

DISADVANTAGEOUS SOCIAL POSITION AND CRIME

by

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„Most certainly crime is the price paid for inequalities that have remained and for unequal chances and it appears to be accompanying the society as a distorted shadow. Unfortunately, the man of today must arm himself to bear it and he must maintain means and seek new ones in order to be able to prevent what can be prevented and curb what can be curbed in crime. All this is part and parcel of the self-guiding system of society by which it saves, maintains and improves itself.”

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There is no one today challenging that crime is a mass phenomenon under the conditions of the socialist society, which necessarily coincides with the present stage of our social development.¹ The specific social nature of crime arises from its anti-social character which finds expression in prohibitions contained by penal law.²

As a mass Phenomenon changing in the course of historical development crime invariably reveals the extent to which the prevailing society is capable of ensuring its smooth operation and the manner in which it is capable of providing for its survival and handing down the norm ensuring its further development to subsequent generations. Considering the fact that regarding the conditions under which crime arises, it can be stated that it is very deeply embedded in the social conditions interpreted in the broadest possible sense, the quantity and quality of prevailing crime is not merely a matter of the relevant decision taken by power but the result of processes taking a spontaneous course and, on the other hand, subjected to conscious guidance.

In the course of the attempts made to acquire knowledge of the social nature of crime it came to light that the processes taking place in the very basic structure of society and the regularities governing them are responsible for bringing about crime. Thus the existence of crime can be traced

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back to the contradictions detectible in property relations, in the conditions of distribution as well as in the structural relations of society.³ Therefore, social conditions considered from the broadest possible range exert a highly diverse influence on the system of face-to-face human relations and, in the final resort, they can assume the nature of such environmental effects which become the direct social causes of attitudes violating norms.⁴ Criminological research has shown that disadvantageous social situation, low level of schooling, alcoholism, divorce, and educational environment that reflects negative outlook of life promote the development of crime.⁵ At the same time, however, it also came to light that crime which is a social mass phenomenon is very largely of a heterogeneous nature, that is, there are reasons and environmental effects differing from one another in a number of respects which can bring about different types of crimes (for example, violent crimes or crimes against property).⁶ Research results made available to date make it possible to establish a system for the development and reproduction of crime in a specific social stratum. The fundamental question for which an answer must be sought is the following: what are the spheres of society in which the processes taking place result in conflicts with the norms? In other words, what is the manner in which the *objective circumstances* are brought about that lead to the violation of norms and in what way can dispositions be induced by these circumstances which develop a bent in people for violating norms?

Dispositions bringing about a conflict with the norms, that is, dispositions developing a bent for violating norms can be examined, in the first place, in the following spheres:

- A. Processes determining the position occupied in the structure of society.
- B. The system of institutions ensuring the integration of individuals into the society and its operation.
- C. The disharmony between the social processes causing restratification and the system of institutions promoting integration.

In their first phase the examinations carried out in the directions listed above are suitable for disclosing and studying the nature of the framework of the objective social conditions under which the transmission of norms can take place. In the second phase an approach can be made to find out as to what are the chances of acquiring and adhering to the predominant norms.

Ad. A. *Processes determining the position occupied in the structure of society*

Today's Hungarian society is stratified according to the position it occupies in the order of the division of labour and in the social structure of production. However, to define or grasp in an empirical manner the individual social strata is an extremely complicated task. The basis on which a start can be made is by all means the position occupied in the structure of professions of society; however, this is not sufficient for determining the position of the stratum. "The social division of labour is an extremely

complicated system" in the view of Zsuzsa Ferge who goes on to say "and, for that matter, the position occupied in it cannot be expressed in a simple manner either. The actual professions indicate the actual activity of the individuals along with the role they happen to be playing in the functional division of labour. But the functional division of labour is no more than one aspect of the social division of labour and as such it is not sufficient to reveal the social essence of the division of labour in the given society."⁷ Thus the structure of professions cannot express the stratification of society; therefore, denoting the occupation is insufficient for determining the social position of an individual as well. Additional indices are necessary for determining the position occupied in the social structure. According to Zsuzsa Ferge the factors that *directly coincide* with the social division of labour are of a defining nature; one of them is, for instance, the establishment of groups according to the nature of labour. Similarly, the factors determining the position occupied in the division of labour more or less directly under the prevailing social and historical conditions are also important. These factors can also be described as the *preconditions occupied in the structure*, such as social background and the character of the place where one lives. Finally, a considerable role is also played by the conditions which emerge as *differentiated consequences* corresponding to the differences of positions occupied in the division of labour; they include, for example, the income, social respect a position commands, and so on.⁸ The schematic significance of the position occupied in the spectrum of professions is illustrated by Kálmán Kulcsár when he presents the conditions of settlement in forming the structure. For example, he states that a considerable proportion of the Hungarian working class continues to live in rural areas and most of them commute, that is, while being employed in industry half of them runs a household farm. In connection with the Hungarian peasant families he states that the overwhelming majority are composed of a primary and secondary bread winner, but most of the latter category are not engaged in agriculture. At the same time about one third of the people working on cooperative farms carries on industrial type of activities.⁹ The position occupied in the social structure is largely influenced, in addition to the circumstances of settlement, by age, sex and the number of children, virtually irrespective of the work performed.¹⁰

Considering everything that has been outlined above, it must be stated that *while examining the reasons lying behind crime it is not sufficient to set out merely from the structure of professions* thus seeking the relations between the reproduction of crime and the structural conditions of society. On the basis of the points discussed above it is basically wrong to identify the structural articulation or stratification of society with the structure of professions since the phenomenon covered by the notion of stratum is much broader, more colourful and more comprehensive.¹¹ Besides, in case the start is wrong, it will inevitably limit the range of conclusions to be drawn as well. For instance, if we assert that the number of unskilled workers is much higher among the criminals than the proportion they represent in the bread-winning section of the society as a whole, our state-

ment will obviously be true, but it will fail to bring us closer to disclosing the real social reasons lying behind crimes.¹² It might be possible that the causes of certain persons becoming unskilled workers are the same as those rendering them to become criminals. The essence of this phenomenon is summarized by *Kulcsár* as follows: "In view of the fact that it occupies a very low stage in the hierarchy of labour, unskilled labour tends to rally people who are, for some reason or another are in a disadvantageous position. The disadvantages involved can be of different types: unfavourable ecological or housing conditions, low schooling; they can also be manifested in per capita income or they can be of an ethnic nature."¹³ Thus in case the examination is confined to narrow limits, the most deep-lying correlations cannot be studied. The position occupied in a stratum of society must be taken into account along with its highly diverse implications when seeking the objective framework ensuring the specific acquisition and enforcement of norms.

The *way of life* can also be analyzed in close relationship with the position occupied in the social strata. The way of life is actually a function of the position occupied by someone in the structure of society. The system of social conditions interpreted in the broadest possible sense cannot do more than determine the way of life as merely a tendency. As stated by Ágnes *Losonczy* the objective world constitutes such a system of frontiers or limited area of movement without which or outside which the way of life cannot be moulded but within the limits of which, at least within identical planes the different ways of life can develop in a manner that involves differences. "In the final resort the model of the way of life is determined in the social time and space by values, customs and norms."¹⁴ In this respect the acquisition of norms has a very important role to play and so it is possible that a conflict of norms can also arise. If a conflict of norms occurs, it can substantially influence the further development of the way of life either occasionally or for a long period. It is within the frame of the way of life where the conditions are created that can bring about critical situations. In the majority of cases, however, their development can be traced back to the social factors defining the framework of the way of life, that is, social factors manifested in accordance with the position occupied in the structural setup of society.

The position occupied in the structural setup of society as an objective framework of the establishment of the way of life creates opportunities for the development of attitudes running counter to norms principally in the ranks of groups which are socially in a disadvantageous situation. What is meant by the term: disadvantageous situation? Of the notions coined quite recently the one put forward by István *Huszár* appears to be the most comprehensive one.¹⁵ He maintains that those persons (families) can be regarded as being in disadvantageous social situation whose possibilities of satisfying their needs, conditions of live and possible way of life are substantially lower than those of the majority of society.¹⁶ The development of disadvantageous social situation coincides with the dynamic reproduction of the social structure, in other words, with the process of

dynamic development.¹⁷ At the present stage of the development of our social conditions the reproduction of the structure of society is largely influenced by the reproduction of the relations of knowledge. This is what Zsuzsa Ferge writes about this point: "The division of valid and valuable knowledge from a social point of view has always gone in hand with the social division of labour; in actual fact it is the unequal division of knowledge that transmits and lays the foundations for the historical separation of physical labour from spiritual work... In addition, knowledge has always had a remarkable role to play in the development of the power relations of society and in the regulation of social reproduction."¹⁸ It is quite another matter that the possible process of the reproduction of the stock of knowledge that is valid and valuable socially has always been determined by the prevailing structural conditions of society and mainly by the economic conditions and while doing so they also set limits for the possible extent, direction and tendencies. The dynamics of the structure follow from the reproduction of the positions occupied in the social division of labour according to the skills developed on the basis of knowledge. Thus the structure of acquisition, use and consumption develop accordingly and in harmony with the principles governing the prevailing division.

Therefore it can be said that disadvantageous situation is brought about following certain groups of society getting into unfavourable circumstances while being arranged in the order of the division of labour as a result of the uneven division of the socially valid and valuable knowledge. As a consequence, the possibilities of meeting their own needs and their way of life are of a much lower level than these of the majority of society. Owing to their social circumstances one of the largest groups suffering from a diversity of disadvantageous situations because of their social circumstances is made up of unskilled people performing hard physical labour.¹⁹ The socially disadvantageous situation is much more pronounced if the relatively unfavourable position occupied in the social division of labour is combined with an income that is lower than the average and a family size that increases parallel with negative ecological living conditions (that is, the proportion of bread winners and dependent is unfavourable). This situation is largely aggravated by ethnic affiliations that creates very unfavourable conditions for adjustment to existing setup of society.²⁰

The factors listed above can result in the development of a specific way of life. Hard physical labour requiring no skill and offering rather low income is by no means attractive. In the majority of cases it is performed by people under pressure, this is what they can obtain socially. Therefore their readiness to work is of a lower level. Disadvantageous financial situation invariably creates unfavourable housing conditions for them.²¹ Within the frame of the social circumstances described above and for reasons of low cultural standards conditions cannot be created for them for a cultured conduct and way of life.

*Violation of the norms, however, is not a phenomenon automatically accompanying poverty, but it must be born in mind that limited possibilities along with related factors bring about the violation of norms to a greater extent than favourable social conditions. This statement is verified by examinations performed with criminals.²² Examples to present relations between multiple disadvantageous situation and crime can be drawn mainly from the results of examinations carried out in the ranks of recidivists. This is particularly important because *recidivism can indicate more markedly the living conditions which lie behind crime considered in a general sense even if these conditions are not so significant.*²³ The examinations I carried out earlier with recidivists were designed to reveal these deeper social implications of the problem.*

The schooling of multiple recidivists which is a factor defining fundamentally the social position taken by them reveals considerable differences as compared to the average of society. In the case of violent criminals, for example, the proportion of illiterates or those close to this category (having completed maximum 4 grades of the primary school) in the ranks of the offenders studied is 37.0% while the respective figure for those having committed successive crimes against property is 14.9 per cent. (The respective social average is 10.4 per cent.)²⁴ The ratio of offenders having a trade in violent criminals is 15.8 per cent, while that of offenders having committed crime against property is 40.1 per cent. 30.4 per cent of violent recidivists have primary schooling or a higher level of education; the respective proportion for property recidivists stands at 56.5 per cent. The same index for Hungary's male population is 81.0 per cent.²⁵ Unfavourable start and the disadvantageous conditions of the position in society are verified by the data listed better than anything. With the above figures in mind it is not at all striking that the structure of professions in the ranks of recidivists is different from the average. The proportion of unskilled workers, for example, is 41.3 per cent with violent recidivists, while the corresponding figure for property recidivists is 32.3 per cent. At the same time the ratio of unskilled workers in Hungary's population is estimated to stand at 10 to 11 per cent.²⁶ In the set of notions of today's Hungarian social policy a family with four or more children is regarded as a big family. They account for 3 to 5 per cent of the total of the nation's families.²⁷ The proportion of violent recidivists having been brought up in big families is 63.0 per cent while the corresponding figure for property recidivists is 46.0 per cent. In the course of the examination 35.3 per cent of the violent recidivists and 13.8 per cent of the property recidivists declared to be of gypsy background. The proportion of gypsies in Hungary's population is about 3 per cent.

It is the result of the situation described above and the cause of a further defect of the socialization process that people take up work at an extremely early age. More than 25 per cent of the violent recidivists under examination and almost one fifth of the property recidivists were forced to work under 14 years of age. Two thirds had to earn their own living between 14 and 18 years of age. Naturally, social compulsion did

not result in high moral standards of labour. It is an indication of the readiness to take up work that 50 per cent of the recidivists spent at least one year by not attending school nor did they have permanent employment during that period. This is an important stage in the path leading to deviant behaviour or crime since it symbolizes or signifies indifference to or resistance displayed against social expectations. I extended my examinations to the earnings of the category under study in accordance with the productive branches of the national economy and compared them with the average income in them. I experienced that the income of violent recidivists was well below the average in each branch of the national economy. The earnings of property recidivists are also lower than the average.

The data listed above prove that violent recidivists who represent the "hard core" of criminals belong to the stratum of society living in the most disadvantageous circumstances. There are similar indices to characterize the criminals in general even if they are not so accurately applicable.²⁸ All this boils down to verify that *from the point of view of deviance the heaviest pressure is exerted on people occupying positions of the periphery from a social aspect.*

However, *disadvantageous situation can be examined not only from a static basis; similar data are convenient to serve as a means of studying the process of reproduction.* During the examination I mentioned earlier I analyzed recidivists who were sentenced to deprivation of liberty on three or more occasions either because of violent crimes or crimes committed against property; thus they are people with whom an anti social attitude or resistance to society has become part and parcel of their way of life. I also examined the kinds of social possibilities they had as a result of their direct objective environmental conditions for their re-adjustment taking a more favourable course than earlier. The overwhelming majority of recidivists examined come from physical labourer families and they have been brought up in families much larger than the Hungarian national average. These conditions alone would have been sufficient to provide for a decent way of life tolerating poverty. However, the families in charge of bringing up their children also produced negative patterns of behaviour for their offsprings thus contributing to the increase in factors making up the disadvantageous situation. Therefore, *deviant behavioral pattern of the family is also a factor that can bring about disadvantageous situation or it can cause the multiplication of disadvantages.* Alcoholism and criminal record are very frequent with the parents of offenders (alcoholism 27.2 per cent and criminal record 47 per cent in the families of violent criminals). Similar data are not available for the whole population of Hungary but there is good reason for making the assumption that the proportion of acute alcoholic persons and those with a criminal record is lower than that in the Hungarian families. The data listed indicate that *it is highly probable that on the level of the society as a whole poverty and deviant behavioural pattern are also reproduced as phenomena accompanying or going hand in with one another.*

The essence of this process is summarized by Zsuzsa Orolin as follows: "Poverty that is being reproduced is such a disadvantageous way of life which is related in the first place to a low cultural level, non-typical phenomena manifested in occupation, deviant behaviour and unfavourable housing. Its reproduction is made continuous by the fact that the factors responsible exert reciprocal influence on one another and the results become causes. Whatever the link by which reproduction begins might be, the outcome is invariably the prevalence of disadvantageous situation or perhaps even worse than that."²⁹

The deeper social implications were pointed out by Rezső Nyers who had this to say: "There is no doubt about the fact that today's economic policy pursued by Hungary involves a contradiction between the objectives of efficiency and goals of equality by differentiating earnings according to training and performance, while human needs do not differ from one another to a similar extent. We cannot get rid of this contradiction throughout the whole period of socialism since the principle of distribution according to the work performed involves inequalities relating to work."³⁰ Even if the assumption is made that the principle of distribution according to the work performed is applied fully, the existing contradictions including disadvantageous situation continue to be reproduced. Only economic growth promoting collective mobility can result in a social change which can reduce marings of the nature of inequality; thus the circumstances of each group will improve, but those in a less favourable situation in which case inequality means multiplied disadvantage will improve at a faster pace than the conditions of the other groups.³¹ This process, however, is of a very slow pace and even if conscious social guidance is applied results can only be achieved in the long run. Thus *society is in need of an institutionalized means by which inequalities can be done away with over the broadest possible spectrum*. It is the duty of social policy to accomplish this goal. Social policy can be defined as a means that can be adopted in the interest of reducing social inequalities for collecting centrally part of the wealth produced and distributing them in a manner that does not follow the logics of economy, profit, relations of goods and exchange on the market.³² In the course of the development of society it was in the interest of providing for the smooth and undisturbed operation of society that a mechanism and a related system of institutions were developed which can ensure satisfying certain needs even under condition when society is incapable of doing so even if the most highly developed principle of distribution from a historical aspect, the one based on the work performed is adopted. While it can be concluded that the most deep lying causes of crime are related to the reproduction of social contradictions *the possibility of preventing crimes is, from several aspects, the function of the operation of the mechanisms and institutions of social policy*.

Ad B. The systems of institutions ensuring integration of individuals into society and its operation

The term systems of institutions ensuring the integration of individuals into society is to be interpreted as mechanisms established in most cases

quite consciously during the operation of which society reproduces itself in addition to producing goods, in the function of this activity, with the relevant objectives born in mind and within the system of the prevailing power relations. The institutions belonging to this category are those established for the reproduction of the conditions of knowledge, for obtaining manpower, securing health, bringing up the up and coming generation, and for transmitting and reproducing predominant values, customs, norms and culture. In other words, *the relatively smooth operation of society are ensured and conditions for reproduction are created in a manner determined by the prevailing economic conditions and power relations of the given society.*

From the point of view of deviance a particularly important role is played by the institutions *the functions of which are to eliminate the contradictions arising during the operation of mechanisms reproducing the structure of society, to apply a break on and prevent the reproduction of inequalities.* The institutions performing the functions belong to the sphere of social policy contributes to the reproduction of deviant behavioural forms. At the same time the institutions operating within the sphere of social policy may well result in disfunctional effects because of their comparative independence, relative separation even if the principles governing them are correct. For example, the social policy adopted to the gypsy population has produced negative results as well despite the positive intention which guided it.³³ Strangely enough, in some cases it is the influence exerted by social policy measures that brings about deviant behaviour. If children who are neglected are removed from their surroundings for purposes of prevention and they are taken to an institution in which the environment is poor in stimuli and the educational principles are adopted inadequately the detrimental influence exerted on one another by young people having suffered in terms of their emotions and having been infected morally as well be stronger than the transmission of positive norms. In the sphere of social policy it is particularly difficult to find the optimum institutional framework which can provide for effective operation. Even under new or modified conditions the "processes guided by historical continuities" survive; therefore even new concepts or new mechanisms will not bring necessarily better results. At the same time the old frameworks can undergo changes in case they are filled with really new content; but as a rule, traditional frameworks tend to make it more difficult to satisfy new requirements.³⁴ Thus unfavourable and unwanted results can also be traced back to the dialectical contradictions outlined above. A good example to this effect is disorganization arising from the absence of *complex family therapy*. It may well be the case that 8 or 10 organs of social policy can attend separately to the affairs of the members of a family with multiple disadvantages with increased attention. Thus, for example, care is extended to the youngest ones by the welfare officer and the physician, while the bigger ones are looked after by the crèche, the kindergarten and the school, as the case may be, children exposed to danger are under the care of the public guardianship authority, the alcoholic father is treated by the institution fighting alcoholism and the neurotic mother is subjected to treat-

ment by the neurological clinic. The results would multiply if a harmonized, many sided and, above all, tacfully applied programme were applied to the family as a small community. However, the organs and officials listed above are, in most cases, active separately performing their work in connection with the people under their care in a cncetrated manner. In addition, they frequently intensify the negative psychological relationship associated with the disadvantageous situation in the members of the community.

From the point of view of deviant behavioural forms institutionalized mechanisms set up *to treat established deviant behavioural forms and to promote re-socialization* are of particular importance. They include institutions set up to combat overcome crime or alcoholism. It is very often the case that the ineffective operation of these institutions is held responsible for the reproduction of deviant behavioural forms. It must be born in mind that these institutions do not operate in a vacuum. The social contradictions that have assumed a definite form exert an influence on the institutions as well and through them they have an effect on the persons placed under their charge. In addition the extent to which they are successful is obviously dependent on the standards of development of sciences dealing with man as well as the quantity of material assets that are at their disposal for accomplishing their tasks. Therefore, there are objective obstacles raised to achieving maximum effect. In the course of their day-to-day activities, however, situations and periods may well be brought about in which they remain well below the level of their own potentials and, for that matter, the institutions themselves will play an active part in the development of a new deviant behavioural form. An example to this effect may be the case when a person is sentenced to the deprivation of liberty for having committed a serious crime although the conduct of his life has been characterized in every respect by a law-abinding attitude and the crime committed is of an occassional character. An individual of this kind who has in fact no need of re-socialization can be placed in an institution of executing punishment in which it will be incepable of counterbalancing detrimental psychological consequences arising from the person being locked up in it (the so-called prisonization) and the harmful influence exerted by the convicts representing a very diverse spectrum morally by offering the alternative of a positive programme. For this reason and because of the trials of the criminal procedure the person will be rendered morally shaky for a prolonged period and, as a result, he may well commit a new crime which is perhaps even more dangerous than the previous one.

In general, the most sever forms of deviance are treated, the offenders are re-socialized, in other words, the subjective conditions for their readjustment are created under circumstances provided by a closed institution (pentientary). In addition to the viewpoints mentioned above, these institutions are also necessary from the aspect of offering protection to the society. However, these institutions fail to achieve their objectives in every respect and their operation may well coincide with unwanted consequences as well. For example, social disadvantage may be multi-

plied not only in respect of the person in question but also of his family. Contacts with the immediate environment may be rendered looser, a factor resulting in the complete absence of social roots by the time of release. As a consequence of all this re-adjustment after release can be made more difficult or, worst of all, it can be rendered impossible and it is a very probable forecast that deviant behaviour will continue. *In this way the operation of institutions established with the objective of offering prevention and treatment directly of deviant behavioural forms may well contribute to the stabilization of disadvantageous situation or to the development of multiple disadvantages and, in the final resort, to the reproduction of deviant behaviour.*

The systems of institutions ensuring the integration of individuals into can also be regarded as instruments ensuring the acquisition of predominant values, customs and norms in the course of their operation besides performing their other functions. In what follows an attempt will be made to illustrate the relevant mechanism.

The objective possibility of accepting the norms and its social determinants are very well illustrated by András Szabó when he says that "With the development of the social division of labour the development of man as a race in a given social integration is embodied only by the whole of social unity, but this individual can no longer be related to the whole integration, to the whole social economy and the whole social objective existence. In his everyday life while he is formed to become a social being he acquires the standards of his immediate environment, his own stratum and class or order along with the skills, norms, abilities and customs belonging to the relevant functions."³⁵ As was outlined in the preceding chapter of this study in the structural division of society a disadvantageous situation has been brought about which, because of its objective implications tends to make people more bent for displaying deviant and within this criminal behaviour. The possibility of manner in which the needs are satisfied, determined by the well-known objective conditions; in this case meeting needs assumes, in general, a more limited or specific manner. Corresponding types of the way of life develop of which values, norms and customs differing from the predominant ones are characteristic in several respects.³⁶

At today's level of the technological development of production there is continued need for unskilled strata of people performing hard physical labour and, for this reason, they are being reproduced. According to the results of research conducted to date its members constitute the least mobile groups of society, or people who are most difficult to mobilize.³⁷ In their case the process of transmitting different norms is more lasting than the influence exerted by objective factors determining existence directly. In connection with this it is interesting to recall a statement made by *Bordieu* who had this to write about the relative separation of social existence from social consciousness and the relative independence of consciousness: "There is a tendency in the groups of surviving without any change in their existence. This means, among other things, that

the attitudes of the individuals making up the groups are of a lasting nature to the extent of being capable of surviving even the social and economic circumstances of their formation. Thus the bent for survival without any change can equally be the organizing principle of adjustment or of the inability to adjust oneself or that of protest as well as resigning to one's lot."³⁸ However, only such people are capable of adjusting themselves to novel conditions of existence who possess the minimum of economic and cultural capital, in other words, the minimum of power over mechanisms which they have to dominate.³⁹ Since it is the people in a disadvantageous situation that possess least of the above listed means, it is natural that *the adjustability of the groups belonging to this category is the smallest, while their ability to conserve norms and respect traditions is the greatest.*

The chance of values, customs and norms to be handed down is the greatest in a community to which a man is born, which is necessarily given to him and in which he is subjected to the first influences. Under today's conditions this initial community is the *family* which is one of the institutions ensuring the position taken up in society. It is its specificity that compared to other kinds of communities it can only be *influenced* with difficulty and *indirectly* through the conscious guidance of society. The factors hampering direct influence include, among other things, its nature based on intimate emotional bondages and the corresponding closed state. For this reason the family is particularly suitable for transmitting the negative traditions and norms that have been established. The way of life of a family is invariably determined in the first place by the position taken up by the members of the family in society, the related social and material conditions, the ecological circumstances prevailing at the place of residence and the size of the family. At the same time the values, customs and norms as well as the behavioural patterns handed down by the preceding generation and which have been brought along by the adult members of the family from the parental background have a remarkable role to play in the actual establishment of the way of life. However, for the new generation this is the community that is the first to transmit most intensively the influences of the social conditions interpreted in a broader sense because of the emotional ties involved. For reasons of its relative independence and closed nature arising from the specificities listed above the family is *capable of distorting the positive effects and strengthening the negative influences.* From the point of view of taking up a position in society this is the community possessing the most significant moral power and, for this reason, it has the greatest importance in respect of handing down deviant behavioural norms to the up and coming generation.

According to experiences obtained from research conducted so far *the most essential and most generally occurring traditions that are closely related to deviant behaviour and are handed down by the family to the new generation are the following:* reduced readiness to take up work (seek employment), a difference in the form of satisfying needs as compared to the predominant method (it very often runs counter to the law), excessive consump-

tion of alcohol, or conducting life in an alcoholic manner, little if any demand for culture, the cult of physical force, taking the law in one's own hands when finding a solution to conflicts and the frequent use of force. The tendencies listed above can occur in combination with one another leading to deviant conduct of life or deviant behaviour.⁴⁰ *Because of the objective development of the living conditions these norms are characteristic first of all of the way of life of families in a disadvantageous situation, or at least they are more characteristic of them than of families occupying a different position in society.* It must be made clear, however, that even a family that can come in for the most negative judgement plays or can play a positive role a person's life because it can offer, for example, protection or ensure identity in and can give emotional assets. It is quite obvious that *not every family or disadvantageous situation can be regarded as deviant; moreover, not every member of a family of disadvantageous situation offering deviant environment will automatically become deviant.* The extent to which norms and behavioural patterns stimulating deviant behaviour are transmitted by an emotional community is the function of the collective influence of the following factors:

— To what extent is a community infected by negative traditions, customs and norms? Which is the generation in the sequence that represents these negative values?

— Who is the person representing more intensively the negative tendencies and what "respect" does he command? From the point of view of values represented can this community be regarded as homogeneous at least in respect of its adult members?

— What is the source from which the predominant norms in society reach the community, what is their intensity and what are the distortions they have undergone?

— What actual opportunities are offered by society to those regarding conformity with and adjustment to an emotional community as compulsion? What is the nature of the psychological relations with the above listed opportunities? What is the extent to which the community in question or a member making it up is hopeful about finding a way out? (The question of which particular member of a morally infected community occupying socially disadvantageous position will follow the negative behavioural patterns in what form is from a number of aspects the result of the collective influence exerted by physiological properties and those of the nervous system, individual psychological characteristics and environmental factors.)

It is up to the institutions providing for re-socialization and the enforcement of conscious social policy and the mechanism of their operation what the outcome of the conflict of the norms of the individual, the small community and society will be. Of these institutions references have already been made to those institutions of social policy that hamper the reproduction of disadvantageous situation. In addition to them, *the most important means of taking up a position in society is the school system which*

has the mission of transmitting and making people accept the predominant norms, behavioural patterns, values, desirable customs and traditions to be followed in addition to and simultaneously with offering knowledge.

The mentioned fact by itself that someone is incapable of acquiring socially desirable knowledge can result in socially disadvantageous situation. Making a judgement from this aspect Tamás Kozma considers young people to be in disadvantageous situation who failed during their studies in the primary school or worst of all, who dropped out of basic education.⁴¹ According to the results of his experiments 25 per cent of these young people are impossible to train in any trade and they should be dealt with by special education; another 25 per cent are of gypsy background while the rest are children coming from families of disadvantageous social situation.⁴² Those having dropped out of basic education find employment in industry or agriculture first of all as unskilled or semi-skilled workers.⁴³ Thus it is a vicious circle. Let us now recall one of the statements made in connection with the results of research conducted in the ranks of violent recidivists: *there are groups which are not even reached by the majority of the prevailing norms; their members do not even know what they are allowed to do and what they are not allowed to do, what is to be deplored and what is not deplorable from the point of view of the expectations of society.* The school whose mission was to have been to transmit these expectations failed to perform its function and young people having been deprived of the opportunity of learning took up positions in the order of the division of labour without having been offered the opportunity of acquiring the fundamental norms of coexistence. If this case is combined with negative parental environment and deviant environmental behavioural patterns, which is often the case, the direct consequence can be that they are followed without the slightest conflict and in complete conformity.

The model, however, is not as simple as that in the overwhelming majority of cases. Criminological research conducted to date tend to present a picture of the mechanism of the acquisition of norms by strata of disadvantageous situation of which the complete absence of the knowledge of the predominant norms is not characteristic. Even families that create a highly dangerous situation from a moral aspect do not lead a life that can be deplored in every respect since there are also positive forces in action. Even the majority of criminals have spent considerable time at school and they have had a certain opportunity for acquiring fundamental knowledge. Information offering positive knowledge does not reach the individual exclusively through the above mentioned two channels. The broader environment, the neighbourhood, the first and subsequent groups of friends, the media of mass communication and a number of other factors all have a role to play. It is a typical situation that the smallest of communities offers a conflicting moral attitude in one way or another to be followed as a model and this is strengthened by the broader environment. Low intellectual standards that have developed in disadvantageous social circumstances and moral attitude that is different from the predominant one will invariably lead to failure at

school and, as a result, adjustment to a community will become more difficult or it will be rendered impossible as the case might be; it will result in decreased ambitions, in the development of internal opposition which will grow stronger in the family and in the other informal spheres of society.⁴⁴ The importance of knowledge transmitted at school will fade because the adequate positive emotional background is missing along with the intellectual standards necessary for accepting knowledge. This is the manner in which the school which is the transmitter of official knowledge will become unable to rival the family and the groups of withholding power which are in most cases informal.

Even the most honest and respectable family of disadvantageous situation constitutes, in the majority of cases, an environment poor in stimuli because of the related social position and the low standards of culture of its members. In vain is the child going to school from such a family wide open to receive knowledge there, he will continue to remain in a disadvantageous situation because of his low intellectual level. Since today the schools performs in the first place the function of transmitting knowledge and the child with such a family background is obviously not competitive, he will inevitably experience failures because of his performance. On the one hand, he will turn his back on the family because he fails to draw experiences from it and, on the other hand, the school will not offer the expected experiences of success. Therefore he will be seeking an environment in which he will also be valued and from where he can also obtain something that can be valued. In such cases only the danger of deviant behaviour will prevail as long as it is not decided what type of norms regarding their quality the specific "environment offering compensation for everything" is prepared to transmit. Experiences obtained from research show that *by itself today's school system is incapable of leveling up existing inequalities, of the equal distribution of knowledge, of ensuring the integration of individuals into society with equal chances and of creating identification with the predominant or desirable norms.*⁴⁵ As a matter of fact the precondition of finding a solution to the problems arising in association with integration of individuals into society is to reduce the effect of withdrawing forces arising from social inequalities, among other things, by increasing the efficiency of the social policy means. *Every possible means must be taken advantage of in the effort to strengthen the school* since more just chances of taking up a position in society can as yet be ensured by the acquisition of socially useful knowledge and this can be accomplished first and foremost through the system of institutions of the school. In the course of the acquisition of knowledge an opportunity is opened up for making a rational valuation of the correct and positive norms and for emotional identification with them.

Ad C) The disharmony between the social processes causing restratification and of the system of institutions promoting adjustment

Over the past 30 to 35 years a major social movement has taken place in Hungary as a result of socio-economic development and the changes that have taken place in the structure of production. During the twenty-five year period that followed 1949 the proportion of people employed in industry increased by almost 20 per cent while there was an almost 50 per cent decrease in the number of people engaged in agriculture.⁴⁶ Every second person working in agriculture became an industrial worker.⁴⁷ *The movement bringing about the substantial social change coincided with major efforts made in the sphere of material production and it assumed increased intensity of action in every field of social policy including the systems of institutions designed to promote social adjustment.*

The problems associated with restratification deserve special attention because the adjustability of the different social groups to new circumstances is put to increasing test by mobility that takes place during a comparatively short period (historically speaking) and involves practically all strata of society. In the view of *Bauman* the class situation characteristic of an individual at the start is a considerable obstacle to changes in any social structure. Substantial efforts are necessary to be made by the individual who must possess special abilities to overcome these obstacles.⁴⁸ A similar conclusion is drawn by *Pál Juhász* in respect of the physiological burden and the load to be born by the nervous system.⁴⁹ These special abilities are possessed only by people who have the minimum of economic and cultural capital, that is, the minimum of power over the mechanisms which they must dominate.⁵⁰

It is the duty of society to ensure the *objective conditions* of adjustment to new circumstances or socialization for brevity for each stratum that has changed places. What is meant here is principally the creation of conditions for settling down or resettling in the vicinity of the newly established job. In the case of single persons and young people this means the availability of civilized accommodation.⁵¹ This is the manner in which commuting en masse which is extremely detrimental to adjustment or rather re-adjustment can be avoided.⁵² Adjustment to the new social conditions is facilitated if a substantial change in the economic structure of society mobilizes people for performing labour processes of a higher order. In such a case the change in the way of life is obviously the result of a more advantageous position occupied in the setup of the division of labour. It offers a training in trade which, in turn, provides for higher income. The mere fact that the population employed in agriculture migrates into industry where they perform had physical labour not calling for a special trade does not coincide with advancement at all, or maximum in the long run by creating conditions for a subsequent generation to establish a form of life of a higher standard. It must also be born in mind that the restratification that took place in a manner described above and involved certain strata necessarily coincides with economic restructuring bringing about major social changes.

In addition to the conditions mentioned above there is also need of such ones that can bridge the gap between the values, customs, traditions and norms of the old and new living conditions and can overcome the difficulties arising from the differences between them. This is particularly necessary when people migrate from rural areas and into towns. The people who have been accustomed to an environment of a closed, large family and close relations with the neighbours, that is to say a community of rural society involving firm control find themselves in city circumstances offering more freedom, looser conditions and very often a large measure of impersonality. This process gave rise to different problems of re-adjustment in the period of the first stage of the major historical change that took place between 1949 and 1953. Intra-generational mobility of adults, married people with a family was characteristic of the four year period. The difficulties arising today are of another type because the inter-generational kind of mobility is predominant now. It is enforced through the school system and involves primarily young people about to take up a position in society. In the course of restratification of major importance certain strata found it more difficult to stand up to the burdens accompanying re-adjustment because of the inherent disfunctional effects of restratification. The conflict of norms that had been brought about on a social level precipitated in deviant behavioural forms.⁵³ Some of the individuals belong to the strata involved were drifted into the periphery of society by deviant forms of behaviour resulting from the conflict of norms. Today those people can invariably be located in the ranks of persons in a multiple disadvantageous situation from every respect. At the same time not only the generation that suffered from or was involved in the disharmonious operation of social mechanism ensuring mobility and re-adjustment was hit badly but also the new generation. *The ability of the family the smallest of all communities to hand down norms was rendered shaky. It is incapable of maintaining the old values, customs and norms under the new conditions while identification with the new ones is rendered impossible by obstacles taking the form of contradictions involved in the conditions of existence and individual abilities. Thus part of the crimes committed by young age brackets of people can, from several respects, be traced back to this situation of moral vacuum.*⁵⁴

The multiplication of deviant behaviour brought about by the reasons listed above is only too easy to observe in the strata which belonged to the category of disadvantageous situation right at the start. Though these strata are generally described as immobile ones,⁵⁵ but as a result of the movement of very high intensity many of them are caused to leave their previous position. Their comparatively smooth re-adjustment cannot be ensured even if the best possible conditions are created for their re-settlement. Their way of life and previous conditions undergo changes of such dimensions that even the most harmonious operation of the different systems of institutions is not sufficient for their integration. The multiple occurrence of deviant forms of behaviour was characteristic of these groups in their situation and as such it influenced or reacted to their disadvantageous

situation. According to the results of the latest criminological research *the difficulties experienced in their adjustment to new conditions are manifested in an increase in their criminal activity compared to the preceding stage and they become involved in new types of crimes which have not been customary with them.*⁵⁶ Today these processes can be detected most intensively in certain integrating strata of the gypsy population. To overcome difficulties of re-adjustment of this kind new and specific social policy means must be taken advantage of quite intensively. For example, social care within the factory premises must be extended to young people accommodated 'in workers' hostels and not possessing a particular trade or a school leaving certificate from the primary school.

* * *

This study has been devoted to seeking an answer to the relationships between disadvantageous situation and crime. It goes without saying that additional deep going research is necessary to be made to disclose the correlations more fully. A reply of scientific value can and must be given to the following questions in the not too distant future:

— What is the strength and importance of the imitation of negative patterns of behaviour in communities of disadvantageous situation and susceptible of deviant behaviour in the course of satisfying needs and resolving conflicts?

— What is the manner in which deviant behavioural patterns cumulate and how do they influence each other in formation in strata of disadvantageous situation?

— What is the effectiveness of the system of institutions ensuring the integration of individuals into society and within this the operation of the individual types of institutions in the field of reducing social inequalities and preventing deviant behavioural forms?

On the basis of the replies given to the questions listed above a preventive system operating more intensively than the present one, a more effective one that corresponds more favorably to the present stage of social development can be elaborated.

FOOTNOTES

¹ *Vermes, Miklós: A kriminológia alapkérdései (The Fundamental Questions of Criminology). Akadémiai Kiadó (Academy Publishing House), Budapest 1971. p. 83.*

² See *Vigh, József: Kauzalitás, determináció és prognózis a kriminológiában (Causality, Determination and Prognostics in Criminology). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1980. p. 19.; Szabó, András: A bűnözés társadalmi produktum (Crime Is a Social Product). Állam és Jogtudomány (Political Science and Law), 1978 Vol. Issue No. 2. pp. 132 and 135.; Gödöny József: A társadalmi-gazdasági fejlődés és a bűnözés (Socio-Economic Development and Crime). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó (Publishing House of Economy and Law), Budapest, 1976. pp. 21–22.*

³ See for example *Földvári, József and Vigh, József: Kriminológiai alapismeretek (Fundamentals of Criminology). Tankönyvkiadó (Textbook Publishing House), Budapest, 1979. p. 185.*

⁴ *Földvári, József and Vigh, József*: op. cit. p. 187.

⁵ *Borsi, Zoltán and Halász, Kálmán*: A bűnözés megismerésének statisztikai módszerei (Statistical Methods of Acquiring Knowledge of Crime). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó, Budapest, 1972.

⁶ *Vermes, Miklós*: A vagyoni elleni bűnözés (Crime against Property). Fejezetek a szakkriminológia köréből (Pages from Special Criminology). Tankönyvkiadó, (Textbook Publishing House) Budapest, 1973.; *Vigh – Gönczöl – Kiss – Szabó*: Erőszakos bűncselekmények és elkövetők (Violent Crimes and Those Committing Them). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó (Publishing House of Economy and Law), Budapest, 1973.; *Tauber, István*: Az élősködő bűnözés kriminológiája (The Criminology of Parasitic Crime). Acta Facultatis, Faculty of Political Science and Law of Eötvös University, Budapest, 1974.; *Gönczöl, Katalin*: A visszaeső bűnözők tipológiája (Typology of Recidivists). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó (Publishing House of Economy and Law), Budapest, 1980.

⁷ *Ferge, Zsuzsa*: Társadalmunk rétegződése. Elvek és tények (Stratification of Hungary's Society. Principles and Facts). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó (Publishing of Economy and Law), Budapest, 1969. p. 82.

⁸ *Ferge, Zsuzsa*: op. cit. p. 86 and pp. 124–129.

⁹ *Kulcsár, Kálmán*: A mai magyar társadalom (Today's Hungarian Society). Kossuth Kiadó (Kossuth Publishing House), Budapest, 1980. pp. 149–150.

¹⁰ *Kulcsár, Kálmán*: op. cit. p. 151.

¹¹ Accordingly, I cannot agree with what has been described by Ferenc Irk. (*Irk, Ferenc*: A társadalmi rétegződés kriminológiai és büntetőjogi vetületeinek rendszere) The System of the Criminological and Penal Law Projections of Social Stratification. Kriminológiai és Kriminalisztikai Tanulmányok (Criminological and Criminalistics Studies), Vol. XVIII. Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó (Publishing House of Economy and Law), Budapest, 1981. p. 90.

¹² *Irk, Ferenc*: op. cit. p. 90.

¹³ *Kulcsár, Kálmán*: op. cit. p. 188.

¹⁴ *Losonczy, Ágnes*: Az életmód az időben a tárgyban és az értékekben (The Way of Life in Time, in Object and in Values). Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, 1977. pp. 730–731.

¹⁵ This is the definition of disadvantageous situation given by Zsuzsa Orolin: „In general poverty is a state taking a long time to develop; it is a specific way of life brought about as a result of the joint effect of several factors.“ (Szegénység – alacsonyjövedelműség – hátrányos helyzet = Poverty, Low Income, Disadvantageous Situation. Szociológia, 1980. Issue No. 1. p. 131.) Later she uses an expanded version of the definition in a study written jointly with *Venyige, Júlia*: „in our view the content of the term: disadvantageous situation is a state which, as a rule, takes a long time to develop and continues to last for long. In fact it means a specific way of life which is determined by several factors; it deviates from the situation of families and households that can be regarded from a social aspect as the general one in a negative direction, and finding a way out of it is extremely difficult for objective reasons.“ (A hátrányos társadalmi helyzet tényezői = The Factors of Disadvantageous Social Situation. Társadalmi Szemle = Social Review, 1980. Issue No. 12. p. 48.)

¹⁶ *Huszár, István*: A hátrányos helyzetűek Magyarországon (People in Disadvantageous Situation in Hungary). Társadalmi Szemle, 1981. Issue No. 6. p. 89.

¹⁷ *Ferge, Zsuzsa*: Társadalmpolitikai tanulmányok (Studies of Social Policy). Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, 1980. p. 9.

¹⁸ *Ferge, Zsuzsa*: op. cit. p. 13.

¹⁹ A lecture by *Kulcsár, Kálmán* is discussed by *Böhm, Antal*: Vita a többoldalúan hátrányos helyzetű csoportokról (A Debate on Groups in Disadvantageous Situation from Several Aspects). Társadalmi Szemle, 1981. Issue No. 6. p. 100.

²⁰ *Mrs. Molnár Venyige, Júlia and Orolin, Zsuzsa*: op. cit. p. 51.; *Pártos, Ferenc*: A cigány és nem cigány lakosság véleménye a főbb társadalmpolitikai célkitűzésekről (The Opinion of the Gypsy and Non-Gypsy Population about the Major Objectives of Social Policy). Szociológia, 1980. Issue No. 1. p. 1.

²¹ *Bartha, Barnabás and Vukovich, György*: A lakáshelyzet alakulása és jellemzői (The Development and Characteristics of Housing). Társadalmi Szemle, 1981. Issue No. 4.

²² „Többoldalúan hátrányosan érintett rétegek, valamint a deviáns magatartási formák és a bűnözés kapcsolata.” (Relations between the Strata in a Disadvantageous Situ-

ation from Several Aspects and Deviant Behavioural Forms and Crime). (Belügyminisztérium és Igazságügyi Minisztérium – Ministry of the Interior and Ministry of Justice. Manuscript. Budapest, 1979.)

²³ See for more detail *Gönczöl*, Katalin: op. cit.

²⁴ Data were made available by the Central Statistical Office for earlier research from the data of the 1970 census.

²⁵ *Életszínvonal 1960–1980* (Living Standards between 1960 and 1980). Publication of the Central Statistical Office, February, 1981. Vol. 23. Issue No. 6. Budapest.

²⁶ *Irk*, Ferenc: op. cit. p. 95.

²⁷ *Szabady*, Egon: A magyar családok demográfiai sajátosságai. Család és házasság a mai magyar társadalomban (The Demographic Characteristics of Hungarian Families. The Family and Marriage in Today's Hungarian Society). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó. Budapest, 1971. p. 59.

²⁸ For more details see the results of research quoted and carried out by the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Justice. op. cit.

²⁹ *Orolin*, Zsuzsa: op. cit. p. 139.

³⁰ A lecture by *Nyers*, Rezső was quoted by *Böhm*, Antal: op. cit. p. 101.

³¹ *Ferge*, Zsuzsa: Társadalompolitikai tanulmányok (Studies of Social Policy). op. cit. p. 21.

³² *Ferge*, Zsuzsa: op. cit. p. 290.

³³ *Pártos*, Ferenc: op. cit. p. 14.

³⁴ *Ferge*, Zsuzsa: op. cit. p. 34.

³⁵ *Szabó*, András: Bűnözés – ember – társadalom (Crime, Man and Society). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó (Publishing House of Economy and Law), Budapest, 1980. p. 201.

³⁶ This is how W. G. Sumner formulated the essence of behavioural norms: "These norms are generally accepted social modes of action serving to meet human needs and desires and the measures of the degree of beliefs, views, rules and welfare belonging to the essence of these modes of action which are correlated genetically." (Folk Customs ..., Gondolat Publishing House. Budapest, 1978. p. 98.)

³⁷ For more details see *Hanák*, Katalin: Diszfunkcionális családok (Disfunctioning Families). Szociológia, 1973. Issue No. 2. pp. 190–191.; *Orolin*, Zsuzsa: op. cit. p. 135. and *Szabó*, András: op. cit. p. 201.

³⁸ *Bourdieu*, Pierre: A társadalmi egyenlőtlenségek újratermelődése (Reproduction of Social Inequalities). Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, p. 240.

³⁹ *Bourdieu*, Pierre: op. cit. p. 243.

⁴⁰ Of the criminological studies see the following in particular: *Patera*, Antal: A különösen veszélyes visszaesőkről (About the Specially Dangerous Recidivists). Criminological and Criminalistic Studies, Vol. XVI. Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó. Budapest, 1978.; *Molnár*, József: A galeribűnözés (Crime in Gangs). Közgazdasági és Jogi Kiadó. (Publishing House of Economy and Law) Budapest, 1971.

⁴¹ *Kozma*, Tamás: A hátrányos helyzet (Disadvantageous Situation). Tankönyvkiadó. (Publishing House of Textbooks) Budapest, 1979. p. 23.

⁴² *Kozma*, Tamás: op. cit. p. 25.

⁴³ *Kozma*, Tamás: op. cit. p. 26.

⁴⁴ A lecture by *Huszár*, Tibor is quoted by *Böhm*, Antal: op. cit. p. 106.

⁴⁵ *Ferge*, Zsuzsa: Az iskolarendszer és az iskolai tudás társadalmi meghatározottsága (The Determination by Society of the School System and Knowledge Acquired in School). Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1976.

⁴⁶ The calculation was made on the basis of *Kulcsár*, Kálmán: op. cit. p. 154.

⁴⁷ *Ferge*, Zsuzsa: Társadalmunk rétegződése, elvek és tények (The Stratification of Hungary's Society, Principles and Facts). op. cit. p. 292.

⁴⁸ *Bauman*, Zigmunt: Általános szociológia (General Sociology). Kossuth Publishing House, Budapest, 1967. p. 457.

⁴⁹ *Juhász*, Pál: A neurózis és az alkoholizmus néhány szociológiai vonatkozása (Some Social Implications of Neurosis and Alcoholism). Szociológia, 1980. Issue No. 1. p. 73.

⁵⁰ *Bourdieu*, Pierre: op. cit. p. 243.

⁵¹ *Kőbányai*, János: A margon (On the Margin). Valóság, 1982. Issue No. 1. p. 97–100.

⁵² For further details see *Böhm*, Antal and *Pál*, László: A bejáró munkások (Commuting workers). Budapest, 1979. pp. 48. and 188.

⁵³ *Vigh-Gönczöl-Kiss-Szabó*: op. cit. Chapter VII. and *Gönczöl*, Katalin: op. cit. Part IV.

⁵⁴ For further details see *Szabó*, András: *A büntett és büntetése* (Crime and Related Punishment). Gondolat Publishing House, Budapest, 1979. p. 155.

⁵⁵ See *Hanák*, Katalin: op. cit.; *Orolin*, Zsuzsa, op. cit.; *Szabó*, András: *Bűnözés – ember – társadalom* (Crime, Man and Society). op. cit.

⁵⁶ *Tauber*, István: *A cigánybűnözés területi eltéréseit befolyásoló faktorok* (Factors Influencing the Territorial Differences in Crimes Committed by Gypsies). Magyar Jog (Hungarian Law), 1982. (In press).

DIE BENACHTEILIGTE SOZIALE LAGE UND DIE KRIMINALITÄT

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(Zusammenfassung)

Die Kriminalität als eine sich geschichtlich ändernde Massenerscheinung kann laut Verfasserin auch so aufgefaßt werden wie eine Erscheinung, die zeigt, in welchem Maße die Gesellschaft die Normen vererben kann, die ihr Fortbestehen und ihre Weiterentwicklung sichern.

Die Dispositionen, welche die Entstehung von Normenkonflikten hervorrufen, also zur Verletzung von Normen geeignet sind, werden in der Abhandlung in den folgenden Sphären untersucht:

- Prozesse, die den Platz in der strukturellen Ordnung der Gesellschaft bestimmen.
- Institutionssysteme, welche die gesellschaftliche Eingliederung sichern und ihre Funktion gewährleisten.
- Die Disharmonie zwischen den gesellschaftlichen Prozessen, welche die Umschichtung zur Folge haben und der Funktion der Institutionssysteme, welche die Einfügung fördern.

Die Analyse in der obigen Struktur führt zur Schlußfolgerung, daß die nachteilige, soziale und kulturelle Lage in sehr großem Maße zu einem devianten Benehmen und innerhalb dessen besonders zur Kriminalität prädisponiert. „Wenn die Kriminalität letzten Endes als Resultat der gesellschaftlichen Ungleichheit entsteht, dann dient jede sozialpolitische Maßnahme, welche die Beseitigung der aus der Ungleichheit stammenden Unterschiede bezweckt, gleichzeitig auch der Vorbeugung der Kriminalität“ zieht die Verfasserin die Schlußfolgerung.

НЕБЛАГОПРИЯТНОЕ СОЦИАЛЬНОЕ ПОЛОЖЕНИЕ И ПРЕСТУПНОСТЬ

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(Резюме)

Преступность, как исторически меняющееся массовое явление – по мнению автора – может быть истолкована и так, что она показывает в какой мере может данное общество обеспечить свою относительно спокойную деятельность, каким образом может сохранить свое существование, и обеспечивающие ее развитие нормы.

Диспозиции, вызывающие конфликты с законом, следовательно и нарушение норм, исследуются в научной работе в следующих сферах:

- Процессы, определяющие место в структуре общества.
- Системы институтов, обеспечивающие место в разных слоях общества, и их деятельность.
- Дисгармония между общественными процессами, изменяющими слои общества, и деятельностью структуры институтов, способствующей приспособлению к обществу.

Анализ указанной структуры приводит к выводу, что неблагоприятное социальное положение в большой мере приводит к девиантному поведению, в том числе и к преступности. Если преступность в конечном счете возникла в результате общественной неравномерности, то все социально-политические мероприятия, направленные на уничтожение различий, вытекающих из неравномерности, в то же время служат и предупреждению преступности – устанавливает автор.