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Development of Criminal Policy in Hungary during the First Decade of the 21st Century

It is a great honour for me that I have been invited to publish a paper in the Commemorative Issue of the "Archives of Criminology". I am really grateful to the Editorial Committee for giving me this opportunity. Most of the Hungarian criminologists are fully aware of the importance of the activities of the Department of Criminology at the Polish Academy of Sciences in the development of Polish and world criminology. Congratulations on the 55th anniversary of the Department and I wish you a prosperous future.

1. INTRODUCTION

In Hungary, till the beginning of the 21st century the state reacted to crime primarily through criminal law legislation. In the first decade following the change of the regime in 1989–1990, criminal policy was still equal to criminal justice policy[1], that is to the creation of acts in the field of criminal law, criminal procedure law and prison law. Since 2003, however, the state reaction to crime has been supplemented with new institutions. These are:

a) The National Strategy for Community Crime Prevention (2003),

b) Institutions for helping the victims of crimes (2005),

c) Introduction of mediation into criminal justice (2006).

A novelty is also the reform of the probation service in 2003, the expansion of the competence and tasks of the probation officers.

Upon the mentioned reforms, nowadays Hungary's criminal policy, as the policy of the state's responses to crime, basically covers two fields of activities, the first one being criminal justice policy, and the other – victim support and crime prevention.

The paper deals mainly with the new institutions of the criminal policy of expanded content. Prior to this, however, we will touch upon the trends in crime Hungary in the last twenty years, the main characteristics of the criminal law reforms following the change in the regime and the development of the sentencing practice.

[1] N. Jareborg, "What kind of criminal law do we want?", in: A. Snare (ed.), *Beware of Punishment. On the Utility and Futility of Criminal Law*, *Scandinavian Studies in Criminology* 1995, No. 14, p. 18–19.

2. CRIME AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE POLICY AFTER THE CHANGE OF THE REGIME IN HUNGARY

2.1. Trends in crime

As shown in Table 1, the number of recorded crimes sharply rose in Hungary at the time of transition.

Table 1. Number of recorded crimes in Hungary, 1988–2006

Year	Total number	Crime rate/100,000 population
1988	185,344	1,748.0
1989	225,393	2,129.0
1990	341,061	3,287.0
1991	440,370	4,253.0
1992	447,215	4,326.0
1993	400,935	3,888.7
1994	389,451	3,789.6
1995	502,036	4,900.0
1996	466,050	4,563.6
1997	514,403	5,055.8
1998	600,621	5,926.0
1999	505,716	5,011.2
2000	450,673	4,487.3
2001	465,694	4,565.5
2002	420,782	4,135.5
2003	413,343	4,075.4
2004	418,883	4,140.5
2005	436,522	4,323.0
2006	425,941	4,227.0

Source: Information booklet on crime situation. Chief Prosecutor's Office, Computer Technology Application and Information Department.

The growth lasted till 1998. In this year, the rate of crimes per 100,000 population was the highest in Hungary so far: 5,926,0. Since 2002, the number of recorded crimes and the crime rates has been stable. In the first period of the transition, the structure of crime changed as well. Among the recorded crimes, the earlier 60% rate of crimes against property increased to a rate of approximately 80% at the beginning of the 1990s. Nowadays, it is again around 60%. The rate of violent crimes in the last years is between 5% and 7%, and the trend is increasing[2].

[2] For more data and their explanation see e.g.: M. Lévay, „«Wykluczenie społeczne»: popularne pojęcie we współczesnej kryminologii. Wykluczenie społeczne i przestępczość w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej, *Archiwum Kryminologii* 2005–2006, t. XXVIII, p. 15–32; K. Kerezsi, M. Lévay, „Criminology, Crime and Criminal Justice in Hungary", *European Journal of Criminology* 2008, No. 2, p. 239–260.

2.2. Development of criminal justice policy

Upon the change in the regime, the criminal justice policy changed significantly in Hungary. In the first period of the changes, this meant the modification of the Penal Code of 1978, the Criminal Procedure Code of 1973 and the Statutory rule on Prison of 1979 in compliance with the requirements of the rule of law. In the later changes of the mentioned acts, and in the case of the new Criminal Procedure Code of 1998, the requirements of the rule of law still served as guiding principles, but – especially in the case of the modifications of the Penal Code – the efficiency of the fight against crime was also an important aspect. In the following chapter, we will briefly review the development of the Hungarian criminal justice policy after the change in the regime, focusing on three extensive modifications of the Penal Code.

After the change in the regime, the first comprehensive amendment of the Penal Code occurred in 1993 (Act XVII of 1993). The Bill, handed in to the Parliament by the conservative, center-right government was in line with the new criminal justice policy, which put into center human rights considerations and the limits of the punitive power of the state. This policy is mirrored in the following part of the Explanatory Notes of Act XVII of 1993:

"The provisions of the Bill are guided by the principles and propositions of criminal policy that provide basis for the total transformation of criminal law. Therefore, the Bill approaches to an even greater extent the principle of fair sentencing considering the gravity of offence. The Bill accepts the universally acknowledged theory that the intervention of criminal law must be limited rationally. Therefore, the circle of offences is narrowed down, as it does not wish to persecute those persons already more or less victims"[3].

True to the former objectives, the amendment of 1993, among others, decriminalized prostitution, made "treatment instead of punishment" possible for the first time in drug offences or offences of lesser gravity, decreased the general statutory minimum of imprisonment from three months to one day, widened the options to apply alternative sanctions instead of custodial sentences, and abolished the exceptionality of moderation of statutory punishment.

The amendment of 1998 was significant because of an opposite approach. The modification of the Penal Code took place after the parliamentary elections of 1998. In the electoral campaign, for the first time since the change of the regime, the fight against crime was an issue. The leading party of the opposition, in the case of their victory, promised harsh reactions to growing rate of criminality, especially organised crime, and wished to achieve this via the increased severity of the Penal Code. Coming to rule, it kept its promise.

Upon the bill of the newly elected, also center-right conservative government for the modification of the Penal Code in 1998, the sentencing system became more severe (Act LXXXVII of 1998). The life sentence with its version of ruling out the possibility of parole was introduced for the first time in the Hungarian criminal law. The general statutory minimum of imprisonment was raised to two months and the judicial freedom of sentencing was limited. The latter limitations aimed at restricting the imposition of suspended imprisonments and short-term imprisonments, and the

[3] Criminal Statutes (in Hungarian), KJK, Budapest 1993, 363–364.

judge was deprived of some freedom in the sentencing decision. The role of criminal law was made important in the fight against drug use.

The next significant modification of the Penal Code came after the general elections of 2002. The governing parties lost the elections in 2002. The bill of the new, social democratic-liberal government for the amendment of the Penal Code was approved by the Parliament in 2003 (Act II of 2003). Parts of the provisions annulled most of the provisions of the modification in 1998, with regard to stricter sanctions and the limitation of the judge's decision making rights concerning sanctioning. The concept of the modification "does not agree with the ideas that formed the basis of the amendment of 1998, especially that of expecting the mechanical aggravation of statutory punishments to effectively diminish crime rates" (Explanatory Notes to the Act II of 2003). Part of the new provisions served to repress immediate imprisonment and prison population. But even the modification of 2003 did not abolish the actual life imprisonment, and did not broaden the application possibilities of non-custodial sanctions. However, criminal law rules concerning drug-related offences became more humane and differentiated, as criminal law received a smaller role compared to the amendment of 1998.

The mentioned amendments of the Penal Code affected the sentencing practice.

Based on the Table, one may state that the most significant change occurred in the frequency of immediate imprisonment. Among the sanctions against adult convicts, compared to the period before 1990, the rate of immediate imprisonment decreased by a half by 1995.

It must be added, though, that the Hungarian sanctioning system has two characteristics that remained virtually the same since 1989–1990. One of these is that it is being imprisonment-centred, while the other one is the shortage of non-custodial or alternative sanctions[4]. These two elements can be detected from the Special Part of the Penal Code. The most frequent type of statutory penalty for certain offences is imprisonment. There is no statutory offence in the Penal Code for which the penalty should be community service. Community Service as a statutory penalty is always an alternative punishment to imprisonment or fine. The fine is also a primarily alternative punishment to imprisonment or Community Service. In a small number of statutory offences, the fine can be found as individual penalty. It is of no doubt, too, that the legislation is characterised by diversion possibilities (e.g. prosecution to be delayed on probation), while the sentencing practice with the principle of unconditional imprisonment, as last resort significantly compensating the specialties mentioned above.

Upon the referred characteristics of the sanctioning system and the sanctioning practice, the prison population rate per 100,000 population is still high in Hungary compared to most of the Western-European countries, even though upon the modification of the Penal Code in 2003 it is of descending tendency. In 2002, the prison population rate was 178, in 2006 – 164, which in this year meant 123.7 occupancy level.

[4] K. Kerezsi, "Status and function of the non-custodial sanctions in the sentencing system" (in Hungarian), *Büntetőjogi Kodifikáció* 2001, No. 2, p. 14–24.

Table 2. Sentencing practice in Hungary, 1980–2006, adult convicts

Year	Convicts, total		Capital punishment**	Imprisonment total		Of which: Suspended imprisonment		Of which: Immediate imprisonment		Community service		Fine		Other penalties and measures	
	Number	%	Number	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
1980	55,300	100	–	25,066	45.3	11,548	20.9	13,518	24.4	2,591	4.7	26,265	47.5	1,373	2.5
1985	54,851	100	2	26,477	48.3	11,780	21.5	14,697	26.8	2,684	4.9	21,079	38.4	4,608	8.4
1990	42,538	100	–	16,121	37.9	6,005	14.1	10,116	23.8	676	1.6	18,641	43.8	7,094	16.7
1995	77,029	100	–	22,969	29.8	13,682	17.76	9,287	12.05	869	1.1	38,442	49.9	14,749	19.14
2000	87,689	100	–	30,279	34.5	18,537	21.1	11,742	13.4	2,754	3.1	40,220	45.9	14,436	16.5
2003	86,722	100	–	29,744	34.2	18,449	21.1	11,295	13.02	3,794	4.3	39,110	45.9	14,074	16.2
2006	90,324	100	–	27,332	30.3	17,860	19.8	9,472	10.5	5,390	5,96	41,838	46.3	15,762	17.5

* Sources: Statistical yearbooks of Hungary. Central Statistical Office, Budapest.
** The capital punishment was abolished on 31/10/1990.

3. THE NEW APPROACH OF CRIMINAL POLICY; NEW INSTITUTIONS IN CRIMINAL POLICY

3.1. Criminal policy as part of social policy

In Hungary, the traditional institutions (Penal Code, law enforcement and criminal justice institutions, etc.) providing for the repression of crime and the reduction of detriments deriving from it has been supplemented since 2003, gradually, with new ones, already mentioned in the introduction. These institutions were established based on the new approach of the criminal policy. The essence of this is the following: if we accept that crime is not simply a legal, but a complex social phenomenon, then the reaction to it shall cover the social components of crime, as well; and this may be realized if we consider criminal policy a part of social policy. The new approach of criminal policy covers – besides the ideas, plans with regard to shaping the criminal justice – the tasks, programs of crime prevention and of those providing for the reduction of detriments occurring from crime and criminality. Naturally, the mentioned ones are not new theoretical findings, but long-known theses of criminology[5]. In Hungary, in the practice of criminal policy they mean novelty as governmental policy. In the practical realization, an internationally known criminologist, Professor Katalin Gönczöl plays a crucial role, who has been, since 2002, responsible for the execution of this criminal policy as the State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement.

Of the new institutions, lest us first give an overview of The National Strategy for Community Crime Prevention.

3.2. The National Strategy for Community Crime Prevention

In the initial period of the transition in Hungary, crime prevention activities were performed by the following organizations: a) crime prevention departments of the police; b) local governments, c) civil guards of certain settlements, d) personal and property protection companies. In 1997, the then government approved the first crime prevention programme of the country. The programme declared that the establishment of public security is not a state monopoly, but may be reached through the cooperation of governmental organs, local governments and civil organizations. The clarification of the conditions of cooperation and of the competencies, however, did not happen, therefore the programme was not realized. A new, comprehensive programme, containing also the conditions and institutions of execution was established by 2003, under the title The National Strategy for Community Crime Prevention (hereinafter: the Strategy). The Strategy was approved by the Parliament on 28 October 2003 [115/2003. (X. 28.) Parliamentary decision].

During the elaboration of the Strategy, the model of crime prevention by Jan van Dijk[6] was considered a standard, as well as the definition of crime prevention stated

[5] See e.g. in the Hungarian literature: K. Gönczöl, *Crime and Social Policy* (in Hungarian), Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest 1987.

[6] J.M. Van Dijk, *Future Perspective Regarding Crime and Criminal Justice*, Council of Europe, Strasbourg 1990.

in the Council Decision of 28 May 2001 setting up a European crime prevention network (Art. 1.3). Based on the previous, the Strategy focuses both on the reduction of the effects of social processes triggering crime and on reducing the opportunity for criminality, as well as on preventing victimisation. The document stresses the significance of complex crime prevention. The essence of this is the following: in each community, the measures curbing the effect of causes of crime, affecting victimisation and reducing opportunities for crime shall be applied simultaneously. Complexity is mirrored in the Strategy's system of crime prevention objectives. The system of crime prevention objectives of the strategy is shown in the following figure:

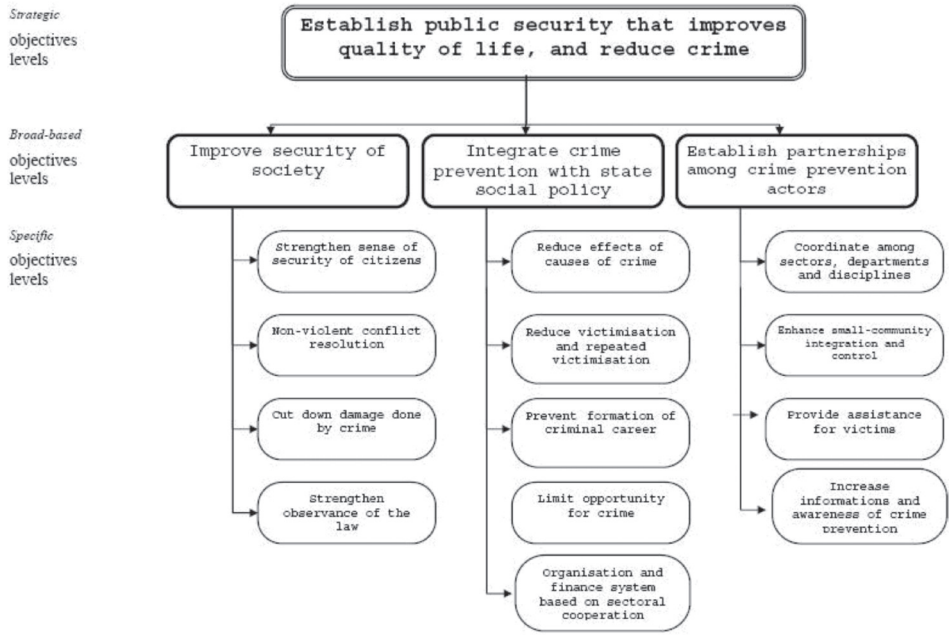

Fig. 1. The system of crime prevention objectives
Source: *Strategy* (English version), p. 41.

According to the Strategy, the realization of each objective is supported by priorities consisting of comprehensive intervention target groups and areas identified as holding the greatest promise of effectiveness. The Parliament defined this as follows:

– reducing juvenile crime,
– raising security of towns and cities,
– preventing domestic violence,
– preventing victimisation, helping and compensation to victims,
– preventing recidivism[7].

The Strategy gives an overview of each priority. It defines with regard to each priority the possible legislatorial tasks, the duties of the actors of the law enforcement

[7] *Strategy*, 2003, p. 44.

and criminal justice systems, the tasks to be pursued via sectoral cooperation, the tasks of community crime prevention arenas and the expected results.

The Strategy in its 5th Section, Fundamental and Operational Principles, stresses that crime prevention is an activity, during the enforcement of which human rights and the principles of the constitutional state shall be respected. For this it determines the constitutional requirements of crime prevention, which are as follows: (a) avoiding stigmatisation, (b) application of the principle of proportionality and (c) avoiding social exclusion. Among the operational principles, it is especially worth highlighting that social crime prevention shall be realized as an integral part of social policy. This means that the Strategy shall be related to the national strategy against drug and alcohol, to the governmental programme restraining segregation, to the tasks providing for the integration of the Roma population, and to the governmental policy established for the protection of the natural and urban environment. The Strategy states, furthermore, that the operation of the social crime prevention system is a government responsibility, and that local crime prevention is a local public affair[8].

The Government establishes an Action Plan for the execution of the tasks contained in the Strategy every year. The National Crime Prevention Board, established in 2003, is responsible for the execution of the tasks determined in the Strategy and in the annual Action Plans. Permanent members of this inter-departmental organization are the ministries, the institutions of justice, the associations of local governments, the minority local governments, churches, civil organizations and, besides the representatives of certain professional chambers, the invited professionals. The president of the body is a professional (now Professor Katalin Gönczöl), co-president is the Minister of Justice and Law Enforcement. For the performance of the tasks determined in the Strategy and in the annual Action Plans budgetary and other financial sources (e.g. public donations originating from incentives in relation to personal income tax and corporate tax) are available. The organizations, communities, professional groups may obtain the financial sources through the Secretariat of the National Crime Prevention Commission, basically by succeeding at tenders called in topics in line with the priorities of the Strategy. The National Crime Prevention Commission prepares a report for the Parliament every year about the execution of the Strategy and of the annual action programmes.

3.3. Institutions providing for the support of victims of crimes

In Hungary before the 1990s, criminology paid attention basically to the victims of crimes. Particularly a few criminologists (e.g.: Ilona Görgényi, József Vigh) urged the introduction of services to be provided for the victims of crimes, and, among these, compensation. We may speak of a criminal policy affecting the victims of crimes since 1999. This was the year when the government of that time provided for the possibility of reparations on damages by state of certain victims of crimes. Prior to this it was an important step that the state criminal statistical registration system was expanded in 1993 to the review of the victims of the so-called high priority crimes

[8] The complete English version of the Strategy is available on the following website: www.bunmegelozes.hu.

(e.g.: violent crimes, theft) and to the registration of the relationship between the offender and the victim (e.g.: relatives, parent-child, spouses, acquaintances, strangers). In the field of criminal policy dealing with victims of crimes, however, Act CXXXV of 2005 on Victim support and state compensation (hereinafter: Act), which entered into force on 1 January 2006, was considered a milestone.

The establishment of the Act to a significant degree originated from Hungary's accession to the European Union on 1 May 2004. Its content was fundamentally affected by Council Directive 2004/80/EC relating to compensation to crime victims.

At the same time, the Act suited one of the objectives of the criminal policy followed since 2002, namely that one of the accentuated tasks of the state is the reduction of damages caused by crime, and the reduction of the social, moral and material harm of people subject to crimes. The explanatory notes of the act stress that "the victim support policy is based on the constitutional obligation of the performance of the state's criminal power… The victim support policy expresses that the state – based on equity and social solidarity – wishes to provide help to those whom it could not protect against the criminal acts" (Explanatory Notes attached to the Preamble of the Act).

Pursuant to the Act, a victim is the injured party of the criminal act committed in the territory of the Republic of Hungary, and the natural person who suffered injury, as a direct consequence of the criminal act, such as bodily or psychological harm, emotional shock or property damage. With regard to natural persons, the scope of the Act covers, beyond the Hungarian citizens, the citizens of any European Union member state as well as other natural persons (e.g. victim of human trafficking). In terms of victims' rights, the Act differentiates between two kinds of victims: a) who may resort to victim support services; b) who are eligible for state compensation.

Types of victim support services:

– promoting the enforcement of interests (e.g. facilitating resort to social services);
– immediate financial assistance (e.g. for the extraordinary travel costs in connection with the crime),
– legal support from a legal specialist (provision of support defined in Act LXXX of 2003 on Legal Aid).

Also eligible for victim support services is a citizen living in Hungary, who became a victim during his lawful stay abroad of an intentional, violent criminal act against person and proves it accordingly.

Eligible for compensation is a needy natural person victim, to the injury of whom violent crime against person was committed, as a consequence of which his physical integrity, health suffered serious injury. Eligible for compensation, furthermore, are certain relatives of the aforementioned person (e.g. spouse, common law spouse) and some other persons (e.g. who is obliged to provide support based on administrative decision). The precondition of the compensation is the indigence based on income circumstances. The indigence threshold is determined by the act. In certain cases, however, the Act makes compensation possible also without the examination of indigence (e.g. if the victim is a homeless and avails himself to night shelter). The compensation may be paid in one amount or in monthly allowances. As to the degree of compensation, the Act follows the international practice according to which the state compensation does not necessarily mean the full compensation of the damages

caused by the crime. This is well mirrored in the indication "compensation"[9]. According to the act the compensation aligns to the degree of the caused damage, its upper limit is maximized by the act. Compensation in the form of monthly allowances may be provided for three years.

The act also contains the exclusion reasons of victim support allowances, as well as the basic procedural rules in relation to the requisition of the allowances.

The tasks deriving from the Act are performed by the Justice Office Victim Support Service, belonging to the Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement. Victim support services are present in 19 counties of the country and in Budapest. In 2007, the Victim Support Service proceeded in 11,501 cases. (This year, the number of recorded victims of high priority crimes was 231,059 natural persons.) As of support types, the division of the cases was as follows:

– information: 33%,
– promoting the enforcement of interests: 5%,
– legal support from a legal specialist: 3%,
– immediate financial assistance: 55%,
– compensation: 4%[10].

3.4. Introduction of mediation into criminal justice

Since 1 January 2007, mediation, as an institution of the restorative justice, has been part of criminal policy in Hungary.

Act LI of 2006 on the modification of the Penal Code and the Criminal Procedure Code established the criminal substantive law and procedural law basis of mediation. The mentioned piece of law introduced to the Penal Code among the grounds for the termination of punishability the institution of active repentance/restoration.

The essence of this is that the perpetrator cannot be punished if he committed a crime against a person, or a traffic crime or a crime against property which shall be punished with not more than three years of imprisonment, and he reimbursed to the injured party the caused damages in mediation procedure, or made good for the detrimental consequences of the crime in any other way. If he commits a crime belonging to the mentioned crime categories, which shall be punished with not more than 5 years of imprisonment, and the damage compensation was realized, then the punishment may be mitigated unlimitedly (Art. 36 of the Hungarian Penal Code).

Into the Criminal Procedure Code, to the regulations about accusation, the rules of the mediation procedure were inserted (Art 221/A of the Hungarian Criminal Procedure Law).

The application of mediation is possible in criminal procedures initiated both against juvenile and adult perpetrators. Mediation procedure may be applied in criminal procedures initiated upon crimes against persons, traffic crimes and crimes against property if the act is punishable with not more than 5 years of imprisonment.

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[9] I. Görgényi, "Victimology", in: K. Gönczöl, K. Kerezsi, L. Korinek, M. Lévay (eds.), *Criminology--Applied Criminology* (in Hungarian), Complex, Budapest 2006, p. 293.

[10] Hereby I express my thanks to Erzsébet Hatvani, the Director-General of the Justice Office for providing me with data on the operation of the victim support services and the cases of mediation.

The decision about referring the case to mediation procedure and about the suspension of the criminal procedure is in each case made by the prosecutor or the judge, but in the case of crimes stated in the Act, the mediation procedure may be voluntarily initiated both by the perpetrator and his defender, and by the injured party and his lawyer.

Mediation may be applied only upon the voluntary consent of the parties, and exclusively if during the investigation the suspect makes a confession. In the procedure, the injured party and the perpetrator are equal partners, during the procedure they may withdraw their consent to participate at any time, and shall reach each agreement voluntarily. In one criminal procedure, only one mediation may take place. For the maximum period of the mediation procedure of 6 months, the court or the prosecutor suspends the criminal procedure.

Certain provisions of the Penal Code do not allow mediation procedure, even if all the mentioned preconditions are fulfilled (e.g.: if the perpetrator is a habitual criminal or a qualified recidivist, if committed the crime in criminal organization, if the crime resulted in death).

The detailed rules of the mediation are contained in a separate act, namely in Act CXXIII of 2006 on Mediation in Criminal Cases. The ministerial explanatory notes allude to the fact that the introduction of mediation procedure in criminal cases is justified also upon international expectations, among others the Council Framework Decision 2001/220/JHA on the standing of victims in criminal proceedings. The act also contains provisions on basic principles, participants, the legal status of the mediator and the legal consequences of the procedure. Among these we cite those related to the notion and objective of mediation procedure:

"Mediation procedure is a procedure handling the conflict generated by the perpetration of the crime, the objective of which is to reach – independently from the court conducting the criminal procedure and from the prosecutor, with the involvement of a third person (mediator) – a written agreement containing the solution of settling the conflict between the injured party and the accused, facilitating the reparation of the consequences of the crime and the future law abiding behaviour of the accused." (Article 2.1) "In the mediation procedure effort shall be made towards the establishment of an agreement between the injured party and the accused, substantiating the active repentance of the accused." (Article 2.2)

It belongs to the competence of the Probation Officer Service of the Justice Office to conduct the mediation procedures. Mediators may be probation officers of the Service qualified for this task, or – since 1 January 2008 – attorneys at law, upon contract with the probation officer service for the performance of mediation activities, following a competition procedure.

In 2007, the Service proceeded in 2,451 cases. (In Hungary in 2007, the courts convicted 86,705 people) In 1529 cases (62%) the prosecutor, in 922 cases (38%) the court ordered mediation. The division of cases referred to mediation, by the types of crimes was the following: crimes against property: 56%, traffic crimes: 28%, crimes against person: 16%. The division by age of those under mediation procedure: adult: 88%, juvenile: 12%. Division by content of the cases resulting in agreement: material compensation: 67%, mere apology: 22%, of non-material characteristic: 8%, compensation of material and non-material characteristic: 3%.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As it may be seen from the above, in Hungary since 2003 crime control has been expanded, and new forms of it appeared. With regard to the form of reactions to crime, the government coming into power in 2002 broke with the criminal policy focusing on the modification of the Penal Code, with an approach rotating aggravation-alleviation ("drag it/let it go"). Accession to the European Union played an important role in this. A precondition of the accession was namely the introduction into the national legal system of the European institutions providing for the reduction of the detriments deriving from crime and for the prevention of social exclusion. These were realized. There are already data, experiences on the operation of the new institutions of criminal policy. With regard to the consequences, their efficiency, however, regular evaluative research will be necessary. These examinations mean new fields of research for the Hungarian criminology. During the research, attention shall be paid also to the relationship of the net-widening of the control of crime and of the protection of human rights.