

## **Crime Prevention Carousel**

Sharing Good Practice in Crime Prevention, based on the Evaluation of Physical Rehabilitative  
Schemes in Problematic Residential Areas in Member and Accession States  
(JAI/2004/AGIS/164)

### ***Hungarian National Report***

**Budapest - Békásmegyer**

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## TABLE OF CONTENT

<b>TABLE OF CONTENT .....</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>INDEX OF TABLES AND FIGURES .....</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>1 INTRODUCTION - DESCRIPTION OF THE SITE OF THE RESEARCH .....</b>	<b>6</b>
1.1 ABOUT RESEARCH PROJECT .....	7
1.2 ABOUT THE HYPOTHESIS .....	8
1.3 SOCIAL DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE OF THE SITE.....	8
1.4 HUMAN AND COMMUNAL INFRASTRUCTURE - INSTITUTIONAL NETWORK.....	11
1.4.1 <i>Institutions in general and those assuring public safety</i> .....	11
1.4.2 <i>Human services</i> .....	12
1.4.3 <i>Communal services, roads and transportation</i> .....	12
1.5 CHARACTER OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT.....	12
1.6 PROBLEMS IN THE SITE.....	14
1.6.1 <i>Crime in general</i> .....	15
1.6.2 <i>Crime and built environment</i> .....	16
1.6.3 <i>Time and place: crime map of the site: the more affected places, including characteristic types of crime</i> .....	18
1.7 REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES IN THE SITE – SOLUTIONS?.....	19
<b>2 RESULTS OF THE QUALITATIVE AND QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH.....</b>	<b>21</b>
2.1 LEVEL OF CRIME .....	21
2.1.1 <i>Position of the site in comparison with a larger environment</i> .....	21
2.1.2 <i>Victimisation</i> .....	22
2.2 LEVEL OF THE FEAR OF CRIME .....	23
2.3 CHARACTERISATION OF THE CRIME IN THE SITE, EFFECT OF THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT .....	24
2.4 PROBLEMS RELATED TO THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT.....	25
2.5 THE RESIDENTS’ OPINIONS ABOUT HOW TO DECREASE LOCAL CRIME AND INCREASE SECURITY FEELING .....	26
2.6 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HIGHLIGHTED VULNERABLE GROUPS .....	28
2.6.1 <i>Young people</i> .....	28
2.6.2 <i>Actively working people</i> .....	30
2.6.3 <i>Mothers at home</i> .....	31
2.6.4 <i>Elderly people</i> .....	32
<b>3 SITE VISIT REPORT ABOUT BÉKÁSMEGYER .....</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>4 CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>39</b>
4.1 WHAT CAN HUNGARY LEARN FROM OTHERS? .....	39
4.2 HOW THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT INFLUENCES.....	42
4.2.1 <i>...crime level</i> .....	42
4.2.2 <i>...fear of crime</i> .....	42
4.3 EFFECTS OF REHABILITATION PROGRAMMES .....	42
4.3.1 <i>Expectations</i> .....	43
4.3.2 <i>Experienced effects</i> .....	43
4.4 PROPOSITIONS FOR FURTHER PROGRAMMES .....	43
<b>5 BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>46</b>
<b>6 ANNEX.....</b>	<b>47</b>
6.1 METHODOLOGICAL REMARKS.....	47
6.2 DETAILED TABLES AND FIGURES.....	48
6.2.1 <i>Comparative statistical data</i> .....	48
6.2.2 <i>Characterizing the research area</i> .....	50
6.2.3 <i>Demographic composition of the research area</i> .....	52
6.2.4 <i>Crime and fear of crime</i> .....	53
6.2.5 <i>Vulnerable groups</i> .....	56

## INDEX OF TABLES AND FIGURES

FIGURE 1: THE LOCATION OF THE RESEARCH (BÉKÁSMEGYER) AND THE CONTROL (RÓMAI) AREA .....	7
FIGURE 2: CHARACTERISTIC BUILDINGS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	9
FIGURE 3: NET HOUSEHOLD INCOME PER MONTH IN THE RESEARCH AND THE CONTROL AREA.....	10
FIGURE 4: UNDERPASS AND PARKING IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	25
FIGURE 5: DO THE POLICE OUGHT TO BE MORE EFFECTIVE IN THE FIELD OF PREVENTING CRIME? .....	30
TABLE 1: DISTRIBUTION OF THE INHABITANTS BY SKILLS .....	10
TABLE 2: COMPARATIVE PRICES OF PROPERTIES AT SOME HOUSING ESTATES, 1000 Ft/m <sup>2</sup> .....	14
TABLE 3: NUMBER OF REGISTERED CRIMES IN 2005 .....	15
TABLE 4: COMPARISON OF BUDAPEST AND THE THIRD DISTRICT FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF REGISTERED CRIMES (100,000 PERSONS).....	16
TABLE 5: VICTIMISATION AND THE FATE OF THE PERPETRATOR IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	22
TABLE 6: WHAT KIND OF CRIME DID YOU BECOME VICTIM? .....	23
TABLE 7: WHICH ARE THE MAIN DANGERS IN THIS AREA? .....	23
TABLE 8: SUMMARY OF WHICH ARE THE DANGEROUS PLACES IN THIS AREA? .....	24
TABLE 9: WHICH SHOULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT MEASURES TO INCREASE THE SECURITY OF THIS NEIGHBOURHOOD? .....	27
TABLE 10: INDICATORS OF FEAR FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	29
TABLE 11: WHICH ARE THE MOST IMPORTANT DANGERS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD FOR YOUNG PEOPLE? (ONLY FOR BÉKÁSMEGYER) .....	29
TABLE 12: CONFIDENCE IN HIGHLIGHTED INSTITUTIONS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	29
TABLE 13: INDICATORS OF FEAR FOR ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	30
TABLE 14: CAUSES OF FEAR FOR ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	31
TABLE 15: CONFIDENCE IN HIGHLIGHTED INSTITUTIONS OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	31
TABLE 16: INDICATORS OF FEAR FOR MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	32
TABLE 17: DANGERS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD FOR MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	32
TABLE 18: CONFIDENCE IN INSTITUTIONS BY MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	32
TABLE 19: INDICATORS OF FEAR FOR ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	33
TABLE 20: CONFIDENCE IN HIGHLIGHTED INSTITUTIONS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	33
TABLE 21: TREND IN THE <i>NUMBER OF PERPETRATORS</i> OF VIOLENT CRIMES IN THE BUDAPEST DISTRICTS BETWEEN 1999 AND 2005.....	48
TABLE 22: RANKING OF THE <i>NUMBER</i> AND THE FREQUENCY OF VIOLENT AND DISORDERLY <i>CRIMES</i> IN THE BUDAPEST DISTRICTS BETWEEN 1999 AND 2005 .....	49
TABLE 23: WOULD YOU LIKE TO MOVE FROM HERE? .....	50
TABLE 24: OPINION ABOUT THE NEIGHBOURHOOD: DO YOU LIKE TO LIVE HERE? .....	50
TABLE 25: THE DENSITY OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD WEB IN THE VARIOUS SURVEY ZONES .....	50
TABLE 26: „DO YOU LIKE TO LIVE HERE?”, ACCORDING TO AGE GROUPS .....	51
TABLE 27: DID YOU WANT TO MOVE FROM HERE 5 YEARS AGO? .....	51
TABLE 28: FEELING OF SECURITY AND THE NEIGHBOURHOOD NET : HOW SECURE DO GROUPS FEEL THAT ARE MORE COHERENT AND THOSE WITH A LOOSER RELATIONSHIP .....	51
TABLE 29: GENDER COMPOSITION AT THE RESEARCH AREA AND THE CONTROL AREA .....	52
TABLE 30: COMPOSITION BY AGE GROUPS IN THE RESEARCH AREA AND THE CONTROL SAMPLE .....	52
TABLE 31: AVERAGE HOUSEHOLD WAGES IN THE RESEARCH AREA AND THE CONTROL SAMPLE .....	52
TABLE 32: COMPOSITION BY WAGE GROUPS IN THE RESEARCH AREA AND THE CONTROL SAMPLE .....	52
TABLE 33: WHICH ARE THE DANGEROUS PLACES IN THIS AREA? .....	53
TABLE 34: HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST IN THE POLICE?.....	53
TABLE 35: HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST IN THE TRIBUNALS? .....	54
TABLE 36: HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS?.....	54
TABLE 37: HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST IN CHURCHES? .....	54
TABLE 38: HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST IN PUBLIC SOCIAL CARE INSTITUTIONS?.....	54
TABLE 39: HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST IN NON-GOVERNMENTAL SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS? .....	55
TABLE 40: WHAT SHOULD BE DONE TO INCREASE SECURITY? .....	55
TABLE 41: YOUNG PEOPLE ACCORDING TO ACTIVITY GROUPS.....	56
TABLE 42: DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE BY FAMILIAL STATUS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	56
TABLE 43: EDUCATION LEVEL OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	56
TABLE 44: INDICATORS OF FEAR AT DARK FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	56

TABLE 45: DISTRIBUTION OF YOUNG PEOPLE BY WAGE GROUPS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	57
TABLE 46: <i>ACTIVELY WORKING</i> YOUNG PEOPLE ACCORDING TO WAGE GROUPS .....	57
TABLE 47: ATTRACTION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD TO YOUNG PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	57
TABLE 48: FORMS OF VICTIMIZATION IN CASE OF ACTIVELY YOUNG PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	57
TABLE 49: FORMS OF SELF-PROTECTION IN CASE OF ACTIVELY YOUNG PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	58
TABLE 50: DISTRIBUTION OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE BY WAGE GROUPS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	58
TABLE 51: DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILIAL STATUS OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	58
TABLE 52: EDUCATION LEVEL OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	58
TABLE 53: FEAR AT DARK TIME OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	59
TABLE 54: ATTRACTION OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE TO THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	59
TABLE 55: FORMS OF VICTIMIZATION IN CASE OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	59
TABLE 56: FORMS OF SELF-PROTECTION IN CASE OF ACTIVELY WORKING PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	60
TABLE 57: MOTHERS AT HOME BY WAGES GROUPS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	60
TABLE 58: EDUCATION LEVEL OF MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	60
TABLE 59: FEAR AT DARK TIME IN CASE OF MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	60
TABLE 60: ATTRACTION OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD TO MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	61
TABLE 61: FORMS OF VICTIMIZATION IN CASE OF MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	61
TABLE 62: FORMS OF SELF-PROTECTION IN CASE OF MOTHERS AT HOME IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	61
TABLE 63: ELDERLY PEOPLE BY WAGES GROUPS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	61
TABLE 64: DISTRIBUTION BY FAMILIAL STATUS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	61
TABLE 65: EDUCATION LEVEL OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	62
TABLE 66: FEAR AT DARK OF ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	62
TABLE 67: ATTRACTION OF ELDERLY PEOPLE TO THEIR NEIGHBOURHOOD IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	62
TABLE 68: DANGERS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD FOR ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER.....	62
TABLE 69: FORMS OF VICTIMIZATION IN CASE ELDERLY PEOPLE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	63
TABLE 70: FORMS OF SELF-PROTECTION IN CASE OF ELDERLY IN BÉKÁSMEGYER .....	63
TABLE 71: FEELING OF SECURITY AND CONFIDENCE IN BÉKÁSMEGYER AMONG THOSE DIVORCED AND AGED ABOVE 46 .....	63
TABLE 72: OPINIONS ABOUT FEARS IN BÉKÁSMEGYER AND BREAKDOWN BY GENDER OF THOSE DIVORCED AND ABOVE THE AGE OF 46 .....	63

This report has basically two parts. The first one shows an overview of the highlighted zones, their social composition as well as crime and fear of crime related presentation. This part contains the analyses of Békásmegyer, the research area compared to a control area (Római). The control area is situated not far from the research area, with a similar kind of building, but it is in many other aspects very different. In the general description we have shown the research area by its two sub-zones divided by an important highway, with little communication between each other. This communication concentrates mostly on the use service nearby the underpass and the suburban train. We observed a strangely different social composition between these quasi identical sub-zones. This means that this first part of our report can help to understand the core problem of this investigation in “socio-geographical” base of the three differentiated built environments.

The second part of the present study concentrates more on the criminological problems in different social contexts in one unique environment, i.e. the research area. To be able to go deeper in the analyses, in this section we took only data from Békásmegyer that we did not cut in sub-zones this time. The aim was to know more about how the highlighted groups (young people, actively working people, mothers at home and elderly people) see the structure of crime, victimization and fear of crime in the research area. When the number of cases permitted it and it made sense, we used as a crosscutting dimension the gender which as we supposed generates different attitudes in the same group, in the same area.

Apart of the textual analysis and tables and figures supporting it directly, we attached a huge number of illustrations in the “Annex” to give to the lecturer additional analysis.

## **1 Introduction - Description of the site of the research**

For the research area we selected Békásmegyer, situated on the right, on the Buda-side of the River Danube in the north of Budapest. Around 40 thousand of people are living in the 18 thousand flats of high rise buildings of this 144 m<sup>2</sup> square meter area at the north edge of the city. The buildings were raised in 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1970's and 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1980's<sup>1</sup>. During this research we tried to differentiate the two clearly separated parts of the area: 1.) The hill-side; and 2.) the river-side. The river-side was built earlier, and its bigger (10,731 flats), while on the hill-side there are only 7,242 flats. The hill-side was finished mostly during the early 1980's.

For a better understanding of our findings we chose a control sample nearby Békásmegyer. Római is an area built with almost the same technique but some 5-10 years after the first. However, the difference between the two areas is big in their prestige and the conditions of people living in one or the other place. In Római some 10 thousand people are living in around 4.2 thousand flats. We conducted 500 interviews here.

Similarly to the above presented procedure to calculate the grand total for the whole investigation for Római we would have to use 4.5 as a weight. Finally we decided that the grand total does not make sense when we have two different and isolated areas, while in the case of Római we did not calculate the average including it, and we did not use any weighting.

This research deals with the rate of crime, the reasons for fear of crime and the opportunities to reduce these fears, the institutional responsibilities and the action programmes of such institutions, as well as the impacts of city rehabilitation programmes in this regard. In Hungary, this primarily covers the responsibility of two organisations: that of the local governments and the police. The responsibility of the local governments carries a political character, at the same time, the borderline of the individual area representatives of the local government (electoral district) is not necessarily identical with that of the housing estate, thus it does not necessarily appear as an individual interest. The police are a state-owned, hierarchical organisation, which in the first place has to conform with the commanding order within the organisation, therefore representing local interests is only of secondary character. As a result, the future of the programmes significantly depends on the population in a country where the civilian sphere is considered to be rather weak, and in the case of a residential community whose sense of responsibility towards its own fate is deemed to be low by many people even in this country.

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<sup>1</sup> These data proceed from the fundamental book of Preisitch Gábor [Preisitch 1998. p. 107.] but some smaller errors on the number of housing had to be corrected.



**FIGURE 1: The location of the research (Békásmegyer) and the control (Római) area**

*Source: [www.terkepek.hu](http://www.terkepek.hu)*

## 1.1 About research project

From methodological we used three specially important tools:

- 1) The survey
- 2) Expert interviews with those responsible for public security and services in the site and
- 3) Carousel, walking around the site with international experts

(1) The survey was realised in December 2005. During the survey we interviewed 500 people in each side of Békásmegyer and we made a control sample by asking the same questionnaire in Római.

(2) The expert interviews date was summer 2006. The interviews were separated in three special groups: police, local government and NGOs. At the police we organised a

meeting with the chef of the district police and one of his colleagues. In the case of the local government's officials separate one hour's meeting took place in the office of the assistant for crime prevention of the deputy major with the assistant herself, representatives of the department of education and building authority and the head of the so called city maintenance services<sup>2</sup>. Two members of NGOs were asked. One was the representative of the Order of Malta running a playground and the other was a member of local Civil Guard and representative of the Foundation for Public Safety of Óbuda.

- (3) The carousel took place in spring 2006 in the framework of a workshop in Budapest and British, Holland, German and Pole expert look over the site and the control area in company of representative of the local government and the police explaining the problems and answering questions.

## ***1.2 About the hypothesis***

In the course of the research we base on theories related to fear of crime, as well as on its specific branch, when the built environment also influences fears. In addition to fear, the research also deals with crime prevention and with efforts made to reduce fear. Within this, special emphasis is given to the impact of the built environment, to the transformation of the built environment, as well as to the measures taken in order to make it safer and to improve the general mood and the sense of security of the population. In international terms, the research lays a great emphasis on surveying the crime prevention impact of settlement development programmes.

## ***1.3 Social demographic structure of the site***

- There are no big differences between the research area and the control sample in their gender and age composition
  - Women represent a majority of 56-58% (**TABLE 29** page 52)
  - Small differences can be observed: like people between 46-60 years are overrepresented in Római (37%) or that in Békásmegyer at the hill-side the share of young people (30%) and at river-side the share of elderly people (21%) is higher than elsewhere (**TABLE 30** page 52)

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<sup>2</sup> The office of the *city maintenance service* is a special service at the local government. Their official walk over every day one special sub-zone in the district under their responsibility, taking care for its public safety and solving its problems like those related to homeless people, problems with the pavement (holes) or those related with playgrounds etc. In middle or longer term this institution can gender the local police.





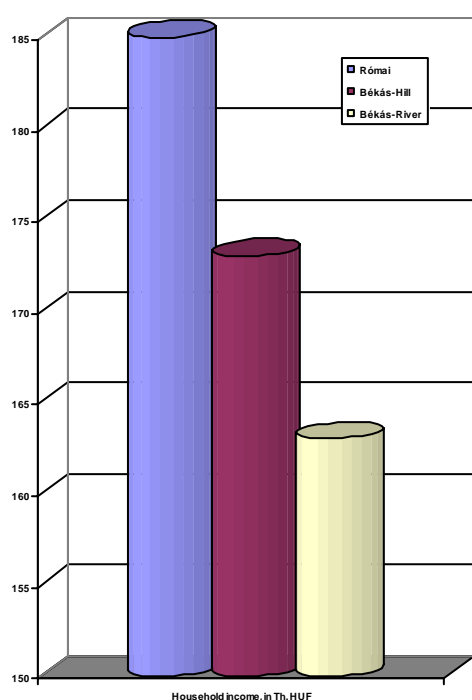
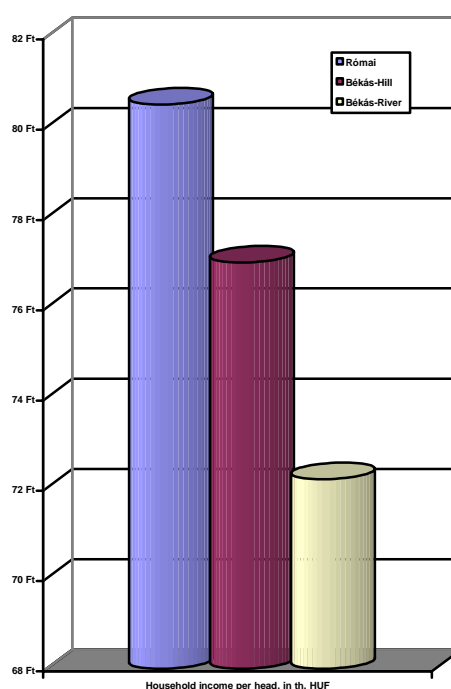
**FIGURE 2: Characteristic buildings in Békásmegyer**

Source: Photo made by Ferenc Irk

- These areas (Békásmegyer and Római) have larger differences in the composition of their inhabitants by their skills (**TABLE 1** here below).
  - The inhabitants of Békásmegyer are less qualified than people living in the control area: 26% of the inhabitants with a university degree against 38% in Római.
  - The population of the river-side of Békásmegyer is less qualified than the hill-side: the major differences can be observed in the two extremes where the lowest skilled people are overrepresented (17% : 11%, 6% higher share) and the highest skilled people are underrepresented (18% : 24%, so 6% lower share) in the river-side compared to the hill-side.
- There are great differences between the three areas from the view of income (**FIGURE 3** here below).
  - The inhabitants of Római have 1.07 higher income than the inhabitants of the hill-side and 1.14 higher than those people living at the river-side.

**TABLE 1: Distribution of the inhabitants by skills**

Groups of skill	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Primary school	41	8%	46	11%	102	17%	148	15%
Vocational school	113	23%	137	34%	216	36%	353	35%
Matriculation (GCSE)	152	31%	122	31%	173	29%	295	30%
University degree	187	38%	94	24%	108	18%	202	20%
<b>Total</b>	<b>493</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>399</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>599</b>	<b>33%</b>	<b>998</b>	<b>100%</b>

**a. Total household income****b. Household income per capita****FIGURE 3: Net household income per month in the research and the control area**

- In general we can state that people living in Békásmegyer have worst conditions than those living in Római.
- We can observe a fine difference between the two sides of Békásmegyer: the level of skills and living standards is higher in the hill-side than at the river-side
- All these differences can be related somehow to the quality of the housing estate: the younger the housing estate, the higher is the status of the people living there.

The social problems of Békásmegyer were characterised to the associate of the educational department as follows: the political and economic reshuffle hit families in Békásmegyer gravely. A large number of men became unemployed, several families got disintegrated, and only those could make a step forward where the wife was able to properly match the situation

and to prevent the disintegration, which directly led from alcoholism through divorce to homelessness. All in all, about 80 % of the children grow as kids of divorced parents. This is also an important factor from the viewpoint of the new generations as families are missing the proper father pattern. On certain instances this results in feminised boys or a pseudo-masculine pattern taken from action films. Educational institutions try to ease this problem in a manner that each institution has a developer pedagogue as well as a school psychologist. The supply is very good in this regard, and more and more parents make use of it. A special „playground programme” was launched to popularise the opportunity. The educational expert reported as a new phenomenon the suicide wave among young parents, which cannot be explained for the time being.<sup>3</sup> As has been indicated in this study elsewhere, the leaders of the police did not agree to this. Our interviewee from the educational department pointed out drugs from among other deviations. Again, the police did not share this opinion.

The pedagogue did not report on Roma-related problems and conflicts with regard to Békásmegyer. Their majority lives in Inner Óbuda. One single large family, dealing with market activities, lives in the housing estate. They have become more or less integrated into the majority society. „The *vajda*, the head of the clan, keeps order”. According to the report, the „Learning and Accepting” foundation is also operating in Békásmegyer, and it is headed by a young Roma pedagogue.

#### ***1.4 Human and communal infrastructure - institutional network***

Regarding institutions and infrastructure, Békásmegyer does not considerably differ from other parts of the third district. All in all, the good position at the border of the city is also due to the environment of housing estates that results in a significant population concentration. There is a large number of institutions in Békásmegyer, but these are integrated into the systems and networks organised according to the local governmental logic. The various units and departments of the mayor’s office employ persons specialising in Békásmegyer as necessary. This means that the management of the area is mostly separated in those official institutions where originally the territorial principle is dominant and not the branch principle. Of course, the same is also true of the national organisations and the bodies of the Budapest Local Government that are located in this part of the district.

##### **1.4.1 Institutions in general and those assuring public safety**

A good example for the latter is the police, which is a nationwide governmental body. The police are running an independent unit at Békásmegyer, but this belongs to the third district police headquarters, which is in fact the body of the Budapest Police Headquarters. Its decision-making and economic independence is limited. There is also a civilian union in the district, which is an independent civilian organisation and its national and Budapest bodies are built from below. The Békásmegyer unit used to operate totally independently from the district body for a long time. As we know, the topic of integrating the district civilian organisations emerged in 2006. However, more shall be discussed about the Békásmegyer civil guard organisation later in the study, and interviews were also made with police leaders and representatives of the civil guard. In this part of the district, fire and disaster prevention tasks are carried out by the institutions of the Budapest Fire Brigade and the Budapest Disaster Protection, which do not have any local units.

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<sup>3</sup> Until the end of the 1980s Hungary took a leading position in the international suicide rankings.

### **1.4.2 Human services**

In Békásmegyer there are 3 primary schools out of the 21 basic institutions of the district. In addition, there are 2 basic and 1 secondary educational institutions, 1 general secondary school and 1 private college (source: official home page of the local government - [www.obuda.hu](http://www.obuda.hu))

The third district is well supplied with health institutions: there are two medical institutions and several special clinics (e.g.: pneumonograph), and the Szent Margit Hospital is also located here. Of this, Békásmegyer only has one institution, although there is also a pharmacy. There is no night medical service either in the district or in Békásmegyer (official home page of the local authorities - [www.obuda.hu](http://www.obuda.hu))

Regarding social welfare, several foundations and voluntary organisations are run in the third district, dealing with several important activities, e.g. running an elderly home, helping socially disadvantaged groups, helping handicapped people, helping the homeless, etc. All in all, in Békásmegyer there are 3 elderly homes, 2 district care centres and 3 non-local-governmental caring houses. ([www.obuda.hu](http://www.obuda.hu))

### **1.4.3 Communal services, roads and transportation**

Concerning transport, very busy and important routes cross the third district: this is the northern-western gateway to the city (roads 10 and 11), and the very busy northern bridge (Árpád). Road 11 crosses Békásmegyer, cutting the housing estate into two parts and leading to Szentendre from the heart of the city on the Buda side of Budapest. In rush hour the town section of this road - Szentendrei út - is totally bottlenecked for several hours due to the lack of a northern bridge and the big housing estates along the road as well as due to the significant agglomeration traffic. This hits especially gravely people in Békásmegyer, who live at the furthestmost point of Budapest calculated from the city centre. The second northern bridge, a part of the MO ring, is being built at the border of the district. This will be finished in 2-3 years and commercial service centres are being located already now at the future bridge foots and along the prospective track of the road.

Public transport is provided by BKV Zrt., the company of the Budapest Local Government. Békásmegyer is connected with the city centre primarily by the suburban train, but there are also bus services, e.g. to Árpád bridge. There is a circular service within the district part, as well as the trading area and the traffic junctions are located near the suburban train station (BKV information - [www.bkv.hu](http://www.bkv.hu)).

## ***1.5 Character of the built environment***

Both Békásmegyer and Római - formed by big housing estates - were built with industrialized technology. However the two decades that passed between designing Békásmegyer and Római make a difference. Even the 5-10 years of difference to begin the construction of the 2<sup>nd</sup> part of Békásmegyer compared to the first part determined some of the differences also between the social characteristics of its river and hill-side.

After 1990 most of the houses became private property in Hungary. This is also true of the housing estate of Békásmegyer and Római. The flats are owned mainly by those living in them.

In Hungary, by now, some redevelopment projects were begun to renew the big housing estates all over the country, but these efforts did not reach yet Békásmegyer. The major problem with these buildings in Hungary concentrates around the heating system. This has almost three factors: 1.) the hot water to heat the buildings is produced in big heating centres

far away from the place where it is used, causing huge waste of energy; 2.) the centres use mainly natural gas, very expensive these times, instead of diversified raw materials, principally secondary energy sources like waste energy; 3.) the bad quality of the buildings, and specially their bad isolation cause also high energy waste. In summary, all these factors contribute to the fact that it is very expensive to heat these buildings. It is comparable and sometimes more expensive than heating of individual one-family houses. This problem, the quality of the buildings and their appearance had the consequence that flats in these buildings have become very cheap (see **TABLE 2: Comparative prices of properties at some housing estates**, for more details, see page 14), more easily eligible for people with low financial resources (young couples and poor people) which is not true for the newest housing estates like Római. These conditions produced the contradiction that poor people are living in the housing estate that is most expensive to maintain. In fact, this became a social trap because the low price and the difficulties to sell these houses do not permit to most of them to move out. Many of them became delinquent, and cannot afford to pay the overhead for the amenities.

The impact on community formation can be regarded as an important direct social impact of the built environment. There is no relationship among people who live in 100-, sometimes 154-flat buildings. Everybody is a stranger to the other, even after having lived together for long years. They do not meet, there is a large fluctuation, there are no opportunities, space and programmes for learning the neighbours. There is little chance to form and strengthen communities. Our attention was drawn to this by the member of the Békásmegyer Civil Guards, a representative of the Public Foundation for the Public Safety of Óbuda.

In addition to the above, the following statements can be made with regard to Békásmegyer (sample area) and Római (control sample), as well as to the comparison of the two sides of Békásmegyer:

- The attraction of the neighbourhood is very strong for both the research area and the control sample (see **TABLE 24**)
- However the attraction level for the research area is lower than for the control sample (see **TABLE 24**)
- This relationship shows specially when looking on the willingness to move elsewhere: a little bit more than the half of the inhabitants want to move. (see **TABLE 23** page 50)
- In this respect we can observe the worsening of the mood of people living in Békásmegyer (see **TABLE 23** page 50 and **TABLE 27** page 51)
- This worsening can be observed also for the control sample. However more than 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of the inhabitants prefer to stay in place (see **TABLE 23** and **TABLE 27** and **TABLE 25** in page 50)
- We can observe some differences also between the two sides of Békásmegyer e.g. in level how their inhabitants like the place where they are living (**TABLE 24** and **TABLE 26**).

**TABLE 2: Comparative prices of properties at some housing estates, 1000 Ft/m<sup>2</sup>**

Housing estate	Housing prices				Changes in the price	
	1990	1995	2000	2005	2000-2005	1990-2005
<b><i>Békásmegyer (sample area)</i></b>	<b>29</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>125</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>124%</b>	<b>534%</b>
<i>Római (control area)</i>	39	84	200	245	123%	628%
Kaszásdűlő (opposite Római, on the hill side)	37	59	170	210	124%	568%
Óbuda (third district, central part)	32	59	160	220	138%	688%
Gazdagrét (11 <sup>th</sup> district, southern-western city limit)	38	69	175	225	129%	592%
Csepel (21 <sup>st</sup> district, south Budapest)	26	34	110	145	132%	558%
Újpalota (15 <sup>th</sup> district, northern eastern Budapest, near city limit)	28	38	110	145	132%	518%

Source: *Lakas.hu (Housing.hu)*, February 2006

## 1.6 Problems in the site

The general problems in Békásmegyer are similar to those of other housing estates in a similar condition. The public opinion holds that the main problems of the Hungarian society appear more strongly in the society of large housing estates than in the case of the society in general, for example, most crimes, worse residential environment, worse public safety, a larger number of single parent families, etc.

Several experts mentioned the following problems:

- Attention was drawn to single-parent families, mothers raising their children alone, as well as children growing up without a real father pattern or borrowing it from TV action movies. The above problem is rooted in unemployment, alcoholism and marginalisation.

A few characteristic individual opinions were also voiced, generally only by a few experts:

- Such an individual opinion may be that a dominant number of criminals come from Békásmegyer.
- Suicide wave of young mothers.

The police hold the view that the background to this does not cover statistical facts, at the most the generalisation of a few isolated cases. On the whole, they disputed all of the statements, but they specifically emphasised with regard to the Békásmegyer-related criminal groups that this could also be measured through statistics as there are no summarisations to focus on address at birth or at young age, and there is especially no registration to treat Békásmegyer separately within this category. Of course, one cannot exclude on the basis of the comments regarding juvenile housing estate gangs that there exists or existed a group that, for example, was attached to Békásmegyer in criminal slang.

The information about Roma families living at the housing estate is contradictory. They represent one of the most complex problems of today's Hungarian society, and in their case the various disadvantages merge jointly. Based on the reports conducted at the housing estate it seems that a few - probably the most problematic - families live together in neighbouring

flats and buildings despite the housing estate environment, they stick together, and create a kind of special and hierarchical community. These affirmations came out from the different interviews with experts.

Upon the interviews of the population special emphasis was laid on the security of public areas as a public security problem, but attention and criticism were also attached to noise, parking and the cleanliness of public areas.

### 1.6.1 Crime in general

As has been mentioned, criminal statistical data are available only on the district level, and in this respect the data on Békásmegyer cannot be separated. The number of crimes in the third district is not significantly high compared to other districts of Budapest. (see **TABLE 3**, here below, in page 15, for more details see **TABLE 21** in page 48 and **TABLE 22** in the page 49)

The number of crimes registered in the third district has been showing a decreasing trend since the year 2000, the figure temporarily dropped in 2003 but went up again in 2004, and decreased a year later (see **TABLE 4**, here below). This is by and large similar to the changes in the crime rate of the whole of Budapest, except for 2004 and 2005, when it was slightly different from the Budapest trend. It must not be forgotten that these are the registered cases; it is conceivable that the changes are related to the more effective investigation, more conscious reports by the population as well as to the increase or decrease of the confidence in the work of the authorities.

**TABLE 3: Number of registered crimes in 2005**

	<i>Hungary</i>	<i>Budapest</i>	<i>3<sup>rd</sup> district</i>
TOTAL			
All crimes	436 522	115 366	5 918
Burglary + theft - total	42 588	8 082	543
Burglary + theft - without attempt	38 261	7 148	489
Attempt of burglary	4 327	934	54
Per 100,000 persons			
All crimes	4 323	6 797	4 706
Burglary + theft - total	422	476	432
Burglary + theft - without attempt	379	421	389
Attempt of burglary	43	55	43

Source: Unified Statistics of the Police and Public Prosecutor Office (ERÜBS) 2005, Public Prosecutor Office 2006

**TABLE 4: Comparison of Budapest and the third district from the viewpoint of registered crimes (100,000 persons)**

	<b>Budapest</b>					
	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>
All crimes	6 725	6 832	6 406	6 329	6 773	6 797
Burglary + theft - total	849	877	760	606	596	476
Burglary + theft - without attempt	771	792	685	542	529	421
Attempt of burglary	78	84	76	64	67	55
	<b>3<sup>rd</sup> district</b>					
	<b>2000</b>	<b>2001</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>
All crimes	5 023	5 134	4 766	4 072	5 960	4 706
Burglary + theft - total	785	689	591	465	543	432
Burglary + theft - without attempt	742	640	552	448	528	389
Attempt of burglary	43	50	39	16	16	43

Source: Unified Statistics of the Police and Public Prosecutor Office (ERÜBS) 2005, Public Prosecutor Office 2006

### 1.6.2 Crime and built environment

The situational crime prevention concept of modern criminology connects crime with the built environment. This is also shown, for example, in the work of Ronald V. Clarke entitled “The Theory of Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design”:

*„The theory of crime prevention through environmental design is based on one simple idea – that crime results partly from the opportunities presented by physical environment. This being the case it should be possible to alter the physical environment so that crime is less likely to occur. Simple, almost obvious as this may be, the idea that crime is partly caused by physical environment has been a controversial one among criminologists. In my presentation I will argue that the controversy is based on a misunderstanding about causes and will review what is now a large body of evidence that the physical environment plays an important part in crime. I will then review current approaches to changing the physical environment and the "opportunity" theories on which these rest. I will also consider the main criticism of environmental crime prevention that it does not reduce crime, but merely displaces it to some other time, place or target. Finally, I will draw out the main lessons from research about successful ways to implement crime prevention through environmental design.”*



In his work entitled „The foundations of situational crime prevention” Ferenc Irk<sup>4</sup> supplements the above with the following:

*„The ‘basic philosophy’ of crime prevention is that crime can primarily be suppressed through the reduction of opportunities for crime. Therefore, the main task of secondary prevention is to change the structure of crime opportunities, which can mainly be attained by establishing environmental elements in a manner that it deters the potential perpetrator – who is thinking more or less rationally - from his/her original intention.<sup>5</sup> The concentrated reduction of crime opportunities results in a more powerful reduction of crime as a whole.<sup>6</sup> Indispensable elements of the structure: the target object, criminal energy that is enough for committing the crime, the accessibility of the target object or the tool of perpetration, the risk of crime detection (including the probability of conviction, the extent of the sanction and other social costs), as well as the product of (return on) the action. (Kube 1987: p. 19.)*

*Situational crime prevention basically grew out from the opportunity-theory which has been long known in criminology, and it attributed a larger importance to detecting the social background of criminal activity, being the personal characteristics of the perpetrator. A novelty is that from among the macro structure of the opportunity-theory it has become of prime importance to survey: how the situational features can be identified and how the opportunity can be created for changing them.<sup>7</sup> In the background of its importance we find primarily the recognition that the situation can often be changed more quickly than human behaviour. This primarily refers to the built environment.<sup>8</sup>*

*Situational crime prevention is typically related to areas, i.e. it not only places some type of crime into the focus but it attributes importance to several factors among the circumstances of committing crime, within this, primarily including the place (space) and the date. The purpose of this form of crime prevention and the related programme is the qualitative and quantitative reduction of crime, as well as to match*

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<sup>4</sup> Irk, F.: The foundations of situational crime prevention. In: Fenyvesi Cs. – Herke Cs.: Emlékkönyv Vargha László egyetemi tanár születésének 90. évfordulójára.[Im Memoriam László Vargha] PTE ÁJK, Pécs, 2003., pp.119-131.

<sup>5</sup> See: Clarke, R.V.: Situational Crime Prevention: Its Theoretical Basis and Practical Scope. In: Tonry, M. – Morris, N. (eds.): Crime und Justice: An Annual Review of Research. Vol. 4 (1983) University of Chicago Press, Chicago. Cited by: Smith, M.: Regulating opportunities: multiple Roles for civil remedies in situational crime prevention. Crime Prevention Studies Vol. 9 (1998), pp. 67-88. (P. 71); as well as Kube, E.: Systematische Kriminalprävention. BKA Forschungsreihe Sonderband (Kube 1987: p. 19) Smith refers to the fact that in terms of topic the forerunner of this study is the book by Jeffery, C.R.: Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design c. 1971-ben (then again in 1977), and the work of Newman, O.: Defensible Space c. published in 1972 and considered as a basic work until now.

<sup>6</sup> For details see Felson, M. – Clarke, R.: Opportunity Makes the Thief – Practical theory for crime prevention. Paper 98 der Police Research Series der Policing & Reducing Crime Unit des Research, Development and Statistical Directorate des Britischen Home Office London 1998 (Introduced by: H. Koetzsch in Die Kriminalprävention 3/1999., pp. 116-117. )

<sup>7</sup> Sharyn, L – Anleu, R.: The role of civil sanctions in social control: a socio-legal examination. Crime Prevention Studies Vol. 9 (1998), pp. 21-43 (31. p.)

<sup>8</sup> Monahan-Klassen, cited by Kube (1987) 30. p. Some others claim, however, that the security-supporting layout of the built environment still belongs to the circle of primary prevention. Thus: Northoff, R. (Hg.): Handbuch der Kriminalprävention. Nomos, Baden-Baden 1997. 3. Primäre, an der Wurzel ansetzende, Prävention, 3.3.1. Wohnumfeld und Stadtplanung, especially pp. 8-37. Accordingly, primary and secondary prevention are separated from each other by the fact that the latter focuses less than the former on the general conditions, and more strongly on the interaction process leading to the action. This may be the reason why the Anglo-Saxon literature identifies secondary prevention with situational prevention. See: Northoff op.cit. 4. Sekundäre, risikoorientierte, Prävention. 4.1. Verminderung des Täterrisikos 1. p.

*the space-dependent victimisation fear to the existing and prospective danger situation.*<sup>9</sup> From another approach, the most important purposes of situational crime prevention are as follows:<sup>10</sup>

- *Making it more difficult to carry out the crime,*
- *Increasing the risk of detection, witnessing and revealing,*
- *Reducing the profitability of the crime,*
- *Making later self-justification and "explanations" more difficult."*

*(Irk, F. 2003)*

### **1.6.3 Time and place: crime map of the site: the more affected places, including characteristic types of crime**

Based on the expert opinions, a complex Békásmegyer image is beginning to take shape. This means that the seemingly homogenous building stock covers extremely differentiated social environments. The interviews do not even confirm unambiguously the hypothesis that is after all suggested by the data to a certain extent: namely that the hill-side part is somewhat better, and the Danube-side part gives home to population in a somewhat worse situation. These allow us only a very rough average approach.

The interviews outline much more like a very heterogeneous space, an environment with a composition changing over time and according to small building complexes. Here, there are many times also factors that seem already historical today (events that took place 30-40 years ago), i.e.: whether the buildings are privately owned (or cooperative) or are allocated by the local government (social rented flats), or these are flats originally allocated to the police or to soldiers. In certain cases even the presence or the role of one single person or a family may influence the fate of a certain building.

In addition to the social factors there are evidently other factors that appear as a direct impact of the built environment. Abandoned, dark or badly illuminated areas and places that can be regarded as dangerous from the viewpoint of public security, the bottom of arcaded buildings, covered main entrances as well as the neighbourhood of pubs: places that generally generate fear in the public eyes. Therefore, besides the neighbourhood of pubs, the market place and the underground passage for the suburban train can be emphasised as „dangerous institutions“. In the course of the expert interviews special emphasis was given to parking places, schools and playgrounds. Playgrounds, together with most of the above-mentioned places, imply a bigger danger at night, in the dark, for example, due to the groups of young and drunken people staying there. Big parking places may also represent danger at the times when a large number of unattended cars are there. Individual solutions aimed at fighting these dangers, e.g. parking under the window (near 10-floor buildings) also carry specific dangers. Schools are different in that the danger source is not the period following the working time, i.e. the dark, but two times of the day: the start and the finish of school, when a large number of children appears, so the problems are caused by the danger imminent to kids (traffic and drug dealing). As has also been shown in the interviews, the danger and its solutions are more palpable in consideration of the above.

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<sup>9</sup> Kube (1987) op. cit. 317. p.

<sup>10</sup> Clarke, R.V.: Situational Crime Prevention: Successful Case Studies. Harrow and Heston Albany, 1997. 16. p.; see: Riedel, Cl.: Situationsbezogene Kriminalprävention. Lang, Frankfurt am Main etc. 2003. 77. p.

### ***1.7 Rehabilitation programmes in the site – solutions?***

Neither in Hungary nor in Budapest – generally or in Békásmegyer – have taken place any comprehensive housing estate rehabilitations like the one carried out in the former East Germany, especially in Berlin. Despite this, the large number of housing estate flats cause significant problems, similarly to other Central and Eastern European countries. However, with regard to the large number of flats and to the social composition of those living in these flats the nature of the problem is different from the problems typical in the ‘west of the river Lajta’. Since the year 1990, the problem in Hungary is mainly caused by the energy prices and the bad insulation of the buildings as well as the specific district heating system, which may in certain cases represent a dead-end street for those who live in housing estates and are in a bad situation.

In order to fight this problem, several programmes have been worked out mainly in order to improve the heat insulation and the technical quality of the buildings. Similar programmes have also been carried out in Békásmegyer. By 2006, the heat insulation of practically all of the buildings has been implemented. These programmes have been carried out with state support as well as with contributions by the population.

Upon initiatives by the local government, the programme aimed at renewing the main square has also been carried out in Békásmegyer. This primarily focused on the aesthetic reconstruction of the built environment at the most frequented area of this district part, but there were also crime-prevention references here. The latter may primarily mean the increased security of students going to the nearby educational institutions, but this could be enforced only partially even from their viewpoint.

Certain private and civilian initiatives have also exerted impacts that mainly concentrated on the renewal of the built environment as well as crime prevention and increased public security. One of the similar major programmes or initiatives was the construction of two playgrounds of the Maltese Charity Service in the housing estate.

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According to the medium-term operative programme of the district ([www.obuda.hu](http://www.obuda.hu)), we can start out from the change of the real estate market position of the Békásmegyer housing estate with regard to the future. It can be seen that this has deteriorated since the change of the regime. While in 1989 only half of the housing estates had a higher price level than the Békásmegyer housing estate, by the turn of the millennium a higher price level is typical of more than two thirds of the housing estates (see [www.lakas.hu](http://www.lakas.hu)). This means that Békásmegyer currently takes place in the lower third of the housing estate property market. However, there are numerous unutilised opportunities at the Békásmegyer housing estate for reversing the unfavourable processes. The public sphere has to take a very active, leading and cooperative role in renewing the housing estate. The local government has to launch the complex rehabilitation programme on the more-problematic eastern side of the housing estate. The purpose of rehabilitating Eastern Békásmegyer is to make the housing estate more attractive, to improve the quality of life and to increase the value of flats. This requires the implementation of the following programme elements:

- *Physical interventions:* - establishing a sub-town centre (at the Heltai tér market and its environs), which strengthens the positive image of the housing estate both for those living here and for outsiders, in addition it is suitable to serve the function of community square, contributing to strengthening the local identity – public area rehabilitation, with special focus on renewing the existing huge green areas and

supplying them with various functions – renewing institutions – renewing residential buildings.

- *Non-physical interventions:* - developing commercial services – managing social problems and unemployment – launching training and cultural programmes.

The complex rehabilitation of the eastern part of Békásmegyer is a long-term process, it takes about 10-15 years. One of the keys is the reconstruction of the market hall and the Heltai Jenő tér.

## 2 Results of the qualitative and quantitative research

### 2.1 *Level of crime*

We could see in the chapter „Problems in the site” that the experts, responsible officials and leaders interviewed under the survey practically mentioned as a uniform problem the single-parent families and children brought up in them, juvenile gangs, as well as the danger of unemployment, marginalisation, alcoholism and drugs. There are experienced facts and – more rarely – statistical information in the background of these statements. Extreme opinions covered Békásmegyer and its juvenile gangs representing a major criminal-forming factor together with the fact that – according to some experts – minor-aged mothers commit suicide at a significant rate.

In the course of interviewing the population, they mentioned general problems like the level of noise, the parking facilities, the bad public security of certain areas as well as waste at public places, i.e. factors that disturb life at the housing estate the most.

Therefore, the two approaches, those of the local population and of the persons responsible for the area are seemingly moving at totally different levels. The second part of this study intends to make order in this respect through the problem-centred introduction and processing of the empirical results of the research (questionnaire-based interviews among the population) and the experiences of the expert interviews in a unified structure.

The data disclosing crimes registered in the area were set forth in part 1.6.1, under title „Crime in general”, on page 15. The lady who is responsible for crime prevention at the district local government believes that the low crime rate in the district is due to the fact that the emphasis has been shifted to the prevention of crime. At the same time, car and flat burglaries are the most critical from the viewpoint of criminal perception of the population. They – and the persons responsible for the public security of the district – believe that one cannot really reckon with the cooperation of the population with a view to increasing public security. Experts asked during this project hold the view that public security becomes important for the population only if they themselves have become the injured parties.<sup>11</sup>

However, the registered crime rate does not fully reflect the crime map of specific areas as it only covers the cases that have been reported to the authorities. Both the questionnaire-based research and the expert interviews approach crimes from another perspective. The picture given by the official statistics are shaded by the cases confessed and told by the population as well as by the situation outlined by the experts.

#### 2.1.1 Position of the site in comparison with a larger environment

All in all, the crime rate of the third district is below that of the Budapest average (see **TABLE 1**, **TABLE 4**, **TABLE 21** and **TABLE 22**).

Experts claim that Békásmegyer is not in a worse position from the viewpoint of crime than other districts, and it is not remarkable with respect to crimes. This cannot be directly supported with statistical data as no public data are collected in this regard. Street and district data are included in the risk analyses carried out at the 3<sup>rd</sup> district police headquarters, which

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<sup>11</sup> It is the definite opinion of the authors of this study that communication is an individual science, and effective communication implies responsibility. Making the public at large aware of their personal responsibility cannot stop at the point where one or more instruments have proved to be ineffective.

are meant to make police work and patrol control more effective. Ultimately, these figures do not show significant action numbers in this part of the district, moreover, the internal Óbuda data have been set at double of those relevant to Békásmegyer. For international experts coming from abroad the risk-analyses software developed at the district police was one of the most important innovation seen here which could be used in other countries.

The police said that, for example, drug-related problems are very similar in the inner parts of Óbuda, Kaszásdűlő or Békásmegyer. At the same time, this is an opinion that is disagreed by most of our experts (those employed at the local government and in civilian organisations). Non-police respondents consider the local conditions to be worse also in other areas compared to those who wear uniform and thus bear more direct responsibility. As has been seen above, our respondent who works both for the Békásmegyer civil guards and at the Public Foundation for the Public Security of Óbuda claimed that an important source of the Budapest mafia and the stem of the criminal groups are rooted in Békásmegyer, which the local police leaders did not simply refuse but qualified it right away as information that cannot be evidenced because no such statistics are collected. The associate of the municipal supervision of the local government also said that the situation of Békásmegyer is not worse than that of Inner Óbuda. Maybe, except for the fact that there are more abandoned cars and car wrecks here. This, however, comes from the peripheral position of this district part and from the larger, mainly abandoned parking places. This associate held the view that a larger danger and risk may be implied by juvenile gangs.

### 2.1.2 Victimisation

Following the data of the survey crimes have affected about one fourth of the respondents. All in all, about 5-7 % of those concerned could claim that the perpetrator was later caught and / or convicted. Much more people, 2/5<sup>th</sup> of the respondents did not expect at all that the perpetrator would be caught or convicted, and about one tenth of the people concerned also complained about the procedure, and had bad experience. (see table here below)

**TABLE 5: Victimisation and the fate of the perpetrator in Békásmegyer**

	N	%	Total(N)
A crime took place against him/her	206	21	991
From these:			
The perpetrator was caught	17	15	113
The perpetrator was convicted	4	42	10
Did not trust that the perpetrator would be caught	51	62	83
Had bad experiences with these kind of process	19	23	83

In summary only a few people named the concrete form of attack that they had to suffer (see here below **TABLE 6**):

- 1) Even if there is no difference in the share of people feeling themselves secure in Békásmegyer compared to the control area, the double named a concrete case when they became victims in Római.
- 2) In both areas house and car burglary represent the main form, but car and wheel robbery are more important in Római,
- 3) We cannot make any difference between the two sub-zones of Békásmegyer in this respect.

**TABLE 6: What kind of crime did you become victim?**

Form of victimization	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Car robbery	15	18%	4	11%	2	5%	6	7%
Wheel robbery	18	21%	5	14%	5	10%	10	12%
Flat and car burglary	50	58%	25	71%	40	80%	65	77%
Assault, without injury	1	1%	1	2%	2	5%	3	4%
Other	2	2%	1	2%	0	0%	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	86	100%	35	100%	49	100%	84	100%

## 2.2 Level of the fear of crime

In base of the data of the survey we can state:

- We saw that from the point of view of the socio-demographic composition the two sides of the research area (Békásmegyer) are more or less homogeneous.
  - However from point of view of fear of crime the conditions at the hill-side are much worse than at the river-side (216 persons more than 31% affirm to be safe at the river against 93, 18% at the hill-side).
  - In this respect the control sample is situated in between the two areas of Békásmegyer 139 persons (20%) determining their conditions in the neighbourhood as safe (see here below **TABLE 7**).
- At Békásmegyer (in both sub-units) most of the people scare about criminal acts (in total 265 mentions 27% of the cases) and dangerous persons in the street or in the buildings (in total 257 mentions 26% of the cases). (see here below **TABLE 7**)
- Badly designed places are important factors.
  - Especially dense parks with bushes cause fear in both Békásmegyer and Római.
  - Bars represent also a general factor of fear, especially in Békásmegyer and more for people living at the hill-side than elsewhere.
  - The surrounding of the market is the highlighted place of scare for those living in the river-side in Békásmegyer.
  - Ruinous and depopulated places show up as factors of scare more in Római and at the hill-side of Békásmegyer (see **TABLE 33** in the page 53)

**TABLE 7: Which are the main dangers in this area?**

Causes of fear	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dangerous persons	116	17%	106	21%	149	22%	255	21%
Not enough control and presence of the authorities	132	19%	94	19%	107	16%	201	17%
Dangerous traffic	36	5%	53	11%	18	3%	72	6%
Acts of crime	266	39%	156	31%	202	29%	358	30%
Feeling safe	139	20%	93	18%	216	31%	309	26%
<b>Total</b>	689	100%	503	100%	691	100%	1194	100%

*Comments: multiply response were possible*

### 2.3 Characterisation of the crime in the site, effect of the built environment

For the residents during the survey in both places Békásmegyer and Római abandoned areas represent the prime danger. In Békásmegyer the neighbourhood of the market was mentioned. This primarily causes problems to the residents of the river-side because the market is in their direct vicinity. The residents of the Római housing estate consider their area less dangerous, and they mentioned fewer dangerous areas.

The “places” regarded as bad by the population are separated from each other mainly on the level of specific buildings (earlier owned by the local authorities or privately owned right from the beginning), i.e. they are practically of historical character. Another reason may be the neighbourhood of special institutions like pubs as well as social and homeless institutions of bad reputation, but the market itself also belongs to this category with its specific audience and multitude of people.

**TABLE 8: Summary of which are the dangerous places in this area?**

Places of scare	Control Area	Research Area: Békásmegyer		
	Római N	Hill side N	River side N	Total N
Some built place, parks	125	156	212	368
From that:				
Depopulated places	17	9	11	20
Dense park with bushes	32	23	40	63
Nearby institutions, bars, shops, stations	47	57	79	136
From that:				
Nearby bars	16	22	25	47
Nearby market	0	6	24	30
In dark it is dangerous everywhere	6	8	13	21
There is no problem, no such place	20	7	4	11
Other	2	2	17	19
<b>Total</b>	207	230	328	558

*Comment: A detailed version of the table can be found in **TABLE 33** in page 53. Multiply response were possible*

During the interview realised in the framework of this project the police commander of the district also claimed that there is a significant difference between various places of Békásmegyer. On the hill -side, in Lukács György utca, the flats were earlier allocated by the Defence Ministry and the Ministry of the Interior, so this area was supposed to be safe. The captain says that the Danube -side is generally in a worse condition. The head of the police also highlighted the contradiction that the blocks of houses are “forced” [note by KR: due to the bad financial situation of the residents and due to the withdrawal of resources] to let out parts of the buildings, so they themselves help the opening of pubs, and this leads to [security] problems. The interviewed leaders of the police claim that it is not necessary to have so many pubs and food stores. The captain lived at the housing estate also himself, and knows the local conditions. In the course of the local government interviews, some respondents like the associate of the educational department who is living at the housing estate claimed that single-parent families score a higher rate than the average in Békásmegyer. However, the captain says that this statement is not true. He himself, as a young professional starting out, found a



cheap and run-down flat here because he had not enough money, and he himself put the whole flat in order. This goes to show that housing estate flats are not only looked for by people in a marginalising social and income position but also by dynamic groups. The police captain holds the view that the shifting towards a ghetto is not typical.



**FIGURE 4: Underpass and parking in Békásmegyer**

*Source: Photo taken by Ferenc Irk*

#### **2.4 Problems related to the built environment**

The city maintenance service as well as the representative of the local governmental service whose daily task is to check the streets of the district, to remedy problems and to take the requires measures had a clear-cut opinion about the public security risks of Békásmegyer and about the major troubles deriving from the built environment. The expert who has to go to the spot in the case of requests and complaints forwarded to the local government to check with his/her group the public mood is mainly disturbed by the presence of the homeless. Their number is set at about 100-150 in the district. At the same time, they are typically not in Békásmegyer but much more in Inner Óbuda as well as at Mocsárosdűlő, an abandoned, grassy and swampy area near another housing estate. In Békásmegyer they mainly turn up at the abandoned border areas of the hill-side, as well as at Római-part, near the river side. It has been successful to persuade the homeless people to stop certain activities and to leave certain areas, but there is no legal authorisation to start legal actions against them. Important activities are – also from the viewpoint of public security – to keep order at public places, to check on parking places and to take measures in order to remove abandoned and wreck cars.

It is public knowledge that the best way to “rest” stolen cars is to leave them in large housing estate parking places. The service people check about 2000 cars every year, and take measures to remove 500-800 of them. They do not impose fine; they only proceed as an observation and reporting service. At the same time, it must be mentioned that it is also their task to check whether the cases reported by them (e.g. potholes on the roads) have been rectified.

FIGURE 4 shows a photo where the entrance of the building is protected from parking, and the picture depicts a “wild” phenomenon against which the associates of the municipal supervision have to take measures. It is not allowed for everybody to park under their own window, moreover, it does not mean 100% security either. The population places similar anti-parking devices to set up private parking lots in public areas, which is forbidden. These devices are dismantled by the associates of the municipal supervision. The solution would probably be the establishment of paying parking lots. These could provide suitable security and hygiene. At the same time, parking lots that are made subject to payment cannot be made compulsory, thus an adequate number of free parking places also has to be provided continuously. The issue of paying parking lots also has to be discussed and permitted by the architectural authorities. The order for the maintenance and caretaking of parks and green areas is issued by the investment department of the local authorities. This is applied for and won by individual contractors, they carry out the required work, which means that in this respect the municipal supervision only perceives and photographs the problems. A different procedure is followed in the case of the “worst locations”, i.e. the most problem-ridden spots. The bushes covering the entrance doors generally represent the responsibility of the blocks of flats, but these problems are also indicated to the competent persons (relevant department of the local government, representative, caretaker of the block of flats).

At the border of parking places and parks, in the case of green islands in the middle of parking places it is typical that garbage is pushed from one separately managed public area to the other by those who are responsible for the cleanliness of the given area. This could only be remedied in a manner that these two public area types were managed in one hand. Practically no employees are available to watch bushes, parks or illegal posters. A more prioritised question covers potholes, errors of pavements and roads, which also represent a security risk. The public security concept of the local government handles the planned establishment of the camera system as a prioritised tool for larger public security as well as for the feeling of security within the population. Competent opinions were requested in connection with the points of establishment of the camera system. In fact, a proposal was made for areas, playgrounds and parking places threatened by garbage illegally deposited by the public. Similarly, the public security concept was granted, but no opinion has been formulated yet.

## ***2.5 The residents’ opinions about how to decrease local crime and increase security feeling***

Following the inhabitants (of anywhere in the research and control area) answer’s to our questionnaire during the survey the two most important measures to increase security are ...

...to increase the presence of the police and

...a better lighting system.

The feeling of security and presence of the police is underlined also with the need for night patrol.

The 3<sup>rd</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> most important elements for security differs mostly in the order but not in its content.

The only element which is unique for a place is the willingness of speed control at the hill-side of Békásmegyer.

For more detail, please see **TABLE 9** here below, or for more details **TABLE 40** in page 55.

**TABLE 9: Which should be the most important measures to increase the security of this neighbourhood?**

Control Area	Research Area: Békásmegyer	
Római	Hill side	River side
Increase the visibility and efficiency of police presence (170)	Increase the visibility and efficiency of police presence (139)	Increase the visibility and efficiency of police presence (193)
Better street lighting (26)	Better street lighting (30)	Better street lighting (36)
CCTV camera system (26)	Speed control (23)	Increase the power of the civil guard (32)
Increase the power of the civil guard (26)	Police patrol at night (23)	Police patrol at night (24)
Police patrol at night (16)	Increase the power of the civil guard (22)	CCTV camera system (24)
	CCTV camera system (15)	

*Comment: Between parentheses we show the number of incidences.*

The representative of the Foundation for the Public Security of Óbuda – who, as we mentioned, is also a member of the Békásmegyer civil guards – holds the view that the feeling of security of the population at the housing estate is average: neither too good or too bad. S/he believes, and this is also underlined by our responsible interviewees, that an inherent, serious disinterest is characteristic of the population. The population forum held on public security was attended only by 50 persons out of the 45,000 who live at the housing estate. The representative claims that serious propaganda would be needed to make people aware of what opportunities are available and who to contact in the case of trouble. The representative also believes that a solution is to establish the district guards<sup>12</sup>, and more money could also be allocated. A similar opinion was also voiced by the district police captain: hardly anyone attends the public forums, which is an evidence of the disinterest repeatedly mentioned by other interviewees. However, the captain regards it as a better opportunity to strengthen and to reorganise the civil guards than to set up a totally new institution.

In fact, we cannot totally ignore the fact that there are actually local self-organisations, special circles and pensioner societies that do not necessarily deal with crime prevention. Persons responsible for the organisation and the security of the life in this area, for example, the representative of the Foundation, believes that these could function as a good terrain for information, or important basic institutions like the general meetings of the residents of blocks of flats. The police captain says that the main problem for those attending public forums is the noise, which is generated by young people and pubs, alcohol consumption in public areas, dog dirt and homeless people, which is, in fact, a social issue and a matter of public security.

Apart from the above, rather harsh negative opinions about the disinterest of the public, contrary opinions were also voiced. We take the stand that neither the police nor the civil guards have done everything with regard to the disinterest of the population. An example for this is the case of Suzuki thefts a few years ago, when it was the population who initiated

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<sup>12</sup> The district guards would be a unit organised by the local government and serving public security. Regarding its status, it is similar to property guards in the current Hungarian legal environment. The district guards could actually fulfil their tasks in cooperation with the police and the civil guards, strengthening the former and taking over a part of their tasks. The basis for its foundation may come from organisations like the municipal supervision service of the local government.

actions due to the frequent car thefts. The population can be motivated, and their interest may be raised towards public security, only the related tools have to be found.

## **2.6 Characteristics of the highlighted vulnerable groups**

We looked for specialities in case of highlighted vulnerable groups:

- Young people,
- Actively working people,
- Mothers at home, and
- Elderly people.

The aim of this analysis is to determine if from the perspective of crime and fear of crime these groups really differ. In fact, behind this question we are also asking if the effect of the built environment is stronger than that of the socio-demographical background.

Two of these are age groups (young people 18-30 year old and elderly more than 60 year old at work or at home), the third (mothers at home) and the fourth (active people going to work every day) see problems related to persons with special conditions. For each of them the level and the kind of danger are different and also their personal visions of the danger of becoming victims differ very much.

In this section we took Békásmegyer's sub-zones in one and we did not compare the results with the control area's value. We did so to be able to go in deeper with the socio-demographical and problem-oriented analysis of the groups in question.

*All data of this chapter proceed from the survey that we made in the framework of this research project.*

### **2.6.1 Young people**

The level of skills and income of young people is higher than the average (see **TABLE 46** in page 57 and **TABLE 41** in page 56). About two thirds of them are living alone and not in a couple. Their relationship with their actual neighbourhood is weaker than for the whole sample.

Their level of fear is very low: more than 4/5<sup>th</sup> of them do scare that anything will happen with them by going out at any time to any place. However, a half of them recognize that there is a dangerous place in the neighbourhood.

About 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of them feel secure, but another 1/3<sup>rd</sup> of them still scare crime. Their confidence in the police, the local government or tribunals is high (70-75%), but the same share of them still think that the police could do more for crime prevention.

As a personal experience they mostly meet crime as burglary or car break up and their personal efforts are restricted to defending the flat.

A characteristic difference can be observed between young men and women. When the number of cases was enough we could see that young men's level of fear is lower but their expectation from institutions responsible for fight against crime and crime prevention is higher, while their level of confidence in these institutions is lower.

Here below we selected a couple of characteristic tables and figure, but more can be found in pages 56-58 in the Annex.

**TABLE 10: Indicators of fear for young people in Békásmegyer**

Percentage of positive answers	Man	Woman	Total <sup>13</sup>	
			%	N
There are some dangerous places (N=244)	46%	54%	50%	243
Avoiding some areas in dark time (N=288)	8%	23%	14%	286

**TABLE 11: Which are the most important dangers in the neighbourhood for young people? (only for Békásmegyer)**

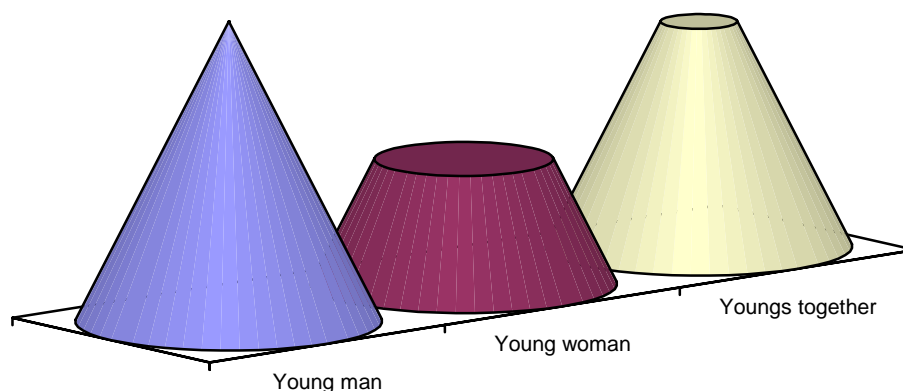
Causes of fear	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dangerous persons	34	21%	27	17%	61	19%
Not enough control and presence of the authorities	30	18%	32	20%	62	19%
Dangerous traffic	6	4%	7	4%	14	4%
Acts of crime	38	23%	48	30%	86	26%
Feeling safe	58	35%	48	30%	106	32%
<b>Total</b>	166	100%	163	100%	334	100%

**TABLE 12: Confidence in highlighted institutions in Békásmegyer**

<i>Fully and mainly confident with ..., yes %</i>	Man	Woman	Total	
			%	N
...the police	64%	75%	70%	279
...the tribunals	62%	77%	69%	262
...the local governments	63%	74%	69%	266
...public social institutions	46%	60%	52%	246
...NGO's social institution	63%	73%	68%	231
...churches	42%	56%	49%	229

<sup>13</sup> The relationship between the number of people identifying dangerous places and those avoiding some place during dark time could be contradictory. However we did not have resources in the framework of this research project for deeper analyses. It should be the subject of specialised project.

**FIGURE 5: Should the police be more effective in the field of preventing crime? (only for Békásmegyer)**



*Comment: Total N=244*

## 2.6.2 Actively working people

Their educational and financial background is more secure than for any other group. One fifth of young people earned more than the double of the subsistence wage (90 000 HUF<sup>14</sup>) when 29% of those actively working. More than 60% of them affirm to live more or less better than 5 years ago. Almost 2/3<sup>rd</sup> of them are living in couple. We can observe an increasing willingness of moving from their actual neighbourhood from their part.

Among actively working women the fear of going out at night time is higher than for young people, which is not the case for men in the same group. Even of this we can state that in general terms there is less difference between men's and women's attitudes in respect of crime in the case of the active generation than we could see for younger people. Their level of fear is a little bit higher but they are a little bit more confident with public institutions fighting against crime.

Principal tables on socio-demographical distribution and their victimization and fear indicators can be found here below but the Annex contains additional tables for actively working people between pages 57-60.

**TABLE 13: Indicators of fear for actively working people in Békásmegyer**

Yes, %	Man	Woman	Total <sup>15</sup>	
			%	N
There are some dangerous places	47%	59%	53%	404
Avoiding some areas in dark time	8%	22%	14%	496

<sup>14</sup> Around 340-350 € calculating with 260 HUF / € valid for end 2006.

<sup>15</sup> See footnote 13.

**TABLE 14: Causes of fear for actively working people in Békásmegyer**

	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dangerous persons	70	22%	60	21%	130	22%
Not enough control and presence of the authorities	58	18%	48	17%	106	17%
Dangerous traffic	18	6%	21	7%	40	7%
Acts of crime	90	28%	81	28%	171	28%
Feeling safe	84	26%	76	27%	160	26%
<b>Total</b>	320	100%	286	100%	606	100%

**TABLE 15: Confidence in highlighted institutions of actively working people in Békásmegyer**

<i>Fully and meanly confident with ...</i>	Man	Woman	Total	
	%	%	%	N
...the police	70%	73%	71%	498
...the tribunals	65%	75%	70%	456
...the local governments	71%	71%	71%	473
...public social institutions	51%	60%	55%	428
...NGO's social institution	64%	73%	69%	402
...churches	44%	52%	48%	405

### 2.6.3 Mothers at home

Mothers at home are a special group mostly because their conditions are determined by the child who they should take care of. The definition of this group causes problems because of the difficulty to determine the concept of “working” or “not working”, for example. The similar use of this term is an important challenge for the international team.

Summarizing our finding in respect of the socio-demographical composition of mothers at home we can state that those having finished some vocational school but nothing higher are overrepresented among them. Their wages per capita are sensibly lower than for other groups like young people. This cannot be a surprise given that these are households typically with one actively working person and at least two persons (the mother and the child) who do not have any income. The mothers living at home with a child have a stronger willingness to move from home: a majority of them would like to move from their actual home. Probably this fact is due to the newcomer baby.

Our expectations were that the level of fear is higher than in case of other groups. These expectations were based on the higher level of fear among women in general and the fact that having a child they are more sensitive to any danger. The results of the survey did not prove these expectations. Only their feeling about dangerous place and the higher share of them trying to not to meet these places would show a higher level of scare which is not confirmed by other indicators.

An important characteristic of this group is the high level of confidence in institutions, mostly police and local governments, more than in the case of other groups. By around 10 percentage points more mothers at home believe that these institutions are doing their job well.

Here below we present the principal tables on socio-demographical indicator and attitudes of mothers at home, but you can find more information in the Annex at page 60-61.

**TABLE 16: Indicators of fear for mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

	Yes, %	Valid cases, N <sup>16</sup>
There are some dangerous places	55%	90
Avoiding some areas in dark	12%	124

**TABLE 17: Dangers in the neighbourhood for mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

Causes of fear	N	%
Dangerous persons	23	18%
Not enough control and presence of the authorities	22	17%
Dangerous traffic	8	6%
Acts of crime	32	24%
Feeling safe	46	35%
<b>Total</b>	<b>130</b>	<b>100%</b>

**TABLE 18: Confidence in institutions by mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

	Fully and mainly confident		Total(N)
	N	%	
...the police	98	80%	124
...the tribunals	78	70%	112
...the local governments	89	75%	118
...public social institutions	62	58%	108
...NGO's social institution	69	68%	101
...churches	58	57%	103

#### 2.6.4 Elderly people

The social demographical conditions of elderly are better than for some other groups. Their wages per head is relatively high given that their households are smaller and mostly all members have some revenue. Their skills structure differs strangely from others like young people. Low skilled people are highly overrepresented, but those who have a diploma have the same share than in case of the youngest generation. The proportion of those with vocational and high school skills is relatively few.

Their attraction to the neighbourhood is not stronger than for other groups like young people, but they would like to move less likely from it.

Fear among elderly people is not really higher than in the case of average but as for young people we can observe a big difference between elderly man and women. Men are less scared than women. Both affirmations are valid for “going out by night”, defining “dangerous

<sup>16</sup> See footnote 13.



places” in the neighbourhood or “avoiding” them. However among elderly people the proportion of those who state that they never leave home by night is very high.

Their confidence in institutions to fight against crime and assuring security is a little bit higher than for younger generations, and in this aspect there is no difference between genders among elderly people.

Here below are the tables on our findings on the elderly. More tables can be found on pages 61-63 in the Annex of this report.

**TABLE 19: Indicators of fear for elderly people in Békásmegyer**

	Man	Woman	Total	Total(N) <sup>17</sup>
There are some dangerous places(N=405)	45%	57%	57%	133
Avoiding some areas by night (N=498)	3%	11%	8%	194

**TABLE 20: Confidence in highlighted institutions of elderly people in Békásmegyer**

<i>Fully and meanly confident with ...</i>	Man	Woman	Total	
	%	%	%	N
...the police	79%	77%	77%	190
...the tribunals	63%	69%	67%	171
...the local governments	74%	75%	75%	185
...public social institutions	64%	76%	72%	157
...NGO’s social institution	71%	80%	77%	144
...churches	51%	72%	65%	158

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<sup>17</sup> See footnote 13.

### 3 Site visit report about Békásmegyer

#### A Objective description of the visited area

Criteria	Content (examples)
<i>General description of the researched area: Békásmegyer</i>	
Physical boundaries	(fences, within or without specific streets or parking lot, etc.) fences around the playgrounds,
Main type of function	(residential or other) Residential area
Other functions in the area	(supermarket, small shops, petrol station, etc.) many small shops, supermarket, schools (8 elementary schools, high school- which is the one of the most famous one in Hungary; university),
Circumference of the area	(in acres, number of residents, number of low-rise houses, number of high-rise dwellings) 40 000 residents,
Method	
Date of visit	24 March 2006
Time of visit	(starting time and ending time of the visit, during daylight or in the dark) 10:30-13:30
Weather conditions	(clouded, sunny, raining, etc.) Sunny
People spoken to	(names, organisations and functions of professionals and non-professionals) Ferenc Traub (policeman), Erzsébet Sági (from the Local Authority of the 3 <sup>rd</sup> district)
What was the problem in the past (before measures were taken)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• After 1989-90 a mass privatising of public housing to tenant took place which made difficult the conditions of low income people</li> <li>• Heating/energy pricing system took irrationally high central heating prices which lowered the price of these housing but produced an impasse for those able only to pay for these housing</li> </ul>
What measures have been taken?	No general measures were taken. Only isolated solutions can be seen. The heating system problems are treated by programs to isolate buildings.
Situational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Some arrangement to isolate badly built housing were done</li> <li>• We saw some efforts to make more attractive the built environment</li> </ul>
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The general solution used is housing and social allowances for owner with difficulties to pay rents and fees</li> <li>• In a few cases local government re-buy privatized housing</li> <li>• A few new social housing were built</li> </ul>
Effect of the measures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (changes after measures were taken, according to whom (sources) were the measures effective?)</li> </ul> We saw evaluation for the measures taken.
Measures still planned for the area	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• (measures not realised yet, when will those measures been taken?)</li> </ul> We do not know about any new efforts.

## B Personal lessons (including all opinion)

	Situational	Social
<p><b>1. What stroke you most on the site? (answer anything you want, positive or negative remarks, perhaps about the problems, measures taken, attitude of people spoken to, etc.)</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Potential hiding and entrapment spots at the bases to the apartment blocks (see photos below).</li> </ul> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attempt by local people to personalise and humanise their environment, by (for example) balcony extensions and planting (see below):</li> </ul> 
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Introduction of new landscape design, including seating areas (see below), but not clear if there was much resident involvement in this.</li> </ul> 
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Lots of indeterminate space between the blocks (see below):</li> </ul> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Several playgrounds for children –mostly rather untended and uninviting</li> <li>I'm able to relate to the possibility of homeless persons sleeping on the benches. But I fail to see how these small benches shall stimulate communication between people.</li> <li>Benches that could support communicative processes due to their arrangement are broken and look rather uninviting</li> </ul>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Except for the freshly renewed pedestrian zone the entire area looks very dull and untended</li> <li>Most of the buildings imperatively need an exhaustive</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>The approach from the police in crime prevention. During the meeting at Óbuda's office it was remarkable that there was so little capacity, but more shocking was that they spend much time on writing reports in the streets after damage/accidents with cars and in case of holes in the street. Positive element: the police use a statistical program to predict crime and try to spend their time as efficient as possible.</li> <li>The shift of the responsibility for the 'chain of</li> </ul>

	<p>overhaul</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Even public parks look bedraggled and overgrown</li> <li>• New facilities (like benches, dustbins or streetlights) create the impression of singular islands within an otherwise rather run-down surrounding</li> <li>• A good example of creating more green in public space: Garages overgrown with grass</li> <li>• Barred doors separate the dwelling area from the staircase. This might be useful with regard to crime prevention but it arouses the overall impression to live in a prison.</li> <li>• In order to avoid empty state and dilapidation as well as to improve certain areas, the temporary utilisation of vacant spaces, which are plenty</li> <li>• Békásmegyer, for i.e. artists and creative has proved successful in Berlin</li> <li>• In most of the buildings the ground floor is occupied with small shops and provides access to the buildings. With that the problem of burglary particularly in the ground floors is precluded. The general problem of burglary certainly not – especially if the entrance doors are predominantly open as seen in Békásmegyer</li> </ul> <p><i>Public Space</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In the first visited area there were lots of blocks that had no activity in the footprint. That gives lack of interaction with the public space. The high-rise blocks are private properties (condominiums) and especially the zones between private properties and public space looks neglected.</li> <li>• Some high-rise blocks have a corridor at ground floor that is dark and badly visible (bad</li> </ul>	<p>security' from police to local government: that is a hot topic in Holland as well.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Their residents own most dwellings. That can make residents more concerned with their surrounding environment.</li> <li>• The far-reaching effects of the expensive heating system and the difficulty to improve it.</li> <li>• There is informal control out of the windows but not on entrances</li> <li>• The market works very well. There were surprisingly big amounts of fresh fruit and flowers for sale there, even the expensive kinds<sup>18</sup></li> <li>• The coming of a church in the heart of the area and the influence of the Order of Malta on realising children's playgrounds are remarkable <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Communal representatives are responsible (on behalf of all residents) for maintenance and have a role in the relations between residents.</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
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<sup>18</sup> In the Netherlands high rise blocks are often associated with renting, poor people, so you have to look at the blocks with other eyes: here 30% of the people have an university degree and people are relatively rich, have good jobs and own their flats.

	<p>overview). In the footprint there are some shops, but they don't improve the feeling of safety in the public space much.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On the corners of high rise block there is a lively atmosphere with small shops selling all kinds of things (bread, meat, washing machines, Chinese food)</li> <li>• Some of the high-rise blocks behind the new built church have visible machines (inside) in the footprint. There is no activity from these footprints</li> <li>• Under the high rise blocks is only a very small corridor where children can play (when it rains) without getting in contact with cars immediately</li> <li>• Passages under high rise blocks don't continue in footpaths, so no logistic network is growing in public space</li> <li>• Cars are parked everywhere, though it was not really a mess. It's a huge mass, though. Car crime is one of the most important problems in the area.</li> <li>• Illegal parking in pedestrian area's</li> <li>• Privatising parts of the public space make well controlled new space but doesn't solve the problems of the rest (unattractive, overdoses cars)</li> <li>• People are getting involved with public space. We saw at least five persons busy with making patterns of small gardens around the entrances of the flat., places that they took (illegal) care off.</li> <li>• Seats/benches have been taken away or molested months ago, but they have still not been repaired/replaced</li> <li>• Demolished cars are standing in the street for a month and are supposed to be removed then. Several cars seem to be deserted much longer than one month.</li> <li>• Playgrounds don't really look very attractive</li> <li>• There is so much public green grass, trees without any colour/charm.</li> </ul>	
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	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The shopping centre on the lower side is surrounded by conifer clumps. This is unattractive, because it is always the same and it frustrates sightlines</li> <li>• Putting litter at the street is quite well arranged</li> <li>• In the new paved area the street was clean, but all cigarettes were collected at the foot of the trees</li> </ul> <p><i>The architecture (exterior)</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The apartments on the first floor had balconies on the side where there were lawns. At most balconies were iron or wooden fences, which make them look terrible defensive.</li> <li>• Under the balconies were open spaces, small no-men's-land that was in some cases taken in by hobo's (homeless people).</li> <li>• The pavilions at the edge of the central square make a clear ending to the square, but they are competition for the shops in the footprint and they are a barrier in sightlines and can form a place to hide behind at night when people get back home from HÉV (tram). A 'normal' building would we preferable.</li> </ul> <p><i>The interior</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The small corridor on the floors is very accessible for people that don't have to be there. The building is closed with a door, but it is easy to sneak in. And because there are only two or three apartments it's easy to stay there a long time breaking in.</li> <li>• Illegal sneaking in is quite easy without control on entrance and with residents opening the door for strangers.</li> <li>• The locks are good technically, but burglars have too much time to brake them (because out of sight).</li> <li>• In the central corridor people try to make the non-zone attractive by placing a vase with flowers</li> </ul>	
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## 4 Conclusions

We have seen that Békásmegyer and the control area (Római) are not really different in the built environment even if the prestige of the two neighbourhoods is different. The difference in prestige reflects in their social composition.

The crime and fear affect the two neighbourhoods in a very similar level. The difference between them can be observed mainly in the level of confidence in organized fighting against crime and fear of crime.

On the basis of the above seen analyses we can affirm that even behind territorial effects or that of the built environment sometimes we can suppose social inequalities due to the built environment. But in some cases the presence of a well or badly functioning institution can determine differences. In general terms, specialities in the domain of fear we could mostly highlighted in case expectation in front of others, like institutions working in the field. The expectations of well-to-do people are higher: even if services work better, they are more critical.

The selected vulnerable groups differ a lot in their socio-demographical composition and in many other dimensions. All these factors cause different attitudes in front of crime and institutions fighting against it. We found that in most of the aspects young and elderly men's fear is lower than for other group and mostly young men's expectations are very high in front of institutions.

### 4.1 *What can Hungary learn from others?*

This project aimed to share, between EU member and accession states, experience about how best to reduce neighbourhood crime and insecurity. There are many examples throughout Europe of attempts to rehabilitate problematic residential areas, usually through physical improvements, along with management and "social" changes. Are they an effective way to reduce crime and insecurity? Are there particular approaches to rehabilitation and regeneration that are more likely to impact on crime and safety? To what extent are effective approaches replicable across Europe? What can Western Europe learn from Eastern Europe and vice versa?

In this project we saw many different solutions for the crime related problems. In Hungary we could follow the way of East Berlin and/ or Biljmermeer.

Using a "carousel" approach where a researcher from one state will appraise the effectiveness of measures implemented in another state, knowledge and experience will be exchanged across Europe during the project. Although primarily focusing attention on situational crime prevention measures (design and physical changes), the project will also take into consideration management and social/community development interventions in the selected neighbourhoods. We have been in Bristol, Amsterdam, Krakow and Berlin. Here there are some good example which we may also use in Békásmegyer.

*According to visit in Bristol:*

- Using The Neighbourhood Watch system
- The good relationship between the police and the leaders of the local Neighbourhood Watch system

- Good and practicable brochures (from which you could know the important phone numbers etc.) They focus on the local problems (buying the houses, domestic violence, drug etc.)
- Organise leisure time's programmes
- Organising common events to clean the park, or vanish the graffities (for the youngsters)
- Strengthening the responsibility of their own environment with programmes (from the flat, the floor, the inside of the house, the park etc.)
- Common places, laundry is not possible in Hungary but something like that, where the neighbours can meet and talk.

*According to visit Amsterdam:*

- Information centre where you can see what will happen in your neighbour (scale- models etc.)
- The goal: the neighbours know each other (parties, football matches)
- Promotion of employment (e.g. job creation, subsidised employment)
- Stimulation of participation in cultural and social life'
- Information centre in the shopping mall is open to public and well accommodated,
- Promotion of employment
- Education and training for (underprivileged) residents:
- Empowerment for women, programmes for women
- Care for addicts and homeless
- The residents are informed about the changes
- The main goal: to help the residents to live in a better neighbourhood, to help them to solve their problems

*According to visit Krakow:*

- community place for children
- programmes for children
- the church has main role in the neighbourhood
- social prevention in the school- social workers in the school
- private security service
- solve the violence in the school- programmes for the juvenile defenders
- more sport activities
- special programmes for prevent the robberies in the street

*According to visit Berlin:*

- "Treffen Punkt"
- the social help system
- strengthening the social cohesion
- the idea of Genossenschaft
- the DEGEWO
- how they involve the residents to the life of the neighbourhood
- good sport activities (box)
- 'crime prevention theatre'
- cultural programmes (e.g. to introduce the Hungarian kitchen)
- anti-violence training
- how they organised their institutions (DEGEWO, Genossenschaft)
- anti-violence training
- programmes for children (e.g. Halloween)



Following the visit to Békásmegyer we have been given many good idea how to solve our problems from the colleagues from different countries.

***For the situational problems:***

- Encourage more residents to personalise and take over communal spaces.

***Public space***

- Money is a big problem in Budapest: there is not enough budget for maintenance. We hope maintenance of public space can get higher priority, so it can be improved. In that way the residents will use public space with more care (little investment with big spin-off).
- In general we have seen many physical things that could be improved. Big physical measures will be too expensive though, probably. Advise: start with social measures and perhaps the big physical measures won't be necessary.

Following: suggestions for physical measures

- Playgrounds like the ones initiated by the Order of Malta look attractive and well maintained. The number can be increased, maybe not only by the Order of Malta.
- Making places where people can meet. in the courtyards, like they've been making in the northern part. Though seats for 1 person (anti-sleeping from drunks) doesn't create a cosy environment. Alternative: several seats for 1 person close to each other or more-person benches with divided compartments against sleeping.
- The condominiums can adopt public space. Around the high-rise blocks can come a zone with vegetable- and flower gardens. In a more coached project its possible to make a territory, where every family has a garden with a shed and a car parking surrounded by hedges (ref: Copenhagen/Sorensen)
- The public place can be easily transformed into a place of joy. A cheap experiment can be to enliven the meadows by planting thousands of Crocus bulbs. In spring that can make a feast: to walk through and to watch on it from the high-rise blocks.
- Transforming the footprint to lively entrances, apartments and little storage rooms (ref: Bijlmermeer for instance Hoogoord).
- Passages under high-rise blocks continue in footpaths so there is a good logistic system. Shrubs out of sightlines.
- Making a bigger pavement in front of the footprint (sunny side) where children can play without getting in contact with the cars.
- Surround car parks by hedges, so there is a marked territory. Make sure people don't park their car outside car parks (fees!!)
- Seats/benches should be repaired immediately after being molested (let's say within 1 week after being reported)
- Demolished cars should be removed within two weeks after being reported.
- Refresh the surroundings of the shopping centre. Less conifers, more flowers and autumn coloured trees and shrubs. Bulbs in springtime.

***The architecture (exterior)***

- The spaces under the balconies need to be closed, so drunks and hobo's won't be using it as a home/sleeping place.
- One further step could be to make the balconies a little under an angle, so that potential climber will have the gravity against them
- There should be no more possibilities to build a kiosk or pavilion in public space. Shop owners in the future will definitely been having their shops in the footprint from the high-rise blocks.

### *The interior*

Start a project to improve the locks and doors of the apartment blocks (outside, in the corridors, perhaps the individual front doors as well). This can save money and give better solutions, compared to each block doing his own project.

### ***For the social problems:***

- There needs to be more community building and involvement in maintenance and improvements, to safeguard the future
- Holes in the streets shouldn't be the responsibility of the police. Let the city write reports or better: fix them. In that way the police can spend more time on crime prevention.
- Let residents participate in improvement projects: that will make them more involved with public space and the neighbourhood. Perhaps projects like these can 'socialise the Hungarian soul': just work, little social life.
- Ask the police not just to look at statistics of where problems occur, but at the causes of the problems as well.
- The future of this area may be like the history of the Bijlmermeer in Amsterdam. If the economy improves, people get higher salaries and might move away from the high rise neighbourhood and to more suburban areas. To prevent the area of deteriorating, municipality, police and social organisations need to keep a close look on changes in residential structure. Monitor the wishes on the housing market, compare this area to other areas in Hungary and react to changes.

## ***4.2 How the built environment influences***

### **4.2.1 ...crime level**

Our results go to show that crime is not exceedingly high in the research area. The number of crimes is not significantly high despite what could be expected on the basis of the mixed, contradictory built environment elaborated in a manner that it considers social and security aspects less. These findings are supported both by the criminal statistics and by the results of the questionnaire-based survey. The number and the specific value of the crimes in the research area are not high even in comparison with the Római housing estate as control area.

### **4.2.2 ...fear of crime**

Our experience based on the data-related empirical evidences goes to show that in Békásmegyer strong fear of crime and victimisation is not at all typical of the whole of the population. One sensitivity group, i.e. elderly people showed a higher rate of fear of crime and victimisation as well as accidents. The respondents also mentioned that they mainly fear abandoned areas and parks.

## ***4.3 Effects of rehabilitation programmes***

There have been rehabilitation programmes in the area, but these mainly covered partial, special problems, or minor areas. An example for this is the national initiative where individual blocks of flats could apply for better and more modern heat insulation of the panel blocks as well as for the renewal of the roof structure. However, these exerted a limited

influence on the built environment. It does not know and there are no data to see whether these programmes have considerably modified the property prices in this area and whether they have improved the opinions about the housing estate. While in the case of roof reconstructions attention was paid to the trafficking of the students of the nearby school, on the whole, crime prevention and the elaboration of a more secure built environment were not dominant aspects of these programmes.

#### **4.3.1 Expectations**

As there have not been any major rehabilitation programmes, low expectations and small impacts were expected from the programmes implemented so far. The main expectation would have been the increase in the property prices around the main square, as well as in the flats that are located in the renewed buildings. Since the programme was not widespread enough, the related expectations were not significant either. According to the original intention, the insulation of the flats would exert its influence through the reduction of the heating costs.

#### **4.3.2 Experienced effects**

No data are available about the impacts of the programme; we do not know whether the roof renewal and the insulation repair increased the property prices. We do not know either whether the insulation reduced the heating costs of the panel flats.

#### **4.4 Propositions for further programmes**

Based on the medium-range development plan of the district a large-scale programme can be expected that set the total renovation of the housing estates in Békásmegyer and Óbuda. This programme is not only aimed at renewing residential buildings, but also at the renewal of green areas and squares. The image of the whole district part is planned to be modified. These investments would lead to increased property prices. On the other hand, the built environment would also be renewed as a result of the above. The built environment-related security risks would be decreased considerably.

An outdoor camera system is also planned to be built, which may exert a significant influence on the opinions about public security at the housing estate.

In the wake of the expert interviews the following picture has been outlined about the most problem-ridden areas of the housing estate as well as for the proposals to solve these problems:

- *The security risks directly implied in the built environment are primarily as follows:*
  - ***Unclear, arcaded buildings***  
*CURRENT SOLUTION: the major part of the arcades has been built in, and now shops are functioning there. No one bothers about the remaining arcades, „the building prescriptions do not prohibit them and do not contain any provisions”.*
  - ***Entrance doors with plants grown around, lack of illumination***  
*CURRENT SOLUTION: These are owned by the blocks of flats, the residents have to solve this problem themselves.*
  - ***Homeless people staying in staircases in winter***  
*CURRENT SOLUTION: Mounting better locks on the doors is the task of the*

*blocks of flats and the common representatives, it is the responsibility of the residents not to let in strangers and not to open the door.*

➤ ***Motor vehicle and pedestrian traffic are not separated***

*CURRENT SOLUTION: we have not found the responsible person. Presumably, this should be initiated by the population at the local government, but probably only very cheap solutions may be considered.*

➤ ***Motor vehicles disappearing from, or damaged in big parking areas***

*CURRENT SOLUTION: The municipal supervision and the colleagues of the police also pay attention to big parking places.*

➤ ***Parking near the buildings.*** „everybody is disturbed only by other people's cars, and feel that their own car is only safe under their own window.”

*CURRENT SOLUTION: The staff of the municipal supervision check the streets only in working time, when this is a rare phenomenon, but imposing fine on cars parked on green areas, or removing obstacles that hinder motor vehicle traffic or marked out pirate parking lots represent a graver question for them.*

➤ ***Iron bars built by the population to close down corridors for the purpose of public security.*** These imply a special risk from the viewpoint of fire safety and fire extinguishing.

*CURRENT SOLUTION: Although the building authorities (e.g. the fire brigade) would be obliged to remove such bars upon an announcement, procedures in such matters are initiated only rarely.*

- *There are specific places that cause fear in the first place in the dark, however, these can be found in most places of Budapest or worldwide:*

➤ ***Subway passage***

*CURRENT SOLUTION: It is owned by Budapest, it is a competence of the capital city, they are responsible for renewing it. Reconstruction was being carried out at the date of the inspection, in March 2006.*

➤ ***The neighbourhood of some pubs.*** The pub premises are let out by the residential communities themselves in order to cut the common costs.

*CURRENT SOLUTION: Legal actions are started against the noisiest and most problematic pubs, and these can be closed down so it is in their interest to take care.*

➤ ***Parks, sandy places, playgrounds***

*The associates of the municipal supervision report the problems experienced upon their daily check to the competent authorities, and a procedure is launched to treat the experienced problems.*

➤ ***The marketplace and its environment, trading area***

*CURRENT SOLUTION: Private security guards safeguard the area in the busiest period, when the market is operating.*

The representative of the Public Foundation for the Public Security of Óbuda says it would be an important solution to build and operate the camera system as well as – not totally independently from this – to establish the district public security company<sup>19</sup> to carry out this work together with the police. They could join the police and the public area supervision on their patrol. This could be done by the district guards or the civil guards. The district guards must consist of well-trained security guards in order to patrol together with the police.

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<sup>19</sup> In this context, the Kht. (public utility company) is a synonym to the district guards (see footnote 10)

When the local government designed the establishment spots of the camera system the opinion of the colleague of the municipal supervision was also requested about it. The colleague made a proposal for the areas, playground and parking lots endangered by the garbage illegally deposited by the population. Similarly, the colleague also received the public security concept but had no time to give an opinion about it. The public security executive lady claimed that the yet-to-be-established camera system may be able to handle both of the prioritised problems (motor vehicle, flat): car and flat burglaries.

The district police captain said that suitable police and crime prevention communication would be required, which would use the prime time on the most viewed commercial television stations because it is evident that local TV stations are viewed by few people, and it is not enough to address the population through them. These days, such campaigns are launched very rarely. It should be achieved that the population spend on security according to their financial position and material abilities. Currently, 500 out of 5000 crimes are burglary and theft.

Someone should elaborate well-working solutions to address the population in an effective manner. The idea of a civil-friendly police is important, but it must be duly noted that – with the given work overload – the police have hardly any time even for the compulsory tasks.

On the other hand, for example, the educational system should also address areas like how citizens should behave when they are stopped by the police for the purpose of identifying themselves. May this should be a part of the Traffic Code so that it has a clear and established order just like in other countries.

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## **6 Annex**

### **6.1 *Methodological remarks***

In the framework of the present empirical study 500 people were asked on each side. To get the correct proportions following the statistical rules of representation for any calculation for the whole area the 10.7 : 7.2 weight should be used. Because of the effect of weighting the number of cases for the hill-side appears 400 and for the river-side 600. These are the weighted case numbers when we keep 1000 as a case number for the whole area.

The expert interviews were conducted with the colleagues of the official organisations and civil organisations that play an important role in, and are aware of the field of research: crime prevention executive, associate of the educational department, associate of the municipal supervision, the representative of the Public Foundation for the Public Security of Óbuda, the associate of the building authorities, as well as the district police captain voiced their opinion about the problems of the area, about his experiences as well as about the opportunities to come up with solutions.

## 6.2 Detailed tables and figures

### 6.2.1 Comparative statistical data

**TABLE 21: trend in the number of perpetrators of violent crimes in the Budapest districts between 1999 and 2005**

Districts	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		Per 100 000 resi- dents
	Person	Ranking	Person	Ranking	Person	Ranking	Person	Ranking	Person	Ranking	Person	Ranking	Person	Ranking	
<b>I.</b>	77	2	36	15	45	7	48	9	50	9	42	16	41	16	165,6
<b>II.</b>	50	23	55	23	68	22	65	23	78	23	100	23	94	22	107,5
<b>III.</b>	<b>162</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>140</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>142</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>175</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>252</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>182,9</b>
<b>IV.</b>	182	11	216	6	194	3	208	5	234	5	336	2	285	4	287,7
<b>V.</b>	40	18	48	11	45	10	34	19	41	17	40	18	54	10	198,7
<b>VI.</b>	84	7	67	13	66	11	97	4	99	6	94	100	77	12	184,3
<b>VII.</b>	155	5	139	4	116	5	153	3	186	3	199	3	152	5	251,2
<b>VIII.</b>	266	1	300	1	253	1	325	1	462	1	428	1	449	1	564,3
<b>IX.</b>	154	4	160	3	117	4	114	10	219	2	188	4	191	2	319,8
<b>X.</b>	229	3	281	2	152	2	251	2	230	4	225	5	227	3	293,1
<b>XI.</b>	157	20	118	22	126	20	161	20	154	21	165	22	134	23	98,1
<b>XII.</b>	60	21	66	18	45	23	59	21	74	20	69	21	72	20	127,0
<b>XIII.</b>	200	8	218	7	165	12	162	14	213	10	298	6	245	8	225,8
<b>XIV.</b>	175	15	152	17	142	17	155	17	182	16	168	19	189	17	162,2
<b>XV.</b>	137	12	120	14	88	19	128	13	137	15	158	15	141	15	172,1
<b>XVI.</b>	55	22	61	21	61	21	60	22	77	22	96	20	106	19	153,8
<b>XVII.</b>	95	17	76	20	106	15	157	6	133	14	188	9	137	14	175,9
<b>XVIII.</b>	165	10	177	8	162	8	180	8	179	11	197	11	222	6	237,7
<b>XIX.</b>	121	6	128	5	116	6	122	7	130	8	162	8	121	11	196,1
<b>XX.</b>	90	16	111	10	96	13	88	16	119	12	124	14	146	7	229,1
<b>XXI.</b>	140	9	123	12	129	9	142	11	174	7	212	7	162	9	210,1
<b>XXII.</b>	74	13	94	9	75	14	84	12	73	18	82	17	58	21	114,6
<b>XXIII.</b>	26	14	24	16	25	16	30	15	35	13	43	12	33	18	160,9
<b>Budapest total</b>	2 894		2 910		2 534		2 983		3 454		3 866		3 566		210,1



**TABLE 22: Ranking of the *number* and the frequency of violent and disorderly *crimes* in the Budapest districts between 1999 and 2005**

Districts	1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004		2005		
	Case, %	Ranking	Case, %	Ranking	Case, %	Ranking	Case %	Ranking	Case, %	Ranking	Case, %	Ranking	Case, %	Ranking	Per 100 000 residents
<b>I.</b>	120	7	122	7	128	4	129	6	150	6	125	8	131	5	529,1
<b>II.</b>	147	21	146	22	163	20	166	22	139	23	191	21	195	19	223,0
<b>III.</b>	<b>305</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>325</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>340</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>330</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>405</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>322,0</b>
<b>IV.</b>	340	11	313	13	324	11	390	9	363	10	452	9	438	8	442,1
<b>V.</b>	199	1	231	1	169	2	183	3	260	1	231	1	228	1	839,0
<b>VI</b>	255	3	246	4	218	3	223	5	254	5	267	4	270	3	184,3
<b>VII</b>	329	5	334	5	265	8	270	8	327	7	329	7	262	9	646,1
<b>VIII</b>	376	6	455	2	450	1	560	1	661	2	590	2	588	2	432,9
<b>IX.</b>	336	4	320	6	277	6	349	4	397	3	391	3	320	4	738,9
<b>X.</b>	468	2	472	3	382	5	532	2	478	4	427	6	379	6	535,8
<b>XI</b>	336	14	321	17	390	12	424	12	417	13	396	15	355	15	489,4
<b>XII</b>	129	19	129	19	106	22	147	18	166	14	80	23	112	22	259,9
<b>XIII.</b>	368	9	463	9	372	9	378	10	427	9	474	10	485	7	197,6
<b>XIV.</b>	393	10	395	10	327	15	354	13	407	11	384	12	431	11	447,0
<b>XV.</b>	209	15	195	18	176	19	205	19	190	18	202	18	198	17	369,8
<b>XVI.</b>	81	23	105	23	88	23	109	23	122	22	130	22	163	18	241,7
<b>XVII.</b>	138	20	136	20	138	21	161	21	164	20	243	13	189	16	236,5
<b>XVIII.</b>	222	16	294	12	239	17	265	14	264	15	265	16	283	14	303,0
<b>XIX.</b>	271	8	284	8	265	7	287	7	315	8	348	5	241	10	390,5
<b>XX.</b>	146	18	162	15	208	10	164	17	146	19	156	19	142	20	222,9
<b>XXI.</b>	212	13	225	14	220	14	268	11	269	12	331	11	278	12	360,6
<b>XXII.</b>	80	22	89	21	118	18	132	15	106	21	128	17	104	21	205,6
<b>XXIII.</b>	50	12	57	11	53	13	45	20	56	16	45	20	36	23	175,5
<b>Budapest total</b>	<b>5 510</b>		<b>5 819</b>		<b>5 416</b>		<b>6 071</b>		<b>6 411</b>		<b>6 557</b>		<b>6 233</b>		<b>367,2</b>

## 6.2.2 Characterizing the research area

**TABLE 23: Would you like to move from here?**

	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	210	43%	127	32%	180	30%	307	31%
Preferably not	120	25%	58	15%	101	17%	159	16%
Preferably yes	103	21%	99	25%	166	28%	265	27%
Fully agree	56	11%	111	28%	146	25%	257	26%
<b>Total</b>	489	100%	395	100%	593	100%	988	100%

**TABLE 24: Opinion about the neighbourhood: Do you like to live here?**

	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	8	2%	12	3%	25	4%	37	4%
Preferably not	29	6%	46	12%	85	14%	131	13%
Preferably yes	251	51%	256	64%	389	65%	645	65%
Fully agree	207	42%	84	21%	96	16%	180	18%
<b>Total</b>	495	100%	398	100%	595	100%	993	100%

**TABLE 25: The density of the neighbourhood web in the various survey zones**

	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Poor level of knowledge	153	31%	122	31%	197	33%	319	32%
Good relationship with the neighbours	118	24%	126	32%	182	30%	308	31%
More active, more coherent community	229	46%	151	38%	221	37%	372	37%
<b>Total</b>	500	100%	399	100%	600	100%	999	100%

**TABLE 26: „Do you like to live here?”, according to age groups**

	Age groups				Total	
	18-30	31-45	46-60	61 +	N	%
Yes	82%	82%	86%	81%	995	83%
Would move	60%	53%	53%	42%	998	53%
Would have moved 5 years ago	46%	44%	54%	39%	811	47%
His/her general mood has improved	65%	60%	57%	53%	797	59%

**TABLE 27 Did you want to move from here 5 years ago?**

	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Not at all	205	51%	114	35%	156	32%	170	21%
Preferably not	88	22%	60	18%	101	21%	161	20%
Preferably yes	74	18%	70	21%	101	21%	171	21%
Fully agree	34	8%	82	25%	128	26%	210	26%
<b>Total</b>	401	100%	325	100%	486	100%	811	100%

**TABLE 28: Feeling of security and the neighbourhood net : how secure do groups feel that are more coherent and those with a looser relationship**

	Poor knowledge	Good relationship with the neighbours	More active, more coherent residential community	Total	
				(N)	(%)
<b>Total, N</b>	109	120	151	380	100
Has fears in the dark	24	34	42	100	26
Has fears going out alone	20	28	44	92	24
Has fears of being robbed	19	25	31	75	20
Has fears of something happening to him/her	26	33	46	105	28

### 6.2.3 Demographic composition of the research area

**TABLE 29 Gender compositions at the research area and the control area**

	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Man	219	44%	178	44%	251	42%	429	43%
Woman	281	56%	222	56%	349	58%	571	57%
Total	500	100%	400	100%	600	100%	1000	100%

**TABLE 30 Composition by age groups in the research area and the control sample**

Age groups	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
between 18-30	131	26%	122	30%	166	28%	288	29%
between 31-45	101	20%	89	21%	134	22%	223	22%
between 46-60	187	37%	120	30%	176	29%	296	30%
61 years and older	81	16%	74	18%	124	21%	198	20%
<b>Total</b>	500	100%	400	100%	600	100%	1000	100%

**TABLE 31 Average household wages in the research area and the control sample**

Wages, thousand HUF	Total household income	Income per capita,	N
Római	184.8	80.4	467
Békásmegyer			
Hill side	172.7	77.0	380
River side	162.6	72.2	582
<b>Total</b>	166.6	74.1	962

**TABLE 32 Composition by wage groups in the research area and the control sample**

Wage groups in HUF	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
45000 and lower	113	24%	103	27%	175	30%	278	29%
45001 – 65000	105	22%	66	17%	125	21%	191	20%
65001 - 90000	111	24%	110	29%	158	27%	268	28%
90000 or above	138	30%	100	26%	124	21%	224	23%
<b>Total</b>	467	100%	379	100%	582	100%	961	100%

## 6.2.4 Crime and fear of crime

**TABLE 33: Which are the dangerous places in this area?**

Places to scare	Control Area	Research Area: Békásmegyer		
	Római N	Hill side N	River side N	Total N
Ruinous buildings	4	0	0	0
Entrances	3	3	7	10
Arcades	5	2	5	7
Underpasses	3	82	84	166
Elevators	1	1	0	1
Other concrete places	61	30	68	98
Depopulated places	17	9	11	20
Dense park with bushes	32	23	40	63
Nearby bars	16	22	25	47
Nearby neighbourhood cultural centre	0	6	0	6
Nearby shops	6	3	2	5
Nearby market	0	6	24	30
Nearby schools and institutions for children	6	2	5	7
Nearby other institutions	12	13	13	26
Train (HÉV) station	5	6	4	10
Bus station	2	0	6	6
Other built environment	6	6	0	6
In dark it is dangerous everywhere	6	8	13	21
There is no problem, no such place	20	7	4	11
Other	2	2	17	19
<b>Total</b>	207	230	328	558

*Comment: multiply response were possible*

**TABLE 34: How much do you trust in the police?**

Level of confidence	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	N	%	Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doesn't trust at all	34	7%	22	5%	43	7%	65	7%
Doesn't trust too much	99	20%	73	18%	120	20%	193	20%
Mainly trusts in them	268	54%	232	58%	319	53%	551	56%
Is fully confident with them	89	18%	68	17%	101	17%	169	17%
<b>Total</b>	490	100%	394	100%	583	100%	977	100%

**TABLE 35: How much do you trust in the tribunals?**

Level of confidence	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doesn't trust at all	48	11%	34	10%	56	10%	90	10%
Doesn't trust too much	99	22%	78	22%	108	20%	186	21%
Mainly trusts in them	219	48%	190	53%	277	52%	467	52%
Is fully confident with them	86	19%	55	15%	96	18%	151	17%
<b>Total</b>	452	100%	358	100%	538	100%	896	100%

**TABLE 36: How much do you trust in local governments?**

Level of confidence	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doesn't trust at all	40	8%	17	5%	41	7%	58	6%
Doesn't trust too much	89	19%	78	21%	113	20%	191	20%
Mainly trusts in them	251	53%	217	58%	313	55%	530	57%
Is fully confident with them	95	20%	62	17%	97	17%	159	17%
<b>Total</b>	475	100%	374	100%	564	100%	938	100%

**TABLE 37: How much do you trust in churches?**

Level of confidence	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doesn't trust at all	118	29%	90	28%	121	25%	211	26%
Doesn't trust too much	80	20%	71	22%	96	20%	167	21%
Mainly trusts in them	114	28%	97	30%	155	32%	252	31%
Is fully confident with them	92	23%	66	20%	118	24%	184	23%
<b>Total</b>	404	100%	324	100%	490	100%	814	100%

**TABLE 38: How much do you trust in public social care institutions?**

Level of confidence	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doesn't trust at all	46	10%	38	11%	61	12%	99	12%
Doesn't trust too much	132	30%	116	34%	139	27%	255	30%
Mainly trusts in them	202	46%	154	45%	226	44%	380	44%
Is fully confident with them	61	14%	37	11%	86	17%	123	14%
<b>Total</b>	441	100%	345	100%	512	100%	857	100%

**TABLE 39: How much do you trust in non-governmental social institutions?**

Level of confidence	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Doesn't trust at all	32	7%	30	9%	38	8%	68	9%
Doesn't trust too much	85	20%	73	23%	94	20%	167	21%
Mainly trusts in them	204	47%	159	49%	209	44%	368	46%
Is fully confident with them	113	26%	62	19%	130	28%	192	24%
<b>Total</b>	434	100%	324	100%	471	100%	795	100%

**TABLE 40: What should be done to increase security?**

	Control Area	Research Area: Békásmegyer			
	Római	Hill side	River side	Total	
	N	N	N	N	
Better street lighting	26	30	36	66	
CCTV	26	15	19	34	
Alarm system connecting to the police	1	1	0	1	
Speed control	1	23	0	23	
Other technical development	5	6	0	6	
Police patrol at night	16	23	24	47	
Civil guard patrol at night	5	6	2	8	
Increase the visibility and efficiency of police presence	170	139	193	332	
Increase the power of the civil guard	26	22	32	54	
Increase the number of public area maintenance staff	3	6	2	8	
Other institutional capacity building	8	3	7	10	
Convince people not to damage public and private goods	2	3	2	5	
Collect dogs in the streets	3	2	1	3	
Door keeper system	2	9	2	11	
Solve parking situation	4	4	4	8	
Other measures in public places	1	5	2	7	
Create more jobs not to be forced to commit a crime	3	1	4	5	
Feels safe	3	2	1	3	
Others	15	13	32	45	
<b>Total</b>	318	288	378	666	

*Comment: Multiply response were possible*

## 6.2.5 Vulnerable groups

### *Young people*

**TABLE 41: Young people according to activity groups**

	Control Area		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Active wage-earner	61	48%	74	61%	100	61%	174	61%
At home on child care benefit/allowance	9	7%	11	9%	20	12%	31	11%
Student higher education student	48	38%	27	22%	29	18%	56	20%
Inactive wage-earner, state, family support	10	8%	9	7%	16	10%	25	9%
<b>Total</b>	128	100%	121	100%	165	100%	286	100%

**TABLE 42: Distribution of young people by familial status in Békásmegyer**

Categories of familial status	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unmarried	100	68%	72	52%	172	60%
Divorced	2	1%	8	6%	10	4%
Widow	1	1%	0	0%	1	0%
Living together with somebody	44	30%	58	42%	102	36%
<b>Total</b>	147	100%	138	100%	285	100%

**TABLE 43: Education level of young people in Békásmegyer**

Groups of skill	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Primary school	11	8%	12	9%	23	8%
Vocational school	58	40%	53	38%	111	39%
Matriculation	50	34%	55	39%	105	37%
University degree	28	19%	21	15%	49	17%
<b>Total</b>	147	100%	141	100%	288	100%

**TABLE 44: Indicators of fear at dark for young people in Békásmegyer**

	“He/she does not”	Total N
Do you scare in dark?	83%	54
Do you scare to go out alone?	89%	53
Do you scare to be robbed?	89%	53



**TABLE 45: Distribution of young people by wage groups in Békásmegyer**

Wage groups in HUF	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
45000 and lower	49	36%	53	42%	102	39%
45001 – 65000	23	17%	24	19%	47	18%
65001 - 90000	34	25%	24	19%	58	22%
90000 or above	30	22%	26	21%	56	21%
<b>Total</b>	136	100%	127	100%	263	100%

**TABLE 46: Actively working young people according to wage groups**

	Control Area:		Research Area: Békásmegyer					
	Római		Hill side		River side		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
45000	9	15%	10	15%	19	20%	29	18%
45001 - 65000	14	24%	10	15%	20	21%	30	19%
65001 - 90000	11	19%	23	35%	25	27%	48	30%
90000 or above	25	42%	23	35%	30	32%	53	33%
<b>Total</b>	59	100%	66	100%	94	100%	160	100%

**TABLE 47: Attraction of the neighbourhood to young people in Békásmegyer**

	<i>Do you like to live here?</i>	<i>Would you like to move from here</i>	<i>... and 5 years ago?</i>	<i>Are your general conditions better than 5 years ago?</i>
	<i>Yes, %</i>	<i>Yes, %</i>	<i>Yes, %</i>	<i>Yes, %</i>
Man	82%	63%	46%	64%
Woman	81%	57%	47%	66%
<b>Total (%)</b>	82%	60%	46%	65%
<b>(N)</b>	285	283	198	204

*Comment: The table contains the share of positive answers: fully agree and mainly agree.*

**TABLE 48: Forms of victimization in case of actively young people in Békásmegyer**

	N	%
Car robbery	2	10%
Wheel robbery	5	20%
Burglary, breaking up cars	13	54%
Assault, without injury	3	12%
Other	1	3%
<b>Total</b>	24	100%

**TABLE 49: Forms of self-protection in case of actively young people in Békásmegyer**

	N	%
Personal protection tools	1	1%
Housing protection tools	258	97%
Tools specially for the car	3	1%
Escaping some activities	1	1%
Feeling secure	1	1%
Other	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	265	100%

*Actively working people***TABLE 50: Distribution of actively working people by wage groups in Békásmegyer**

Wage groups in HUF	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
45000 and lower	64	24%	38	17%	102	21%
45001 – 65000	58	23%	54	24%	113	23%
65001 - 90000	63	24%	70	30%	132	27%
90000 or above	72	28%	69	30%	141	29%
<b>Total</b>	257	100%	231	100%	488	100%

**TABLE 51: Distribution by familial status of actively working people in Békásmegyer**

	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unmarried	81	31%	51	22%	132	27%
Divorced	26	10%	42	18%	68	14%
Widow	4	2%	8	3%	12	2%
Living together with somebody	155	58%	132	57%	287	58%
<b>Total</b>	266	100%	233	100%	499	100%

**TABLE 52: Education level of actively working people in Békásmegyer**

Groups of skill	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Primary school	18	7%	17	7%	35	7%
Vocational school	116	43%	88	37%	204	40%
Matriculation	66	25%	71	30%	137	27%
University degree	68	25%	62	26%	130	26%
<b>Total</b>	268	100%	238	100%	506	100%

**TABLE 53: Fear at dark time of actively working people in Békásmegyer**

No, %	Man	Woman	Total	
			%	N
Do you scare in dark?	91%	67%	77%	120
Do you scare to go out in dark?	96%	76%	84%	121
Do you scare to be robbed?	87%	84%	85%	122
Do you scare that something will happen to you?	83%	80%	81%	121

**TABLE 54: Attraction of actively working people to their neighbourhood in Békásmegyer**

Main and fully agree	<i>Do you like to live here?</i>	<i>Would you like to move from here?</i>	<i>Did you want to move from here 5 years ago?</i>	<i>Have your conditions become better?</i>
	Yes, %	Yes, %	Yes, %	Yes, %
Man	81%	55%	48%	62%
Woman	85%	57%	53%	60%
<b>Total %</b>	83%	56%	50%	62%
N	505	498	390	385

**TABLE 55: Forms of victimization in case of actively working people in Békásmegyer**

	N	%
Car robbery	2	12%
Wheel robbery	5	25%
Burglary, breaking up cars	13	56%
Assault, without injury	3	5%
Other	1	4%
<b>Total</b>	24	100%

**TABLE 56: Forms of self-protection in case of actively working people in Békásmegyer**

	N	%
Personal protection tools	1	1%
Housing protection tools	258	97%
Tools specially for the car	3	1
Escaping some activities	1	1%
Feeling secure	1	1%
Other	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	267	100%

***Mothers at home*****TABLE 57: Mothers at home by wages groups in Békásmegyer**

Wages groups	N	%
45000 or below	42	77%
45001 – 65000	10	18%
65001 - 90000	3	5%
<b>Total</b>	54	100%

**TABLE 58: Education level of mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

Groups of skill	N	%
Primary school	4	7%
Vocational school	29	53%
Matriculation	13	23%
University degree	9	17%
<b>Total</b>	53	100%

**TABLE 59: Fear at dark time in case of mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

	She does not	
	No, %	Total, N
Do you scare in dark?	92%	31
Do you scare to go out in dark?	90%	31
Do you scare to be robbed?	87%	31
Do you scare that something will happen to you?	83%	31

**TABLE 60: Attraction of the neighbourhood to mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

	Yes, %	Total, N
Do you like to live here?	88%	55
Would like to move from here?	64%	55
Did you want to move from here 5 years ago?	57%	41
Are your general conditions better than 5 years ago?	64%	42

*Comment: The table shows the share of the positive answers: fully and mainly agree.*

**TABLE 61: Forms of victimization in case of mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

Form of victimization	N
Car robbery	1
Burglary, breaking up cars	3
Assault, without injury	1
<b>Total</b>	5

**TABLE 62: Forms of self-protection in case of mothers at home in Békásmegyer**

Forms of self-defence	N
Housing protection tools	123
Other	1

### *Elderly*

**TABLE 63: Elderly people by wages groups in Békásmegyer**

Wage groups in HUF	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
45000 and lower	5	8%	18	14%	23	12%
45001 – 65000	13	20%	14	11%	27	14%
65001 - 90000	34	52%	54	42%	88	46%
90000 or above	13	20%	42	33%	55	29%
<b>Total</b>	65	100%	128	100%	194	100%

**TABLE 64: Distribution by familial status of elderly people in Békásmegyer**

	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Unmarried	0	0%	6	5%	6	3%
Divorced	4	6%	18	14%	22	11%
Widow	8	12%	48	37%	56	28%
Living together with somebody	55	82%	58	45%	113	57%
<b>Total</b>	67	100%	130	100%	197	100%

**TABLE 65: Education level of elderly people in Békásmegyer**

Groups of skill	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Primary school	14	22%	44	34%	58	30%
Vocational school	18	28%	25	19%	43	22%
Matriculation	15	23%	44	34%	59	30%
University degree	18	28%	17	13%	35	18%
<b>Total</b>	65	100%	130	100%	195	100%

**TABLE 66: Fear at dark of elderly people in Békásmegyer**

No, %	Man	Woman	Total	
			%	N
Do you scare in dark?	93%	57%	68%	92
Do you scare to go out in dark?	93%	61%	70%	135
Do you scare to be robbed?	90%	71%	77%	136
Do you scare that something will happen to you?	78%	62%	67%	135

**TABLE 67: Attraction of elderly people to their neighbourhood in Békásmegyer**

Main and fully agree	<i>Do you like to live here?</i>	<i>Would you like to move from here?</i>	<i>Did you want to move from here 5 years ago?</i>	<i>Have your conditions become better?</i>
	Yes, %	Yes, %	Yes, %	Yes, %
Man	85%	40%	34%	55%
Woman	79%	43%	41%	51%
<b>Total %</b>	81%	42%	39%	53%
N	195	195	174	162

**TABLE 68: Dangers in the neighbourhood for elderly people in Békásmegyer**

	Man		Woman		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Dangerous persons	12	19%	44	29%	56	26%
Not enough control and presence of the authorities	10	15%	21	14%	30	14%
Dangerous traffic	2	4%	8	5%	10	5%
Acts of crime	25	38%	47	31%	72	33%
Feeling safe	16	24%	34	22%	50	23%
<b>Total</b>	66	100%	154	100%	220	100%

**TABLE 69: Forms of victimization in case elderly people in Békásmegyer**

Form of victimization	N	%
Car robbery	1	16%
Wheel robbery	1	16%
Burglary, breaking up cars	5	38%
Assault, without injury	2	31%
<b>Total</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>100%</b>

**TABLE 70: Forms of self-protection in case of elderly in Békásmegyer**

Forms of self-defence	N	%
Housing protection tools	215	98%
Tools specially for the car	2	1%
Other	2	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>220</b>	<b>100%</b>

*Middle aged divorced people***TABLE 71: Feeling of security and confidence in Békásmegyer among those divorced and aged above 46**

	N	%	Total (N)
Do you scare in dark?	10	23	44
Do you scare to go out in dark?	12	26	44
Do you scare to be robbed?	8	19	44
Do you scare that something will happen to you?	10	23	44
The police work is not enough	66	76	87

**TABLE 72: Opinions about fears in Békásmegyer and breakdown by gender of those divorced and above the age of 46**

	Man	Woman	Total	
	%	%	%	N
Do you scare in dark?	10	26	22	45
Do you scare to go out in dark?	0	34	27	45
Do you scare to be robbed?	10	23	20	45
Do you scare that something will happen to you?	10	26	22	45
The police should do more about crime prevention	72	77	76	87