together, if necessary. In our opinion, mainly social and not ethnic factors play a role in the separation – where it characterises the situation (Chart 47.).

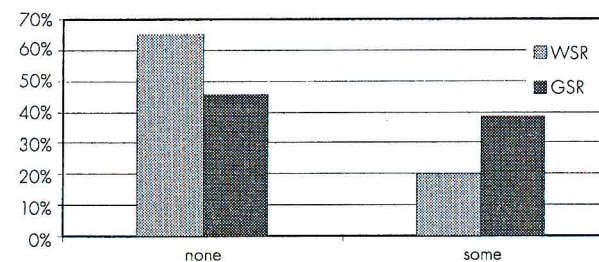
Chart 47.
Relationship with the neighbours



Record of past conviction among acquaintances

There is a significant difference between the WSR and the GSR in the proportions of those with a record of past conviction among the respondents' acquaintances (K30) in relation with the social and residential environment. While the proportion of those who know no people with a record of past conviction is nearly 70% in the WSR, it is only 45% in the GSR and nearly 40% in the GSR know more than one person with a record of past conviction, which means that they live partly among people like that (Chart 48.).

Chart 48.
Record of past conviction among acquaintances



Problems in the locality

The close-ended question with a scale for rating that deals with the most serious problems in the locality (K36) refers back to the open-ended question with a similar content (K4) and makes it possible to give estimates on the importance of 12 possible problems in the locality at a scale between 1 and 5. There is usually a high degree of similarity between the proportions of the answers in the WSR and the GSR with a few exceptions and it is especially true of the proportion of those who rated the importance of certain problems (crime, noise, gypsies, drunks, waste, immigrants and idle youth) as average. Therefore we do not go into further analysis of the average ratings. The differences between the proportions of the answers in the WSR and the GSR cast light mainly on the disadvantages in the living conditions of the GSR and in the neighbourhoods populated by gypsies. The proportion of people in the GSR living in localities infested with crime or in localities that they feel infested with crime is about 10% higher than in the WSR. It seems that in the neighbourhoods of the GSR there are more homeless people, the infrastructure (for example public lighting) is weaker, drunks pose a bigger problem (as we showed at question Q1 as well), pollution is worse and idle youngsters hanging around are also a much more serious problem. All this directly or indirectly is related to the greatest problem: the lack of jobs and employment opportunities, which is regarded as a very serious problem by 82% of the GSR. This is nearly 30% higher than the already very high proportion in the WSR. The proportion of those who regard the presence of the gypsies as an important problem and a disturbing factor in the WSR is slightly more than 20%. At the same time a smaller part, 15%, also regard gypsies or the other gypsies problematic. The data do not tell us exactly why: because of their social characteristics or because they belong to another ethnic sub-group, which is also regarded gypsy by the majority society (Chart 49.).

Crimes in the personal environment

In connection with the question about crimes in the personal (residential) environment in the last year (K20), the data from the GSR suggest that more crimes are committed on average among the acquaintances and in the neighbourhood of those with a gypsy attachment than in a wider social environment not dominated by gypsies. This, however, largely depends on the social groups in both cases since we can see that more than 50% of the WSR and more than 40% of the GSR have no knowledge of any crimes among their acquaintances, therefore they live in an environment that can be regarded as relatively safe. The proportion of those in whose environment more than six crimes have taken place is 10% in the WSR and 15% in the GSR (Chart 50.).

Chart 49.
Problems in the locality

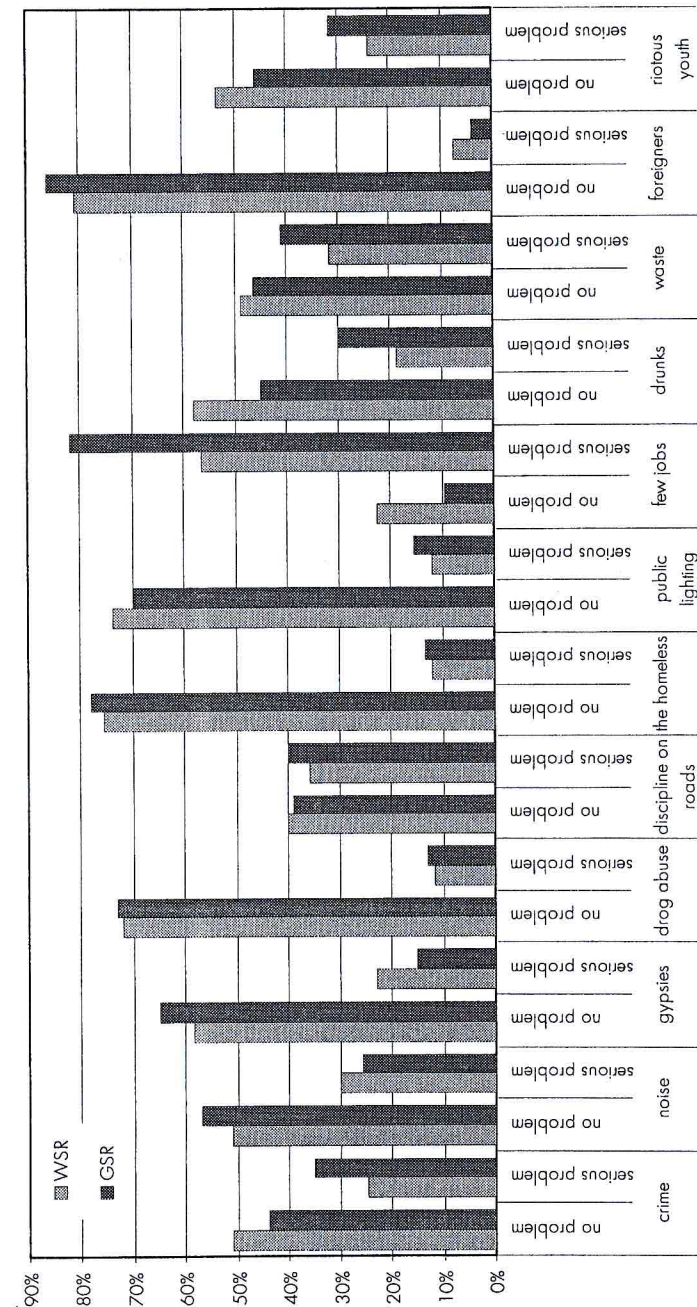
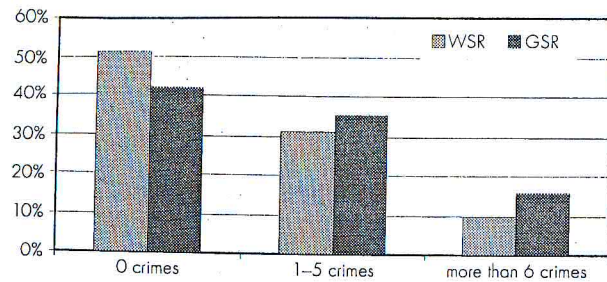


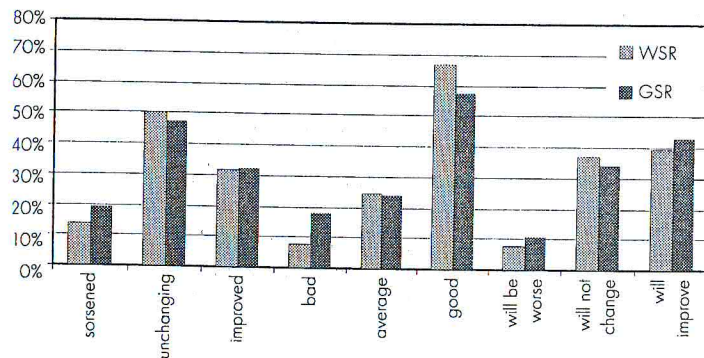
Chart 50.
Crimes in the personal environment



The security of the locality in the recent past and in the near future

In the case of the questions about the changes of the security of the neighbourhood in the past five years, the present state of security and the expectations for the changes in the next five years (K34-K33-K35) there is a high degree of similarity between the opinions of the different sub-groups of the WSR and the GSR. In the past five years, according to about half of the WSR and the GSR the security of their locality has remained unchanged and one third of both samples think it has improved. One quarter of both sample parts consider the present state of security average, almost 70% of the WSR and almost 60% of the GSR consider it positively good, while the rest consider it bad. Only 8-10% of the respondents in the two sample parts expect a change for the worse in the next few years, more than one third expect no change and 40-43% expect improvement just as we have seen in the case of the expectations concerning public security nationwide. On the whole, about two-third of the two sample parts consider security in their locality average or positively good and three quarter hope for (further) improvement (Chart 51).

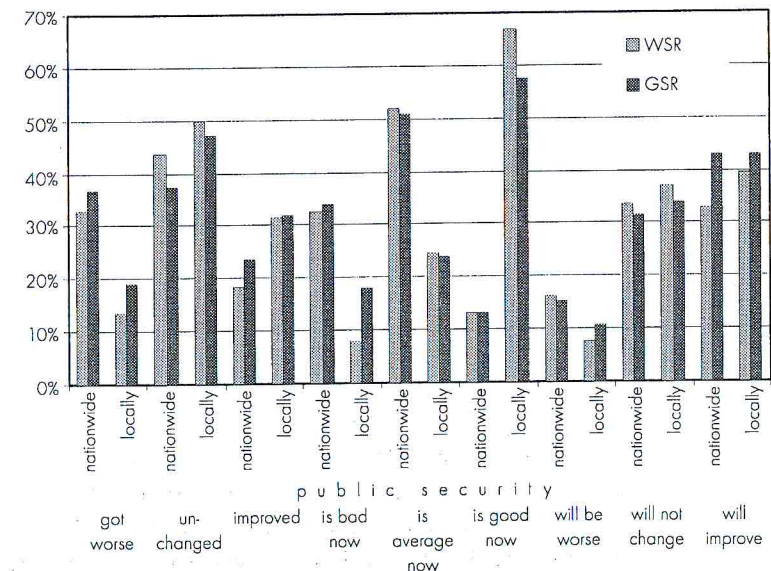
Chart 51.
The security of the locality



Estimates on security nationwide and in comparison with the locality

We also examined the opinions on the changes in the security of the locality recently, the present state of security and the changes in the near future (K34-K35-K36) in comparison with the answers given to the same questions about the situation nationwide (K8-K6-K9). We started from the supposition that the opinions on public security nationwide and on the trends in public security mainly depend on the direct or indirect experiences collected in the locality. The supposition, however, did not prove true. What we experienced was that the opinions on public security nationwide and the recent changes show a significantly darker picture in both sample parts than the opinions on the locality. In the light of the answers public security got far worse nationwide than in the locality and improvement nationwide was far behind it in the locality. Public security was considered to be bad nationwide by four times as many in the WSR and twice as many in the GSR as in the locality and there is also a higher proportion of those who expect public security to get worse nationwide than those who expect a change for the worse locally. All this shows that citizens imagine public security nationwide and especially the recent changes to be worse than what can be experienced sensually, presumably owing to the influence of the media to a large extent (Chart 52).

Chart 52.
Estimates on security comparing the situation nationwide and locally



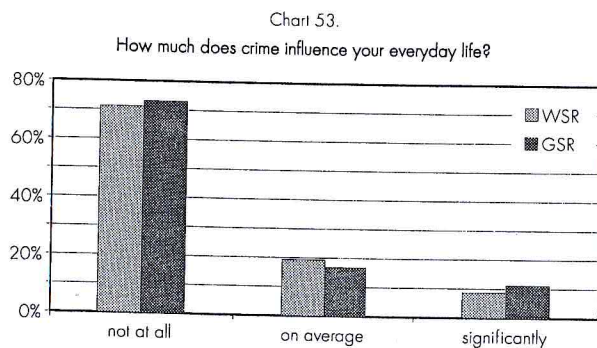
*Estimates on the changes in the number of crimes in the locality
– in comparison with other places in Hungary*

As the answers given to the previous question (K36) also showed, that according to about half of the interviewees crime is not a problem in their locality, other, earlier comparisons (mainly K33–34/K6–8) suggest strong attachment to the locality and a bias in favour of it. Therefore it was no surprise that most of the answers (58–52%) given to the question about comparison to other localities concerning public security (K37) in both of the sub-groups interviewed say that there are fewer crimes in the locality than in the other parts of the country. At the same time, in contrast to the 9% in the WSR, twice as high a proportion of the GSR think that their localities are more infested with crime than the rest of the country.

Estimates on security on the individual level

The influence of crime on everyday life

The lives of the great majority of the interviewees (70%) are not influenced seriously by crime in either of the groups (K41); only about 10% think crime is a significant factor in everyday life (Chart 53.).

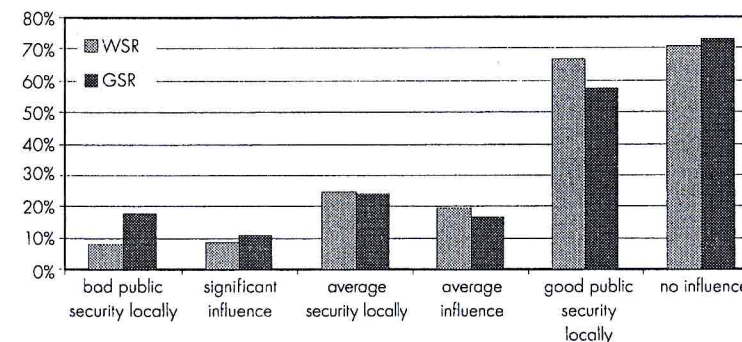


These data correspond well to the opinions on the general security situation of localities (K33 and K46) (Chart 54.).

The thought of victimisation in everyday life

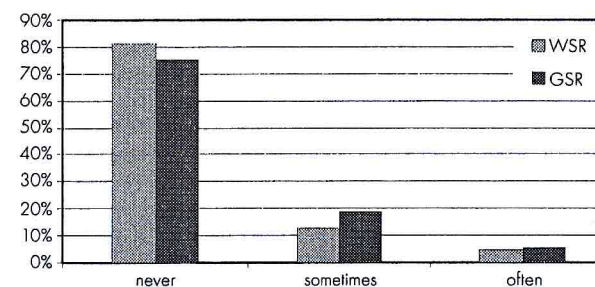
The answers given to the question about the frequency of the thought of victimisation (K57) correspond well to the above. The great majority of the respondents, more than 80%, give hardly any thought to victimisation; 10 and 20% think of it sometimes and about 5% think of it regularly. However, it is

Chart 54.
The security of the locality and the influence of crime on everyday life



worth paying attention to the small difference between the WSR and the GSR as it shows that a higher – even though only slightly higher – proportion entertain the thought of victimisation more frequently (Chart 55.).

Chart 55.
How often do you think of being victimised?



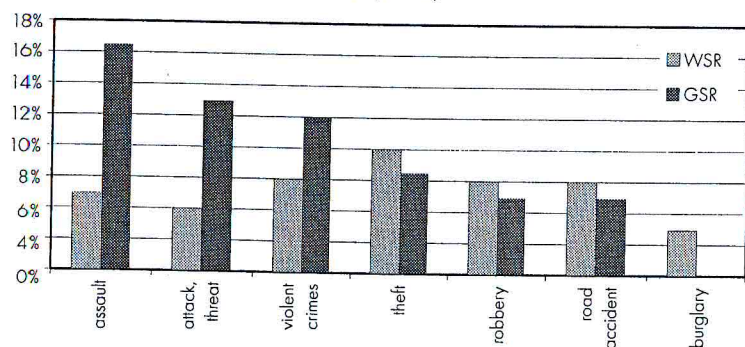
*Those who give potential protection in case of danger
and those in need of protection*

In their answers to the question about those who give potential protection (K23) both groups of the respondents mentioned at least one person to whom they can turn to for protection. In most of the cases (60-70%) in both groups this person is a man between 20 and 60, mostly a spouse, a relative or a friend, who is mostly a skilled worker or someone with a secondary school qualification in the WSR and someone who finished primary or trade school in the GSR. The respondents would like to see their immediate families, spouses and mostly their children (60-70%) protected from crimes primarily and then their grandchildren or their parents in a smaller proportion (K24).

The acts that can happen to the members of the family most probably according to the estimates of the respondents

Among the crimes that can happen to the members of the family most probably according to the estimates of the respondents (K27) we selected those seven that were mentioned the most often – assaults, attacks, violent crimes, thefts, robberies, road accidents and burglaries. A relatively even 4-8% of the WSR find them probable. The people in the WSR worry most that the members of their families will be the victims of some crimes against property, mainly thefts. There is a significant difference from this picture in the first four categories, where much more intensive worries of the respondents can be observed concerning violent acts threatening the members of their families (assault, attack, violent crimes) and they are not so much worried about the other crimes listed here as the people in the WSR. It is worth noting that worries about sexual insult committed against women are two or three times as frequent in the GSR as in the WSR. These estimates on possibilities – mainly about violent crimes – and worries in the GSR may be due to the disadvantageous living conditions, the more frequent occurrence of violence, personal experience of it and perhaps partly to fears of an ethnic kind (Chart 56.).

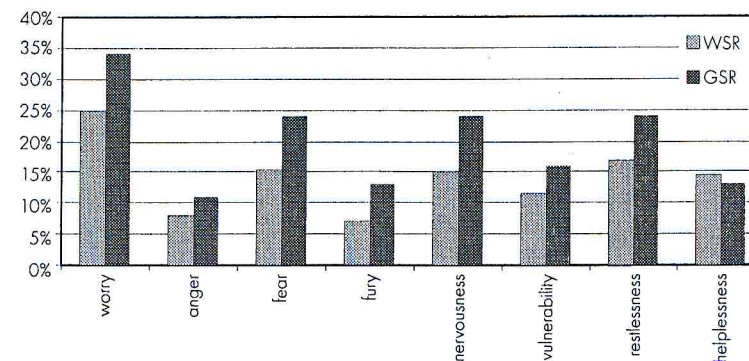
Chart 56.
What crimes can the members of your family become the victims of most probably?



Emotional reactions in advance to the possible crimes that members of the family may become the victims of

In the case of emotional reactions in advance to the possible crimes (K29) with the exception of one factor (helplessness) it seems clear that thinking about the possible victimisation of their loved ones induces much more intense emotional reaction among the respondents in the GSR (Chart 57.).

Chart 57.
Emotional reactions



Estimates on the possibility of individual victimisation

In the analysis of the question about the possibility of individual victimisation (K56) we simplified the scale of five in the questionnaire to two factors (improbable/possible). In the following, we will examine the 19 variables in the question (road accidents, slander, minor assault, major assault, harm suffered by children at school, harassment, burglary, theft of money, theft of valuables, overcharging, car theft, sexual molestation of women at work, attempts at life, damaging, rape, terrorist attacks, attacks by dogs, disturbing behaviour of others and violence within the family resulting in injuries; in this order) comparing opinions in the WSR and in the GSR. The majority in both samples think the occurrence of the following incidents probable on the whole. The high degree of similarity of the answers in two sample parts regarding the factors listed above is noticeable at first sight. The differences seem almost negligible – especially with regard to the low number of respondents in the GSR. The highest degree of similarity between the opinions in the two sample parts can be observed in connection with the acts in the case of which an appeal on the part of the victims or circumstances contributing to victimisation are not probable. A somewhat higher percentage of the respondents in the GSR consider incidents involving verbal and physical violence and insults (the irritating behaviour of others, slander, minor or major assaults, violence within the family resulting in injuries) possible – as we have already seen in connection with fears of victimisation involving family members. The higher possibility of attacks by dogs – obviously in relation to the more rural locality – also belongs here. Only a very small part of both sample parts think an attempt on their lives possible. It is worth making special mention of the subjective estimates of the victimisation of women.

Although we can see that the women in the GSR estimate the possibility of rape and assault within the home to be twice as high as the women in the WSR, it is also conspicuous that their percentage is very small, only a few percent in both the WSR and the GSR, while 90 and 80% percent in the sample parts think it impossible. In any case, the data – at least – casts doubt on the opinions according to which women are raped and assaulted within the family on a large scale (in connection to it we must point out again that there are very marked differences within the gypsy ethnical group concerning their social and cultural features). Harm suffered by children at school seems to be a neuralgic point as a 20% higher proportion (nearly 60%) in the GSR consider the occurrence of such an incident very probable, which must be related to distrust of the system of institutions in the majority society and the perception of disadvantages related to the ethnic background and aggravated by social factors. The calculation about the cross-proportion of those who complained about their ethnic grievances and those who were dissatisfied with their financial situation also suggested this. Half of those with Romany attachments fear for their children suffering serious harm at school; grievances of an ethnic and/or social kind also add considerably to the anxieties related to this and can lead to an escalation of conflicts. In contrast to it – obviously in relation to the financial disadvantages – the proportion of those in the GSR who think that victimisation in crimes against property is possible is lower than the proportion in the WSR – the same way as it was shown in the estimates about the victimisation of family members. Nearly 60% of both sample parts find it possible – presumably on the basis of their experience – that they will be overcharged when they go shopping or when they go out to entertain (Chart 58.).

Self-protective measures

Among the measures aimed at the security of the individuals (or the family) (K58) the measures and forms of behaviour that seem prevalent are those rational ones that are defensive, are aimed at avoiding conflicts and the prevention of situations that can lead to victimisation (avoiding suspicious persons, groups and places), and their proportions are nearly the same. Presumably as a reaction to the less secure nature of the localities of the GSR, a 20% higher proportion of gypsy parents try to keep their children at home in the evening. The proportion of those who have moved or are planning to because of bad public security is very small: only 6 and 8%. Approximately 10% of the interviewees use instruments or methods that can also be used offensively or can add to the escalation of the conflict – self-defence sports or self-defence instruments (knives, sticks, gas sprays) (Chart 59.).

Chart 58.
Estimates on the possibility of individual victimisation

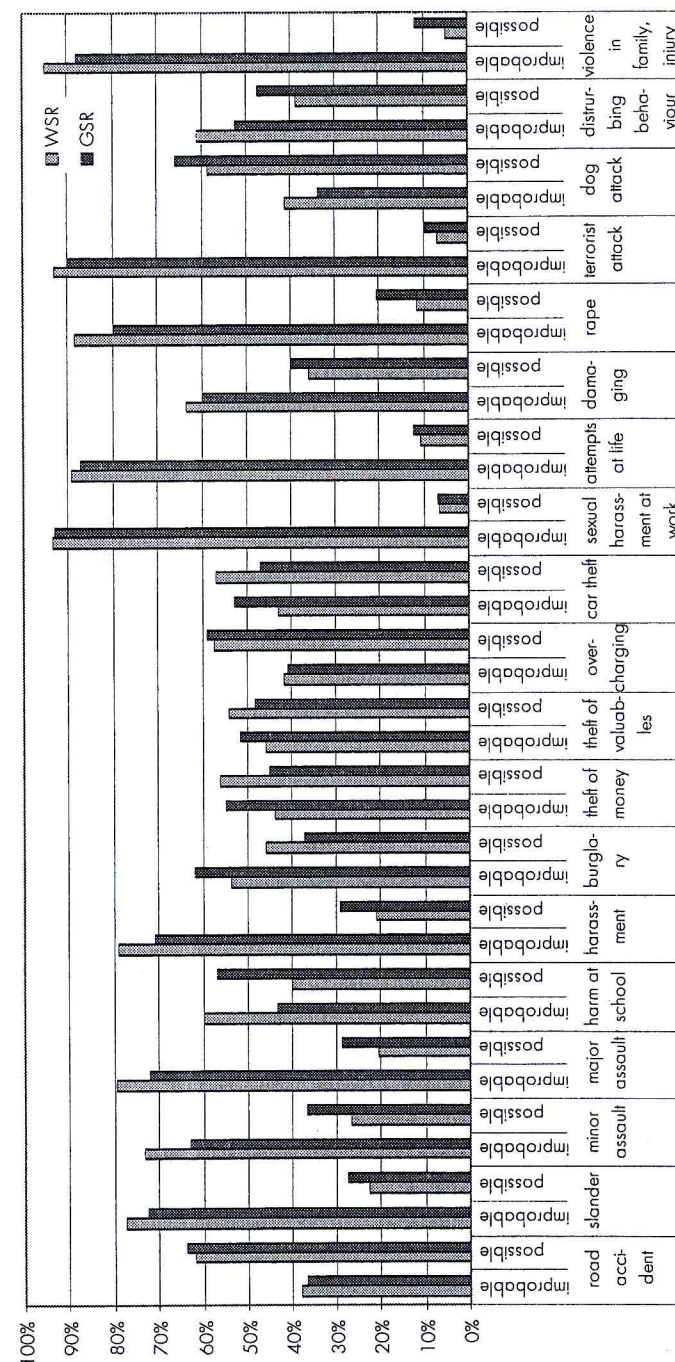
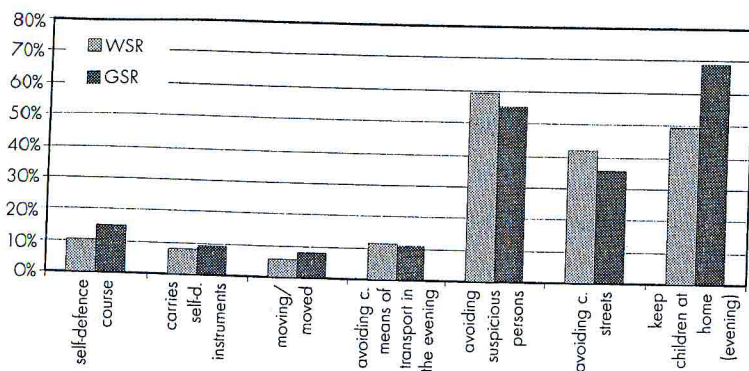


Chart 59.
Self-defence measures



Self-defence weapons

Nearly 80% in both groups of interviewees rejects the keeping of self-defence weapons in theory as well (K54). 13.5% in the WSR and 20% in the GSR would like to keep weapons for personal and property protection; 240 people in the WSR and two in the GSR have such instruments.

Protection of property and protection against burglary

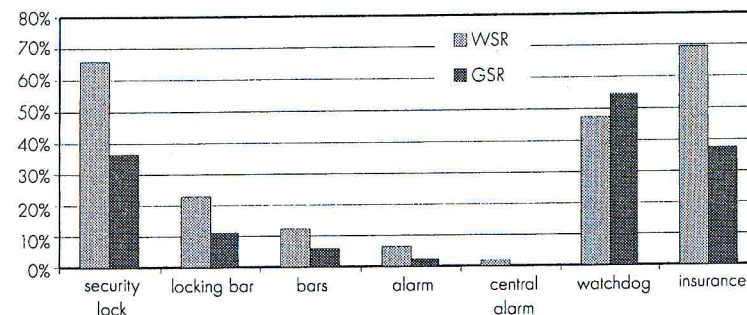
Protection against burglary in the homes of the GSR (K39) is significantly worse than in the homes of the WSR. More than half of the homes of the GSR do not have any protective instruments against burglary, about half as many possess different types of protective instruments against burglary as in the WSR and we found no alarms connected to a police station in the GSR. We already pointed out the significantly weaker indicators of the households of those with a gypsy background¹⁶. It is obviously related to the moral rural residential environments of the GSR that more of them keep watchdogs, which are actually very effective. There are also about twice as many home insurances (K40) in the WSR as in the GSR but it is still something positive that in the GSR almost 40% have home insurances (Chart 60.).

Behaviour after dark

There is no significant difference between the two sample parts concerning the proportions of those who prefer to stay at home after dark and those who go out relatively regularly in the evening (K38): their proportion is about the

¹⁶ Póczik, Sz.: Cigányok és idegenek (Gypsies and Foreigners). Felsőmagyarország Kiadó, Miskolc, 1999, p. 218.

Chart 60.
Protection against burglary



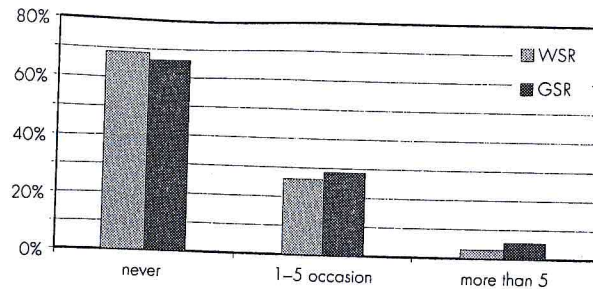
same. Although the proportion of those who go out to the street in the evening is a few percentages higher in the GSR but the difference is negligible.

How many know about the organisations that help victims

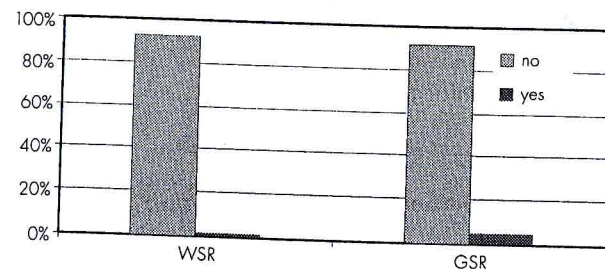
On the whole we can say that a smaller percentage knows about the organisations that help victims than expected: 66% in the WSR and 76.5% in the GSR have not heard about them at all. 7% in the WSR and 4% in the GSR knew the name of such an organisation or foundation.

Real victimisation

According to the answers given to the question about victimisation in the course of the interviewees' lives – in any kind of crime – (K80) a similar proportion of people have become victims of crimes in both sample parts. First of all, we must emphasise that much more than 60% (!) of the two sample parts has no victimisation experience whatever: they have never been victimised. 26-28% of the two sample parts became the victims of some kinds of crimes on one to five occasions and the proportion of those who were victimised more often than that is barely above 5%. Although the aggregated data of victimisation is 1-2 percent higher in the GSR, this difference is negligible considering the number of respondents. This leads to the conclusion that the victimisation of those with a gypsy background is not different or hardly different from the victimisation indicator of the WSR representing the whole society. We would not get a clearer picture even if we separated – theoretically – those belonging to the minority and to the majority of society. In view of the fact that the people in the GSR practically gave no answer about their victimisation experiences in connection with the different kinds of crimes, without comparable samples we cannot draw any conclusions about the details (Chart 61.).

Chart 61.
Real victimisation*Sexual insults in childhood*

The only area of victimisation in which – in view of earlier research¹⁷ – we can perhaps make a few tentative conclusions, with a high degree of insecurity, is the area of *sexual insults in childhood* (O29). Although we should emphasise that only few people mentioned such incidents in both samples, it is worth mentioning that almost one tenth (9 respondents) of all the "yes" answers (94 altogether) came from people with a gypsy attachment. This means 1.7% of the WSR and 5.3% of the GSR. Nearly half of the victims in the WSR and one third in the GSR talked about the incident to somebody and five people in the WSR and only one in the GSR reported it to the police. This means that only about 6.5% of these incidents are reported to the police, which suggests very high latency. In two third of the cases the offender was a relative or an acquaintance and only in one third of the cases was the offender a stranger but in the GSR there were no offenders who were strangers (Chart 62.).

Chart 62.
Sexual insults in childhood

17 Fenyvesi, Csaba: A nemi bűncselekmények sértettjé jellemzői egy pécsi vizsgálat tükrében (The Characteristics of the Victims of Sexual Crimes in the light of a Survey in the city of Pécs). Belügyi Szemle, 11/1988., pp. 36–39.

Summary and a few conclusions

According to the analysis of the data and the analysis, we can see an overall picture of the disadvantageous situation of the GSR on the basis of a comparison of the financial situation and the facts that constitute the pre-conditions of the financial situation in the WSR and in the GSR. At the same time, we can also see that *those who have gypsy attachments constitute a clearly differentiated social entity both from social and cultural aspects.*

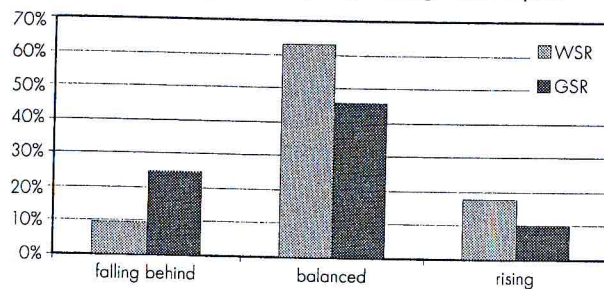
The distribution of the GSR according to age shows a much more favourable overall picture than the whole sample as the sample of interviewees with a gypsy attachment had far more young people and far fewer elderly people in it. The opposite is true concerning schooling, where the gypsy sample has far lower qualifications: their proportion among those with secondary qualifications is less than half as much as in the whole sample and less than one quarter among those with degrees in higher education. About one third of the gypsy sample part live in large families, in households with several members. In the age groups able to take employment, two third of the gypsies are not in employment. One third of the gypsies are unemployed among those who are not in employment including all the age groups, which means that the rate of their unemployment is three times as much as in the whole sample. (The proportion of gypsies on maternity leave or in a housewife's status is also three times as much among all those who are not in employment, while the proportion of pensioners and students is only half as much as in the whole sample.)

Concerning the average size of homes and the number of rooms gypsies are only slightly below the rest but their situation is still considerably worse because the families are larger among them. Although the legal title of the occupants for their homes is ownership in the case of the great majority of both sample parts, a higher – double – percentage of gypsies live in local government owned rental flats. The main difference is in the market value of the flats: almost half of the homes owned by gypsies have only little market value. Although the proportion of car owners is similar, two third of the vehicles owned by gypsies are older than 10 years with no or hardly any market value. In three quarter of the gypsy households the net monthly income is under HUF 100 thousand. In a reverse proportion as in the whole sample, less than half of the gypsies live among relatively balanced or better living conditions, while the rest tend to live among very poor conditions. Most of them cannot make a living on their income even though they look for extra sources of income in the grey and the black economy, consequently they accumulate huge debts. In spite of the significant differences in income three

quarter of both samples place themselves in the lower segments of the income situation nationwide. Only about one third of the gypsies were able to preserve their earlier – usually modest – living standards and more than half of them say that their living standards have become worse. Therefore, it is no surprise that three quarter of them are dissatisfied with their financial situations. The situation of the gypsy sample, as a whole, is about 15-30% below the whole sample in social respects.

The proportion of those who are cast to the periphery of society finally is an estimated 10% in the WSR and 25% in the GSR. At the same time, there is a smaller group in both samples that have outstanding financial and other social indicators and have definitely been able to improve their situations in the past few years. In view of the above factors, their proportion may be 15-18% in the whole sample and 8-10% among the gypsies (Chart 63.).

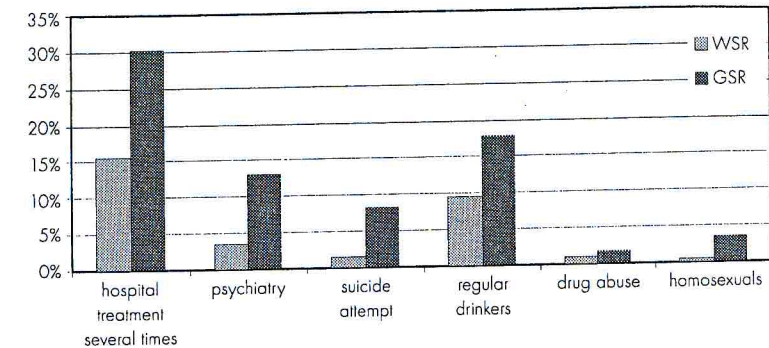
Chart 63.
People falling behind, stagnating and rising in social respects



The data clearly show the negative phenomena resulting from the disadvantages that are the outcome of social, financial and civilisation deficiencies that characterise the segments of society with a lower social status including the gypsy minority to an increasing degree. The proportion of those people who have been treated in hospitals and in psychiatric wards several times, those who attempted suicide and regular drinkers is noticeably higher in the GSR than in the WSR. These differences would be even more noticeable if we referred our data to the whole sample of the interviewees. We will show the aggregated and comparative data only as a theoretical supposition, which demonstrate the – surely exaggerated – overrepresentation of the gypsies concerning everyday deviances in this format (Chart 64.).

The proportion of those who were regularly and/or severely abused in their childhood as well as the proportion of those who find physical punishment acceptable and use it to discipline their own children as well is much higher among the gypsies than in the WSR although it is quite high there

Chart 64.
Mental and physical condition



too. In our earlier empirical research projects we have already highlighted the negative tendencies among those with a gypsy background in connection with physical and mental health and different forms of deviance, the inner relations within the family and the especially disadvantageous position of children¹⁸.

There seems to be an obvious overrepresentation of gypsy minorities among those who have been convicted finally, who have been suspects in police procedures and who have been under procedures started for minor offences and fined.

There seems to be a high measure of similarity between the whole sample and the part of it with gypsy attachment together with several differences of degree concerning the opinions on the general situation, the prospects and the security of the country and the locality. General feelings are determined mainly by satisfaction with the measure of satisfaction with the financial situation and among the gypsies financial dissatisfaction has a negative impact on the indicators of general feelings. At the same time, it seems that a worsening financial situation results in a lower proportion of decline in the general feelings, while an improving financial situation results in a higher proportion of improvement in the general feelings. Most people in both groups expect positive developments and improvement in the general feelings in the next few years.

Factors influencing individual lives received special emphasis in the perception of problems. Factors related to employment, making money and livelihood have a priority when people talk about nationwide as well as local problems especially among those with a gypsy attachment living

18 Póczik, Sz. (1999): op. cit. pp. 226–233.; Póczik, Sz. (2003a): op. cit. pp. 81–84.

among modest circumstances. Factors related to infrastructure and public security also have a special significance in the perception of local problems. Owing probably to the impact of the media there is a darker picture of public security nationwide than what would be justified on the basis of experiences in the locality. However, about two third of the respondents find public security on the national level and the activity of the police adequate and expect significant improvement in public security both on the national and the local level, not the least in connection with coming accession to the EU.

While the media paint a picture of a highly alienated society with bad feelings in general, research show that the great majority of the respondents love their localities, have good relationships with their neighbours and can expect their help and even those with a gypsy attachment are not divided sharply from the majority of society. We can see, however, the neighbourhoods where those with a gypsy attachment live are in a worse situation concerning both infrastructure and the social problems than the average of the whole sample: they are more infested with crime, pollution and waste and there is a higher proportion of unemployed and disreputable elements.

Respondents – in conformity with criminal statistics – estimate the frequency of crimes against property to be the highest and they worry the most about these in connection with themselves and the members of their families as well. *Fear of victimisation in violent crimes is higher among those with a gypsy attachment.* Nevertheless, it does not influence the everyday lives of either group, only a few percent of the respondents entertain the thought of victimisation. However, a higher percentage of those with a gypsy attachment consider this possibility and especially the thought of their family members becoming victimised stir intense emotions among them. The measures of the respondents aimed at property protection and self-defence remain within traditional, defensive and rational limits; (potentially) offensive instruments are used only by a very small proportion of them. In the use of technical instruments of property protection those with a gypsy attachment are falling behind, again.

Nearly half of both sample parts have never been victims of crimes and we received no answers from the data about victimisation among those with a gypsy attachment concerning the distribution according to the specific crimes. We came to results that can be interpreted to some extent only in connection with sexual insults in childhood. In this area we can see an overrepresentation of women with a gypsy attachment and there is significant latency in both groups.

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