

Marginalization Poverty

and

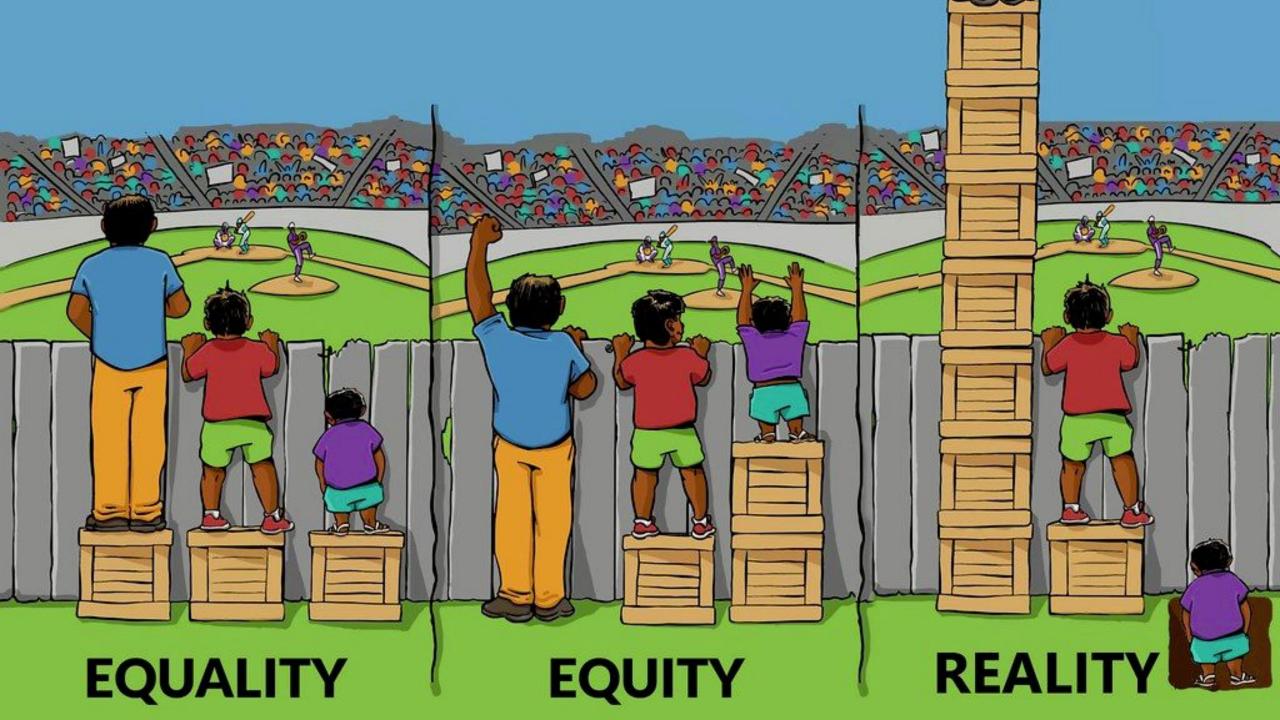
KSA/1MAP

Mgr. Laco Toušek, Ph.D.

Outline of the Crouse

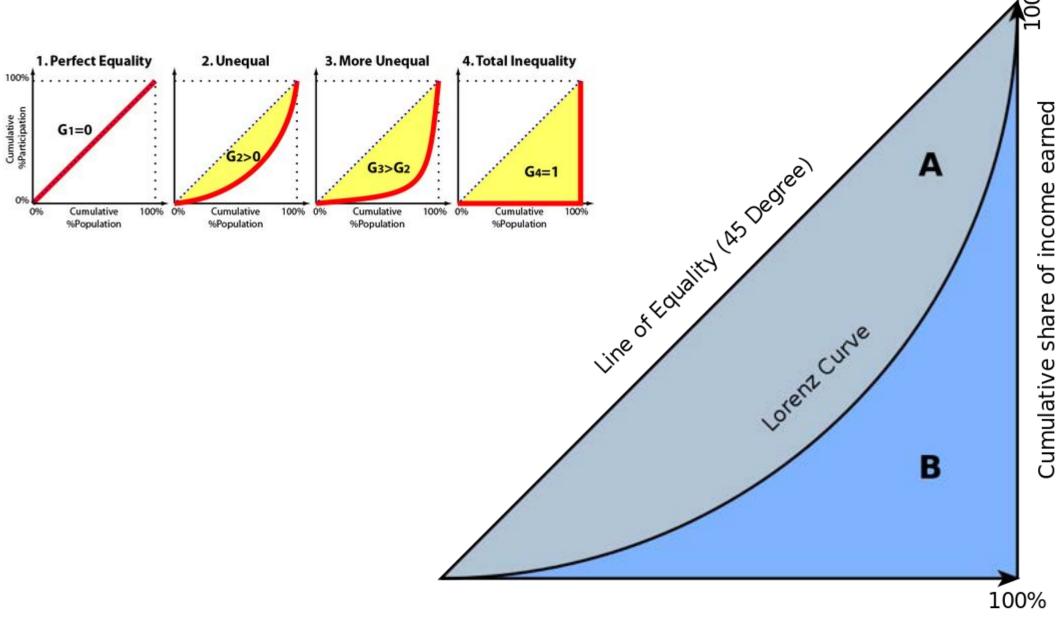
- 1. Inequality and stratification
- 2. Social exclusion (genealogy of the concept)
- 3. Marginalization, Underclass and Culture of Poverty
- 4. Poverty
- 5. Unemployment and Economic Capital
- 6. Space and Inequality
- 7. Spatial Segregation
- 8. Cultural and Symbolic forms of Exclusion
- 9. Crime, Criminalization, and Victimization

Inequality and stratification

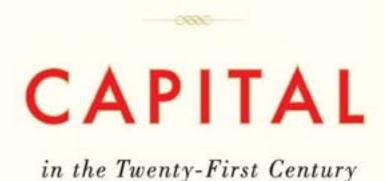


Inequality of outcome among today's generation is the source of the unfair advantage received by the next generation. If we are concerned about equality of opportunity tomorrow, we need to be concerned about inequality of outcome today.

(Atkinson 2015:11)



Cumulative share of people from lowest to highest incomes

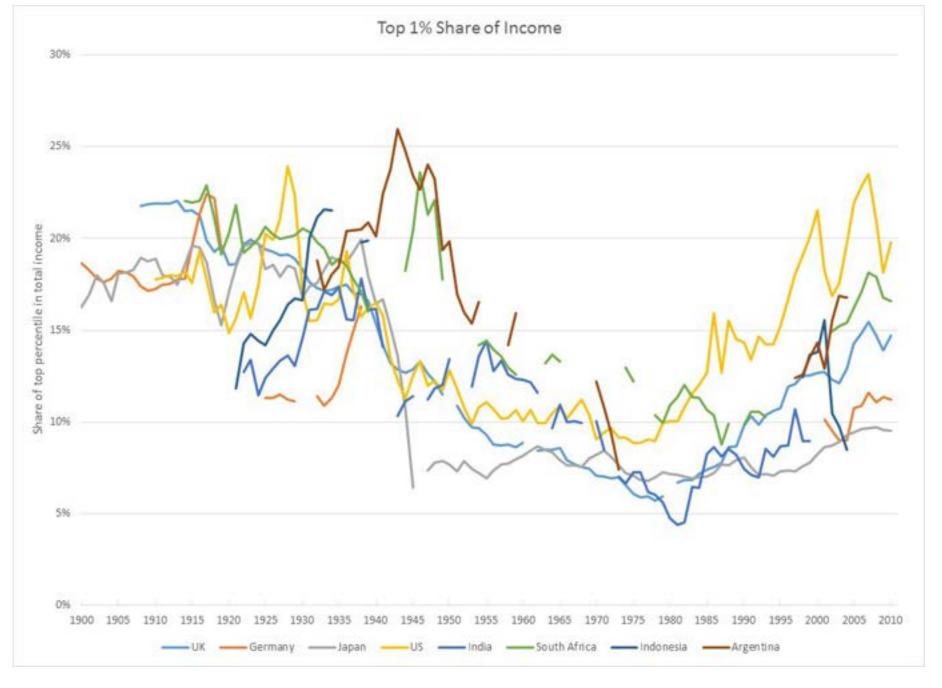


THOMAS

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR GOLDHAMMER

Thomas Piketty

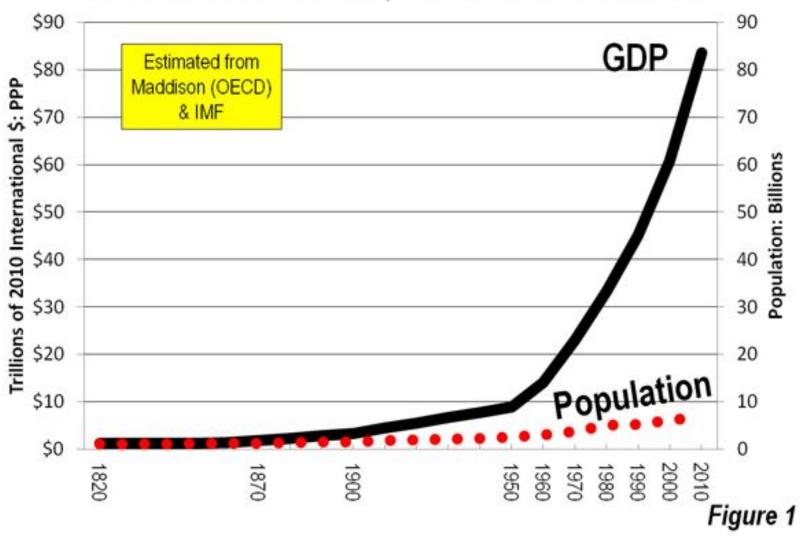
- Inequality is not an accident, but rather a feature of capitalism
- 1930 to 1975 reversed trends of inequality
 - WWI, WWII, great depression, recession... destroyed wealth of elite
- Since that world is returning towards "patrimonial capitalism"
- Can be only reversed through state interventions
 - Wealth tax, progressive income tax



Source: Thomas Piketty, Capital in the Twenty-First Century

World Population & GDP-PPP

1820 TO 2010: IN 2010\$ PURCHASING POWER



Inequality – evolution perspective in anthropology

- Elman Service 1962
 - Bands
 - Tribes
 - Chiefdoms
 - States
- Fried Morton 1960
 - Egalitarian
 - Ranked
 - Stratified
 - Fully stratified (states)

	Bands	Tribes	Chiefdoms	States
Subsistence	Hunters and gathers	Gardening	Gardening, agriculture, pasturage	Intensive agriculture
Economy	General reciprocity	Balanced reciprocity	Redistribution, balanced reciprocity	Market economy
Politics	Decentralization	Decentralization Charismatic leader	Centralization, leader	Centralization, leader, bureaucracy,
Stratification	Egalitarian	Age groups, egalitarian	Ranked	Stratification
Examples	!Kung, Inuit	Nuer	Cheroke	Early and modern states

Is inequality universal?

Arguments...

THE DAWN OF EVERYTHING

A NEW HISTORY OF HUMANITY

DAVID GRAEBER & DAVID WENGROW

A dramatically new understanding of human history, challenging our most fundamental assumptions about social evolution—from the development of agriculture and cities to the origins of the state, democracy, and inequality—and revealing new possibilities for human emancipation.

Differentiation, inequality and stratification

- Basic concepts
 - 1. Social differentiation
 - 2. Inequality
 - 3. Stratification
- More concepts
 - Social structure
 - Social status
 - Achieved status
 - Ascribed status
 - Social role
 - Social mobility
 - Social class
 - Social divisions of labour

Stratification

- Characteristics
 - Hierarchy (vertical inequality)
 - Unequal distribution of goods, power and prestige
 - Ideology of legitimation
- Origin of stratification
 - Mode of production (surplus), division of labour
 - Political organization
 - Population stress (population size and density)

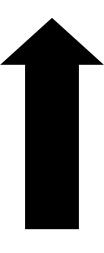
Stratification systems

- 1. (Slavery)
- 2. Caste
- 3. Feudal
- 4. Class
 - How we can define class?
 - How many classes are?
 - What class are you?
 - Karl Marx vs Max Weber?

Karl Marx and stratification

- Class is a social group with same access to means of production
 - 1. Proletariat
 - Labour power
 - 2. Bourgeoisie
 - Owners of means of production
 - Lumpenproletariat
 - Not a class (underclass, outcast)
- The stratification system is based on exploitation of the proletariat by the bourgeoisie
 - Surplus as a core of exploitation

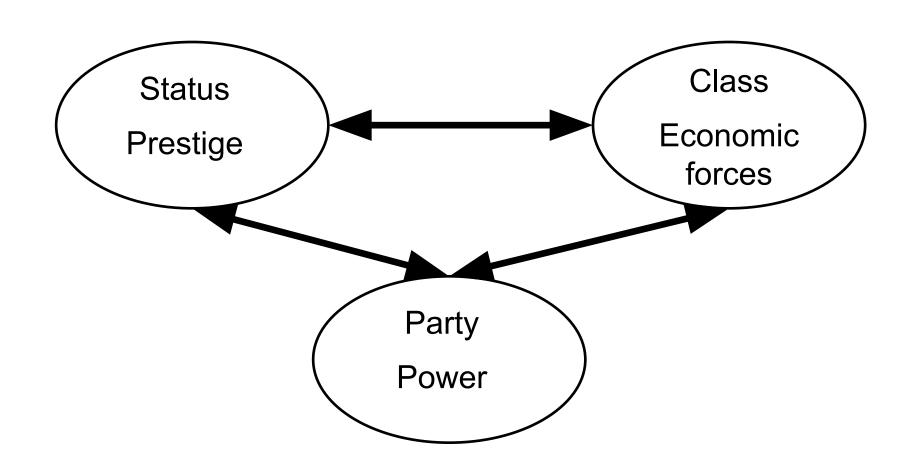
Superstructure



Base
Means of production

Max Weber

- Access to means production is not only one factor of stratification
 - Class (economic forces)
 - Access to means of production (capital)
 - Party (political sphere)
 - Power
 - Status (symbolic sphere)
 - Prestige



Stratification and marginalization

- In each stratification system we can find a groups that are outside of the system
 - Caste system
 - Untouchables (e.g. Paraiyar, "Pariah")
 - Feudal system
 - Dishonoured
 - Class system
 - Lumpenproletariat, underclass, outcast...

Social Exclusion

"The concept of social exclusion is vague but government likes it …"

(Pierson 2001, 2)

"the multidimensional nature of the mechanisms whereby individuals and groups are excluded from taking part in social exchanges, from the component practices and rights of social integration and of identity ... [going] beyond participation in working life, [being also expressed] in the field of housing, education, health and access to services" (Commission, 1992, p. 8)

"Exclusion *processes* are *dynamic* and *multidimensional* in nature. They are linked not only to unemployment and/or to low incomes, but also to housing conditions, levels of education and opportunities, health, discrimination, citizenship and integration in the local community (European Commission, 1994, p. 37).

Social exclusion vs. poverty

Could you describe differences between the concepts?

- Poverty
 - In general lack of resources (financial and/or material) to (1) keep basic human needs or (2) lack of income resources to fully participate in a society
 - 1. Absolute approach (deprivation)
 - 2. Relative approach (income inequality)
- Social exclusion
 - Not all that are poor are socially excluded and vice versa

Poverty

- Relative poverty
 - Inequality of income distribution (income poverty)
 - EU 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income
- Absolute poverty
 - Poverty line
 - UN definition 1,25 USD
 - US Orshansky Povrty Treshold

From poverty to exclusion

- Přesun pozornosti od konceptu chudoby čistě ve smyslu materiální deprivace
 - From absolute poverty to relative poverty
 - From poverty to forms of capital
 - Social, cultural, symbolic...
- Poverty as one feature of exclusion and inequlity
 - Not all that are poor are socially excluded
 - Not all that socially excluded are poor

Inclusion, exclusion a bulimia

- Young (1999) The Exclusive Society: Social Exclusion, Crime and Difference in Late Modernity
 - Inclusive society
 - Assimilation
 - Absolute values, nontoleration, employment, social order, stable identity
 - Exclusive society
 - Inclusion and exclusion bulimia
 - Plurality, manifestation of tolerance, unemployment, ontological insecurity

Genealogy of the concept

- Max Weber
 - Concept of social closure
 - Monopolization of access to scarce sources
 - E.g. housing
- Jean Klanfer 1965
 - L'Exclusion sociale: Étude de la marginalité dans les sociétés occidentales
 - Social exclusion as individual failure

Genealogy of the concept

- Réné Lenoir
 - 1974. Les exclus: un Français sur dix
 - Excluded are those who are outside of the social welfare system
 - Drug addicts, delinquents, homeless...
 - Concept used by the socialist party
- 1980 1990
 - Central concept of French social policy
- 1990 2000
 - Central concept of British Labour party in 1997 elections
 - Implementation of the concept to EU policy agenda

Ruth Silver (1994): Three Paradigms

1. Solidarity paradigm

- France
- Exclusion is the breakdown of a social bond between the individual and society
- Cultural and moral, rather than economical
 - Cultural boundaries defining the poor, the unemployed and ethnic minorities as deviant outsiders

2. Specialisation paradigm

- UK, USA
- Reflects discrimination
 - Vertical stratification produce hierarchically ordered social categories
 - Mobility is not working

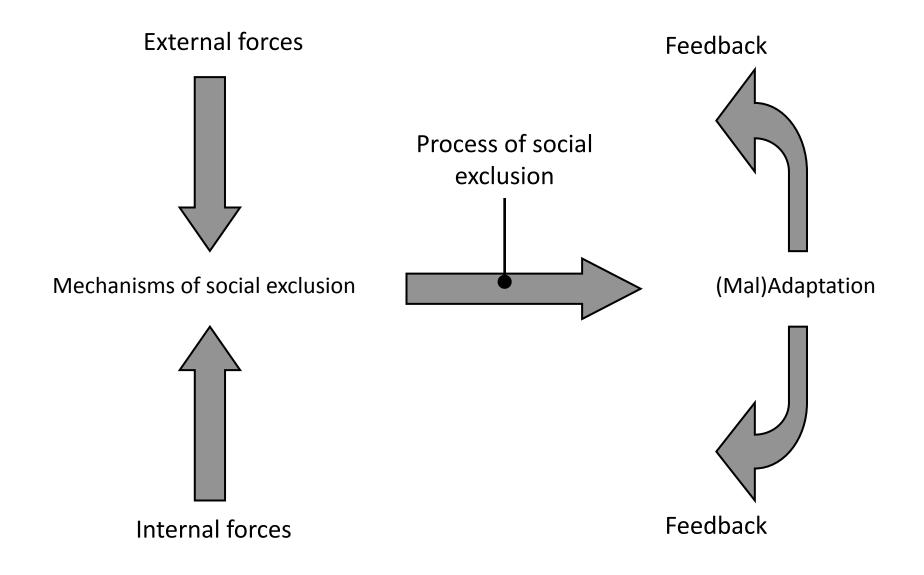
3. Monopoly paradigm

- France, UK
- Eclusion as a consequence of the formation of group monopolies
- Powerful groups restrict access by outsiders to valued resources through a process of 'social closure'

Social exclusion as multidimensional process

- 1. Economic dimension
- 2. Spatial dimension
- Cultural dimension
- 4. Social dimension
- 5. Political dimension
- 6. Symbolic dimension

How social exclusion works?



DIMENZE VYLOUČENÍ	Cause (examples)	Effects (examples)	Adaptation
Spatial dimension	Urban planning Social housing policy	Homelessness Unsecure housing Segregation	Migration Non-paying, debts Instant needs satisfaction (no future planning)
Economic dimension	Lack of education Discrimination on labour market Labour market structure (structural unemployment)	Secondary labour market (precarization) Black labour market Unemployment	Illegal jobs Overdebtness Property crime
Cultural dimension	Low education of parents Educational discrimination	Reproduction of educational status Reproduction of cultural capital Unemployment	Low educational aspirations
Social dimension	Social distance Spatial segregation Unemployment	Low social capital Closed social networks	Solidary social networks

Social exlusion and forms of capital

- 1. Economic
 - Material and financial possessions
- 2. Social
 - Contacts, social networks...
- Cultural
 - Intellectual property, education, taste...
- 4. Symbolic
 - Any form of capital that is recognize and honored
 - Capital is anything what has differential power in the particular social field (P. Bourdieu)
 - physical, sexual capital...

"... in the end, the notion of exclusion is permeated with both sense and nonsense and is liable to misinterpretation; after all the concept can be made to express pretty well anything, including even the pique of someone who cannot get everything he wants."

(Julien Freund in Xiberras, 1993, p. 11, citace dle Silver 1994:536)

Uncritical use of social inclusion can blind us to the use, abuse and distribution of power [...] We should not let the warmth of our inclusive ideal smother our anger over exclusivity's unfairness. Anger is often the magnet of mobilization, and mobilization is often the tool for social transformation that shifts power relations in ways that allow societies to become more inclusive (Labonte, 2004, p. 118).

Marginalization, Underclass and Culture of Poverty

Marginality, Marginalization and Marginal Man

- Margo = from the Greek border/edge
- Robert Erza Park
 - Member of the Chicago School
 - Human Migration and the Marginal Man (1928)
 - Marginal man as cultural hybrid
 - A man between two cultures
- From marginality to marginalization
 - The meaning of the term shifts to marginalization as social expulsion of outsiders from the society

Culture of poverty

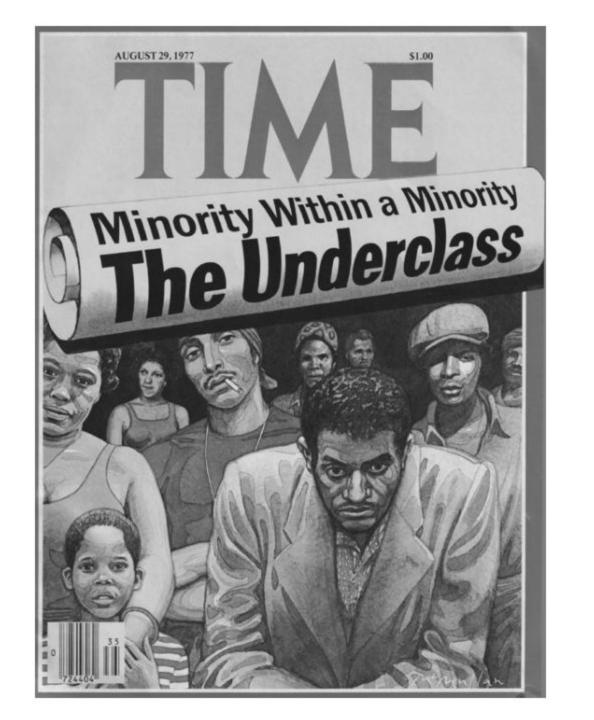
- Oscar Lewis
 - Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Pover (1959)
 - La Vida. A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty (1966)
 - Causes
 - Market economy and unemployment
 - Nezaměstnanost
 - Bilateral kinship system
 - Dominant middle class values
 - Vertical mobility
 - Culture of poverty is a form of an adaption of the poor to their marginal status in a society that is share from generation to generation
- Criticized by the "left" for "blaming the victim"

Underclass

- Gunnar Myrdal: Challenge to Affluence (1963)
 - Structural changes of job market
 - Strukturální změny na pracovním trhu vedou k vytlačování nekvalifikovaných pracovních sil na okraj společnosti
 - ☐ Vzniká underclass
- Anthony Giddens: The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies (1973)
 - New social class division of the society

Underclass

- Koncept používán hlavně v USA a v GB
- Nejasná, nejednotná definice
- Možné přístupy (viz Marks 1991):
 - 1. Kulturní (behavioralistický) determ.
 - Daniel P. Moynihan (*The Negro Family: The Case For National Action,* 1965)
 - Charles Murray
 - Ken Aulleta (The Underclass, 1982)
 - 2. Strukturální determ.
 - William J. Wilson
 - 3. Segregace
 - Massey a Denton (American Apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass)



...throughout the 1970s something strange and frightening was happing among poor people in the US. Poor communities that had consisted mostly of hardworking folks began deteriorating, sometimes falling apart altogether. Durgs, crime, illegitimacy, drop out from the job market, drop out from school, casual violence ... showed lage increases, focused in poor communities. As the 1980s began, the growing population of the "other kind of poor people" could no longer be ignored and a label them came into use. In the US, we began to call them underclass.

(Murray 1990:2-3)

Ken Aulleta

- The Underclass (1982)
- Pod pojmem underclass rozumí:
 - pasivní chudé
 - pouliční zločince
 - traumatizované individua, jako např. alkoholiky, bezdomovce, narkomany atp.
- Sociální pozice těchto lidí je důsledkem individuálních charakteristik, ale tyto individua jsou obětí sociální a ekonomické transformace

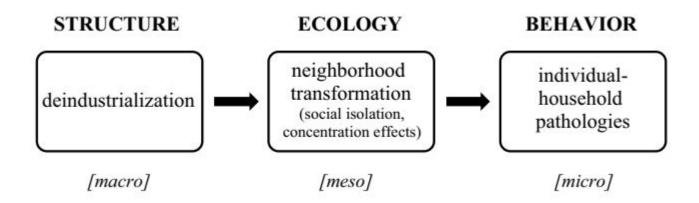
Charles Murray

- Příliš mnoho dobra (1998 [Losing Ground 1984])
 - Termín "kultura závislosti"
 - Sociální podpora vede k závislosti na sociálních dávkách, nezaměstnanosti a rozpadu rodiny
- The Emerging British Underclass (1990)
- The Bell Curve (1994)
 - Autorství spolu s psychologem R. Hernsteinem
 - "Jedna z nejkontroverznějších knih v sociálních vědách" (A. Giddens)
 - Teze o nižším IQ Afroameričanů, které způsobuje jejich chudobu

William J. Wilson

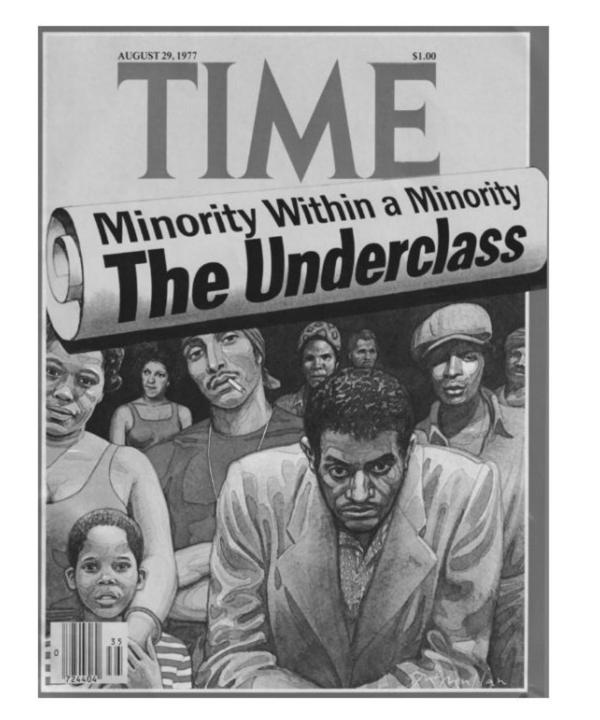
- The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City. The Underclass and Public Policy (1987)
- Underclass je výsledkem strukturálních důvodů
 - Restrukturalizace trhu práce
 - Urbární faktory
- Nicméně neodmítl zcela Lewisovu myšlenku kulturní odlišnosti (používal na místo konceptu kultury chudoby pojem "sociální izolace", která může vést k odlišným kulturním vzorcům)
- Konceptu underclass se později zřekl

William J. Wilson



Wacquant: Pokročilá marginalita

- Loïc Wacquant
 - Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality (2008).
 - Advanced marginality is "the novel regime of sociospatial relegation and exclusionary closure (...) that has crystallised in the post-Fordist city" (2008: 2)
 - The Invention of the 'Underclass': A Study in the Politics of Knowledge (2022)



Underclass

- GB and US discourse
 - Gunnar Myrdal: Challenge to Affluence (1963)
 - Anthony Giddens: The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies (1973)
 - Ken Aulleta: The Underclass (1982)
 - Massey a Denton: American Apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass (1990)
- Underclass
 - To be outside of the class system (outclass)
- The term become a pejorative and majority of social researches stop using them "blaming the victim"

Marginalization of Roma in the CZ

- "Roma"
 - An umbrella term including groups of people who share more or less similar cultural characteristics such as Sinti, Travellers, Manush, Jenische, Kaldaresh...
- Main groups of Roma in the Czech Republic
 - Rumungro (Cigáni)
 - Hungarian-Slovak Gypsies who were already sedentary for several centuries before their arrival in the Czech Republic.
 - Vlax Roma
 - Smaller groups
 - Distinguished from Rumungro by language and kinship strategies (endogamy)
 - Sinti
 - Mostly found in Germany

Roma population after the WWII

- 600 1000 "autochthonous" Roma in the CZ survive the Holocaust
- Several immigration waves from rural areas in Slovakia (and other countries) from 1950's
 - Voluntary
 - Forced
 - To areas from original German population was expelled and to urban industrial agglomeration with high work-forced demand
- State policy "dispersion of Gypsy population"
 - Prevention of spatial concentration
 - Urbanization and modernization



















Roma population at the end of the 1980's

- Predominantly urban character
 - In other countries of the former Eastern Bloc, the majority of the Roma inhabit segregated rural settlements (e.g. Slovakia)
- Lower segregation rates in comparison to other countries (Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria)
- High employment rates under state socialism
 - Unemployment in fact a criminal act (parasitism)
- Low education
- Serving as a source of manual workforce for primary industries

Roma population since the 1990's

- Transition from centrally planned economy to the capitalist mode of production
 - Privatization/elimination of jobs for unskilled labour in primary and secondary sector
 - Unemployment rate among Roma (up till then de iure non-existent) steeply increased

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Roma population since the 1990's

- State owned apartments transferred to municipal property
 - Privatization
 - Indirect and direct discrimination in the area of flats allocation
 - Roma segregation to so called socially excluded localities and eviction to substandard private rooming houses (dormitories)
- Housing market deregulation
 - Poor access to private housing market due to discrimination
- Non existence of social housing in general
 - No law obliging municipalities or other actors to provide decent housing for anyone, negotiations regarding such law last already for a decade



In fact, officially in the CZ live more Jedis than Roma.

Census population data

	1930		1950		1991		2011	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
			8 343					
Czechs	7 310 968	68,5	558	93,9	9 770 527	94,8	7 245 639	69,4
Poles	90 539	0,9			59 383	0,6	39 096	0,4
Slovaks	44 451	0,4	258 025	2,9	314 877	3,1	147 152	1,4
Germans	3 149 629	29,5	159 938	1,8	48 556	0,5	18 658	0,2
Ukrainians			19 384	0,2	8 220	0,1	53 253	0,5
Vietnamese					421	0	29 660	0,3
Hungarians	11 427	0,1	13 201	0,1	19 932	0,2	8 920	0,1
Russians			19 384	0,2	5 062	0	17 872	0,2
Roma					32 903	0,3	13 150	0,1
Ruthenian					1 926	0	739	0
Others/NA	71 411	0,7	31 211	0,4	40 408	0,4 2	2 806 314	26,9
	10 674		8 896		10 302		10 436	
Total	386		133		215		560	

Roma in the census

- Census in 2011
 - 15 070 citizens declared Jedi Knight nationality
 - 13 150 citizens declared Roma nationality
 - But estimations are 200 000 to 300 000
- Census in 2021
 - 21 691 (4 458 Roma nationality, 17 233 "double" nationality)
- Possible explanations
 - 1. Roma are afraid to declare their nationality
 - 2. People who are considered to be Roma do not share common Roma identity and they are ethnically (national) indifferent

Poverty

"Poverty may lead to social exclusion, in the sense that people are cut off from the labour market, do no take part in dominant behavioural and cultural patterns, lose social contacts, live in certain stigmatised neighbourhoods, and are not reached by welfare agencies"

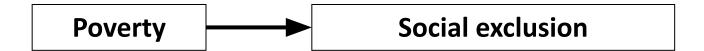
(Council of Europe 2001:17)

"The most important distinction between [poverty and inequality] is that whereas poverty... is a prescriptive concept, inequality is a descriptive concept."

Alcock 1997: 6

Poverty and Social Exclusion – Causal Relationship

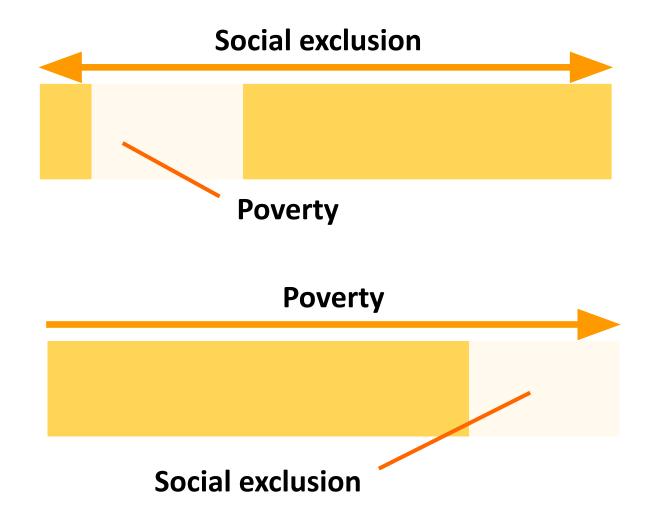
1. Poverty as the cause of social exclusion



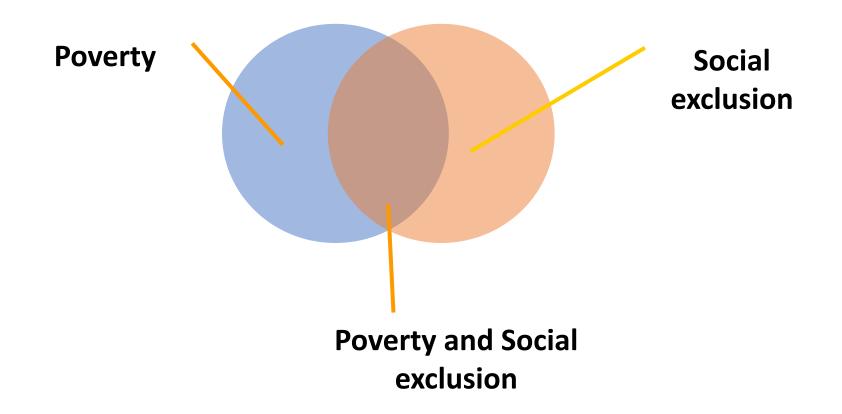
2. Social exclusion leads to poverty



Poverty and Social Exclusion – Descriptive Relationship



Poverty and Social Exclusion – Causal Relationship

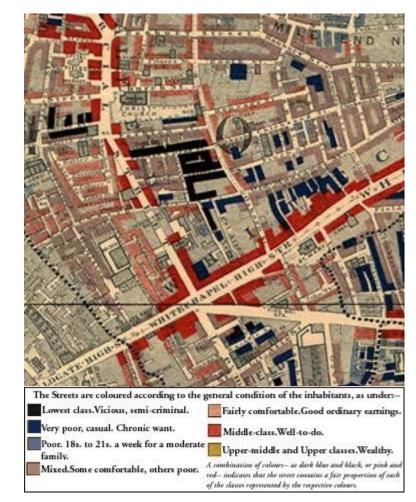


Charles Booth

- Life and Labour of the People in London (1889)
 - Conceptualization of 'poverty line'
 - Minimum amount necessary for a living

"By the word 'poor' I mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular though bare income, such as 18s to 21s a week for a moderate family, and by 'very poor' those who from any cause fall much below this standard."

(Booth 1889:33)



Sebohm Ronwtree

Poverty. A study of Town Life (1901)

- Poverty line as a minimum weekly sum of money "necessary to enable families... to secure the necessaries of a healthy life" (quoted in Coates
 - Fuel and light, rent, food, clothing, household and personal items
 - He used social scientific methods to set the poverty line
 - For example, calculating minimum caloric intake and nutritional balance necessary before people got ill or lost weight
 - Surveying prices of food required by this minimum

1. Primary poverty

- Not enough income to meet the expenditure necessary for basic needs.
- 2. Secondary poverty
 - Income high enough to meet basic needs but spent elsewhere.

Two Basic Conceptualizations of Poverty

Relative aproach to poverty

- Inequality of income distribution (income poverty)
 - E.g., EU 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income
- The poverty line is relative to wealth (income) distribution in a particular society

2. Absolute aproach to poverty

- Poverty line
 - E.g., UN definition 1,25 USD, US Orshansky Poverty Threshold
 - In the Czech Republic so called 'minimum subsistence level' as 4620 CZK for an individual person
- The poverty line is set up as an amount of money that is necessary to meet basic needs (food, shelter, safe drinking water, education, healthcare, etc.)

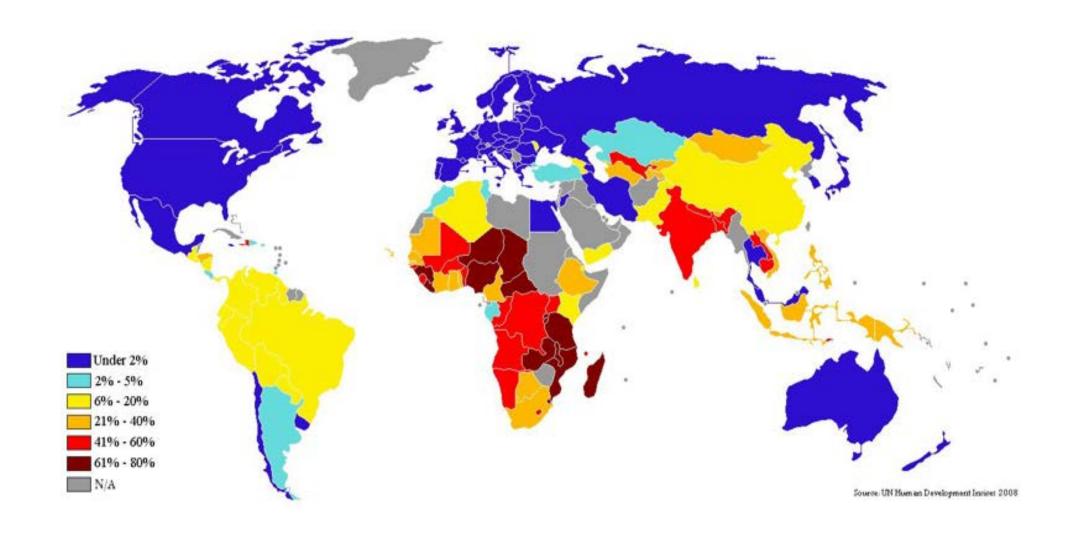
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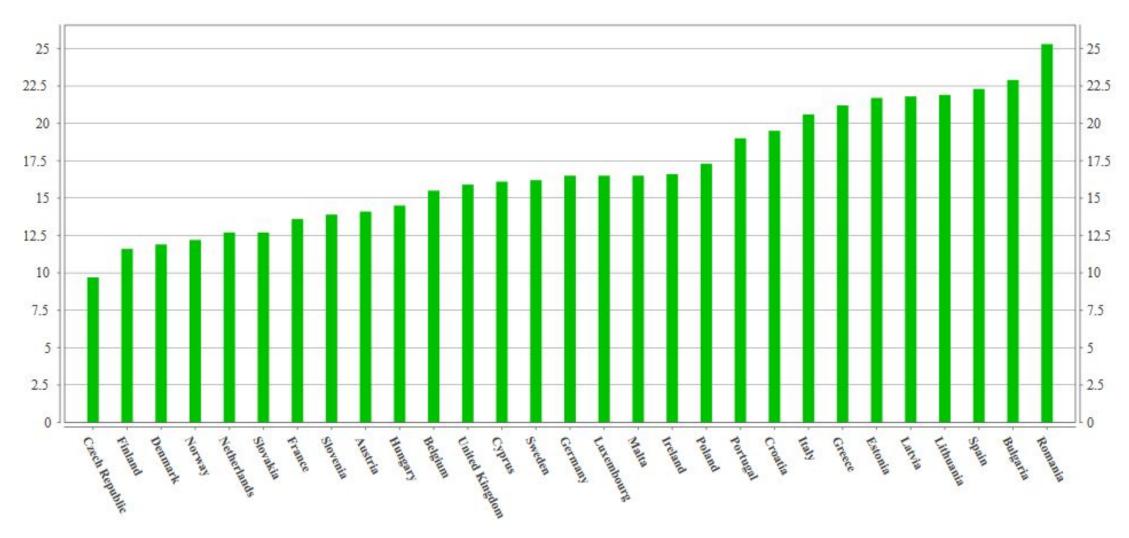
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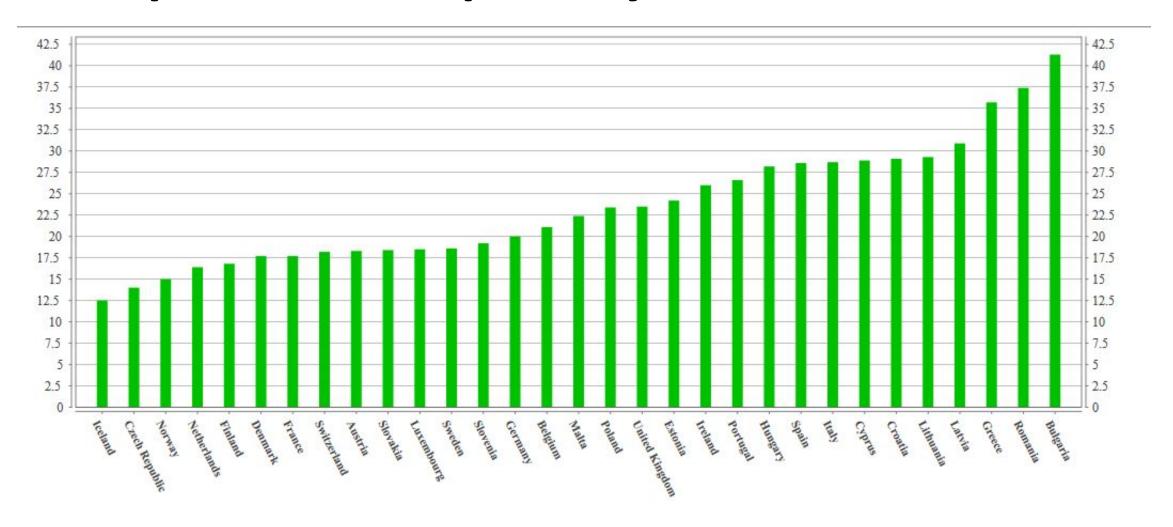


Populace pod hranicí extrémní chudoby (1,25 dolaru na den)

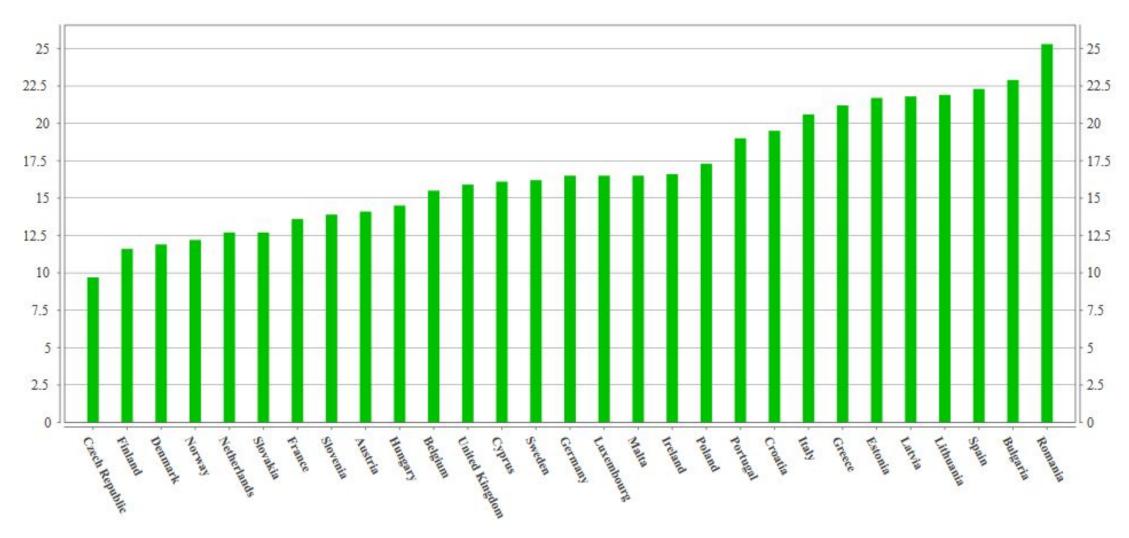
People at risk of poverty after social transfers



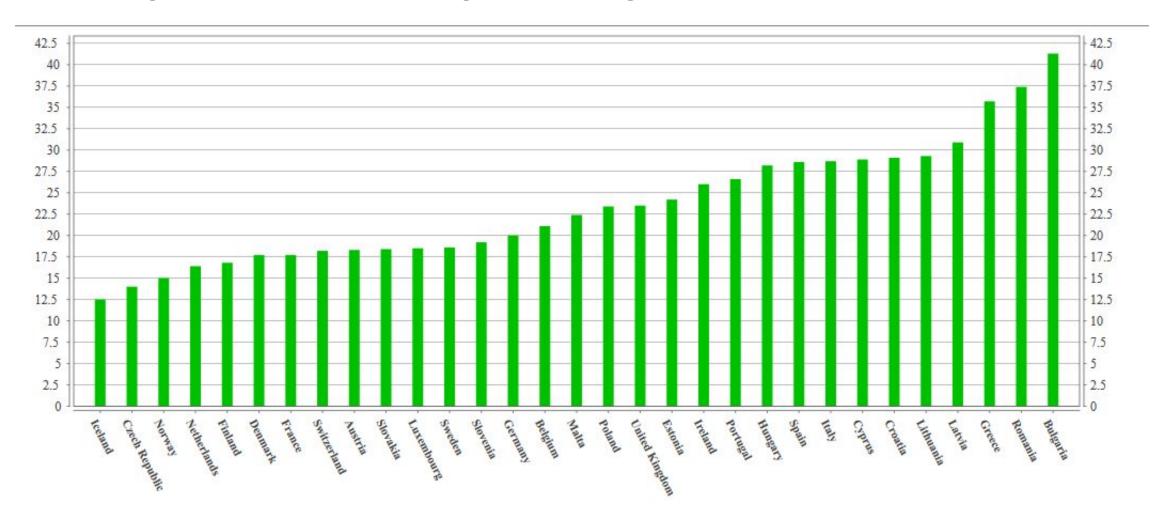
People at risk of poverty or social exclusion



People at risk of poverty after social transfers



People at risk of poverty or social exclusion



EU Relative Conceptualization of Poverty

- At risk of poverty
 - 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income
 - Based on income distribution
- At risk of poverty or social exclusion
 - 60% of the national median equivalised disposable income
 - Social exclusion
 - At least 7 of 13 household and/or individual indicators
 - Capacity to face unexpected expenses; Capacity to afford paying for one week annual holiday away from home; Capacity to being confronted with payment arrears (on mortgage or rental payments, utility bills, hire purchase instalments or other loan payments); Capacity to afford a meal with meat, chicken, fish or vegetarian equivalent every second day; Ability to keep
 - Having internet connection, Replacing worn-out clothes by some new ones, Having two pairs of properly fitting shoes (including a pair of all-weather shoes), Spending a small amount of money each week on him/herself, Having regular leisure activities, Getting together with friends/family for a drink/meal at least once a month

Material deprivation

- The indicator is defined as the percentage of population with an enforced lack of at least three out of nine material deprivation items in the 'economic strain and durables' dimension
 - to pay their rent, mortgage or utility bills;
 - to keep their home adequately warm;
 - to face unexpected expenses;
 - to eat meat or proteins regularly;
 - to go on holiday;
 - a television set;
 - a washing machine;
 - a car;
 - a telephone.

Social Exclusion and Poverty

- BRIZOLIT survey 2017
 - First national victimization survey
 - Min. 65% of the household living in so called socially excluded localities under poverty line
 - 9,6 % total CZ population
 - ½ of the households under 17 000 CZK (EUR 690) per month
- SEL-SILC 2020
 - EU-SILC Statistics on Income and Living Conditions
 - Regular panel study conducted in the Czech Republic by the Czech Statistical Office
 - 10 000 households
 - Problem is that socially excluded households are not represented in this panel studies
 - SEL-SILC 2020
 - First national survey of Income and Living Conditions in a socially excluded localities conducted in by the Agency for Social Inclusion of the Czech Ministry of Regional Development

Social Exclusion and Poverty

- SEL-SILC 2020
 - 10 % of SEL households have zero disposable income
 - Statistically no households with zero disposable income in the general population
 - Net market income of SEL households is about 33 % lower than that of the general population
 - 94% of households at risk of poverty in the SEL population are entitled to at least one social benefit
 - 73 % living in the general population
 - 56.5 % of SEL households below the poverty line
 - 52 % of SEL households receiving social benefits
 - 45,6 % if households received all the social benefits
 - About half of households should be eligible for housing benefits, but only 12% of households receiving it

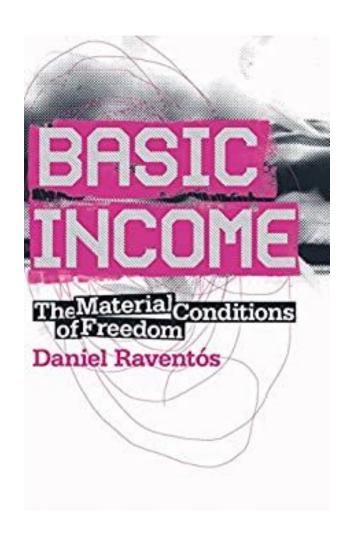
Material deprivation

- The indicator is defined as the percentage of population with an enforced lack of at least three out of nine material deprivation items in the 'economic strain and durables' dimension
 - to pay their rent, mortgage or utility bills;
 - to keep their home adequately warm;
 - to face unexpected expenses;
 - to eat meat or proteins regularly;
 - to go on holiday;
 - a television set;
 - a washing machine;
 - a car;
 - a telephone.

Universal basic income

• Pros?

• Cons?



Unemployment and Economic Capital

Economic Exclusion

- Main dimension of exclusion
 - Particular groups are prevented from participating fully and equally in a society that is based on market principle
 - Inequal process of distribution and accumulation of economic capital
 - Inequality of income distribution
 - In equality of wealth accumulation
 - Tangible property
 - Intangible property

Forms of capital (Bourdieu)

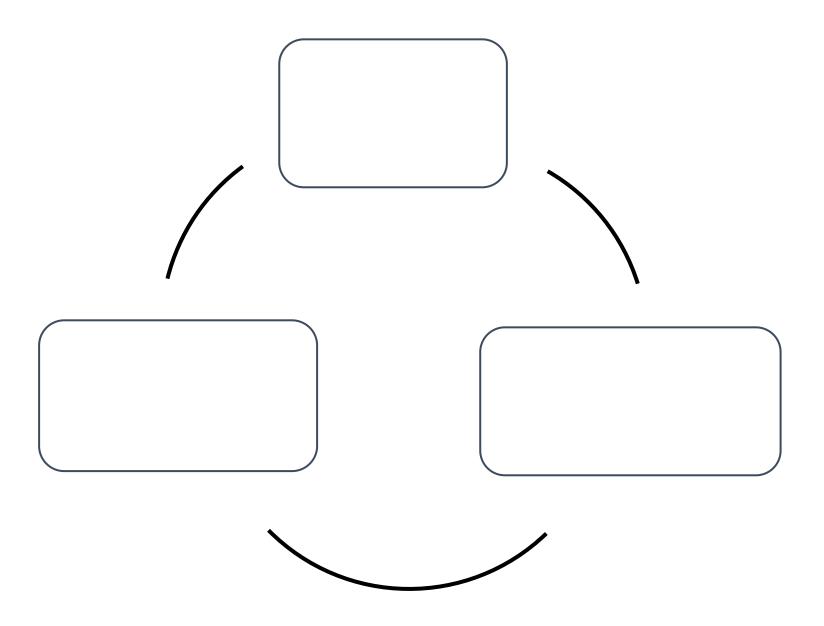
- 1. Economic
 - Material and financial possessions
- 2. Social
 - Contacts, social networks...
- Cultural
 - Intellectual property, education, taste...
- 4. Symbolic
 - Any form of capital that is recognize and honored
 - Capital is anything what has differential power in the particular social field
 - physical, sexual capital...

Formy kapitálu, habitus a sociální pole

Habitus

- "... systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (Bourdieu in Wacquant 2002)
- The system of dispositions is defeminated by the forms of capital

Bourdieu: Structure and Agency



Economic Exclusion and Labour

- 1. Exclusion on the labour market
 - Secondary labour market
 - Precarization
- 2. Exclusion from the labour market
 - Unemployment
 - Shadow economy
 - Non-legal work
 - Discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, religion, gender, age or social class...

Exclusion on the labour market

- Secondary labour market
 - Low pay, part time or temporary work
 - Service sector, light manufacturing, retail jobs
- Precarization
 - Detachment of dependent labour working conditions from the means of integrative social participation
 - Structural uncertainty of work
 - Flexibilization, nonstandard job contracts
 - Jobs provided by job agencies for the contractor
 - Freelance, in the CZE so called 'Schwarz system'



Exclusion and Labour

1. Internal forces

- Lack of so called 'human capital'
- Health conditions
- Lack of individual motivation
- Other individual barriers

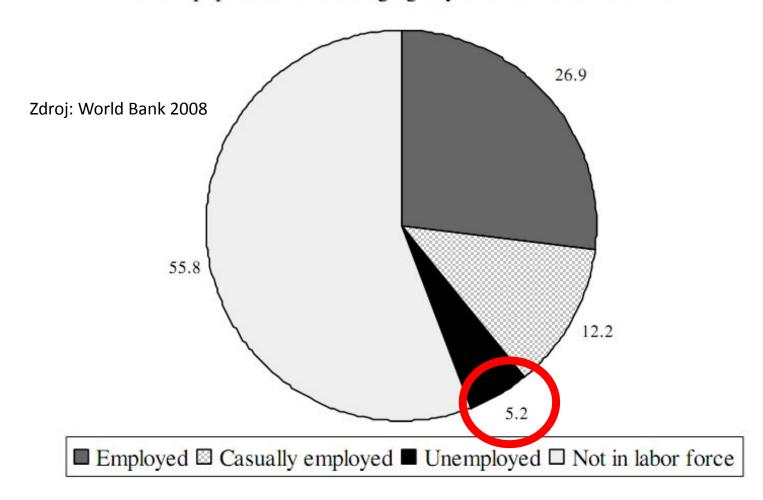
2. External forces

- Structure of the labour market
- Unemployment rate
- Legal system
- Discrimination
- Infrastructure

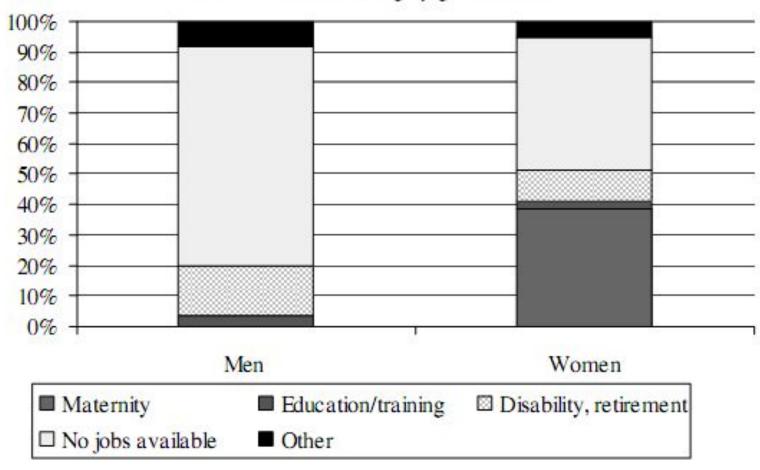
Unemployment

- Various definition of unemployment
 - Not everyone who works is employed, and not everyone who doesn't is unemployed
- EU definition
 - Employed persons
 - Persons aged 15 years and over who, during the reference week performed work, even for just one hour a
 week, for pay, profit or family gain or who were not at work but had a job or business from which they were
 temporarily absent because of something like, illness, holiday, industrial dispute or education and training.
 - Unemployed persons comprise persons aged 15 to 74 years who were:
 - 1. not employed according to the definition of employment above;
 - 2. currently available for work, i.e. were available for paid employment or self-employment before the end of the two weeks following the reference week;
 - 3. actively seeking work, i.e. had taken specific steps in the four week period ending with the reference week to seek paid employment or self-employment or who found a job to start later, i.e. within a period of at most three months from the end of the reference week.
 - The labour force
 - Also called the active population, comprises employed and unemployed persons.
 - People outside the labour force
 - Also called economically inactive persons, are those classified neither as employed nor as unemployed.

Roma population in working age by labor force status, 2008

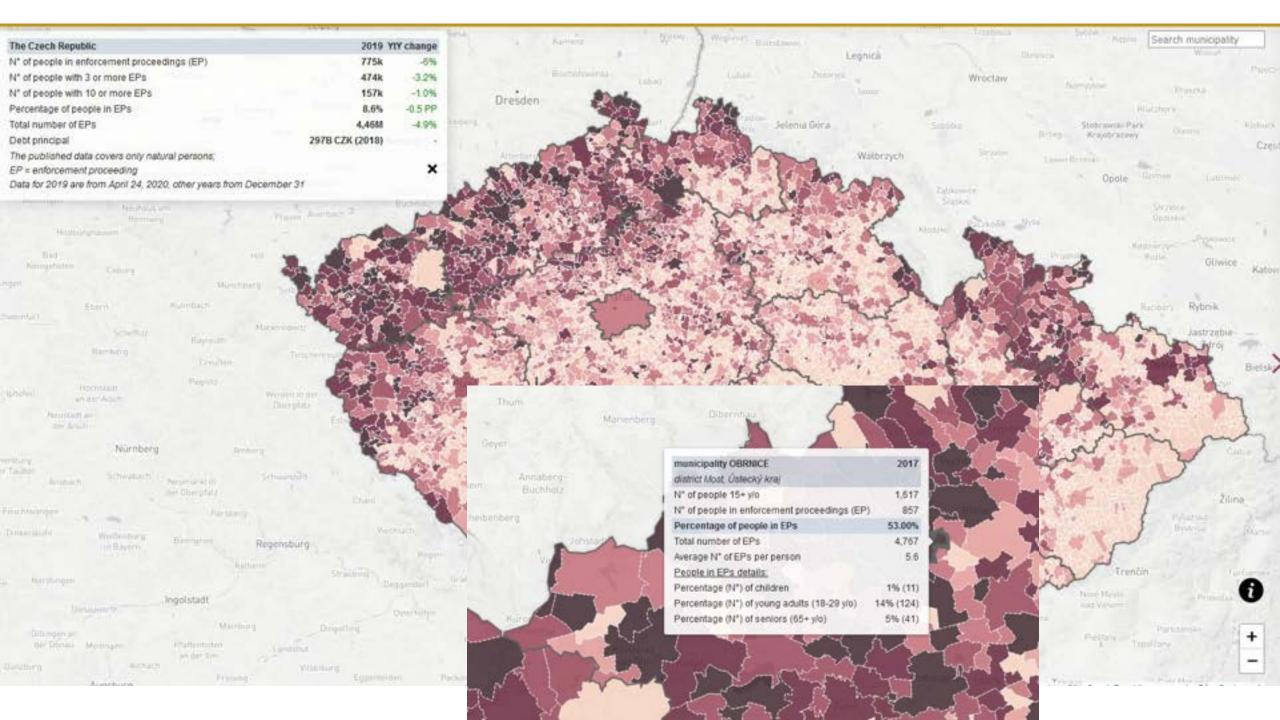


Reasons for not working by gender, 2008



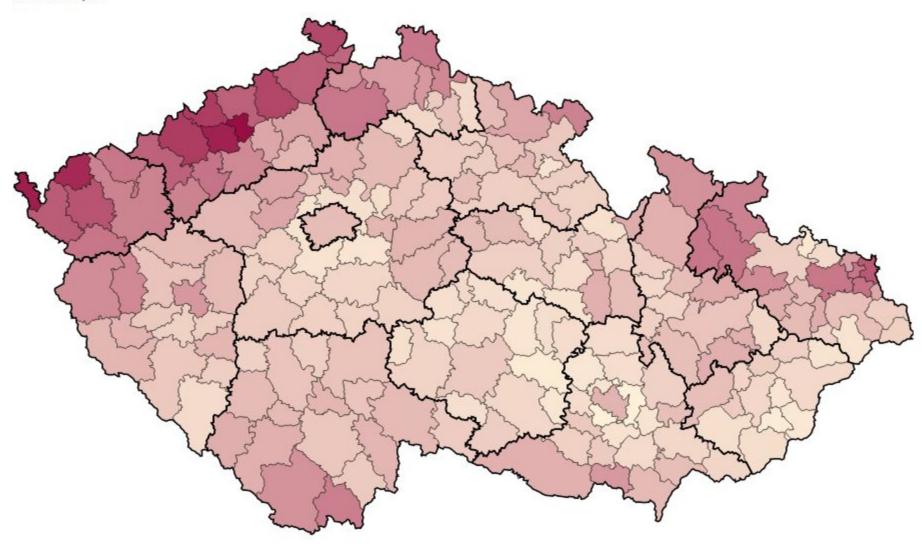
Distraints as a Factor of Exclusion

- Distraint the seizure of income and/or property to cover unpaid debts
 - Rents, fines (public transport, police), loans, power supplies, telecommunication services...
 - Distraint is executed on the basis of a court decision by a private distrainer
- Almost one in 10 Czechs are under some form of distraint
 - 6,3 % to 7,9 % of total population (2021)
 - 698 000 persons with more than 4 000 000 distraints



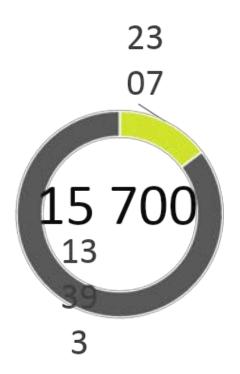


Průměr ČR: 6,3 %



Distraints as a Factor of Exclusion

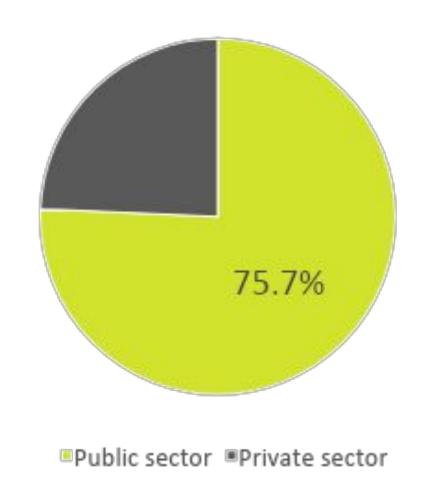
- Children distraints (under 18)
 - More than 15,000 cases
 - Fare-dodging, unpaid hospital fees, waste fees, telephone bills or library fines.
 - 2021 new amendment to the Civil Code that prevents minors from falling into debt



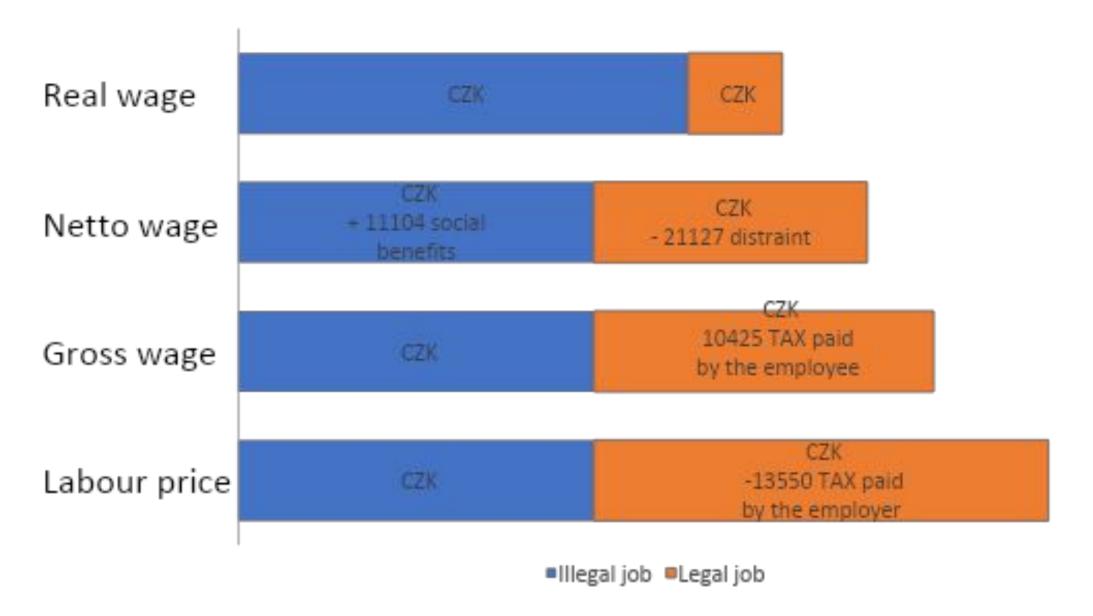
■Under 18

■Above 18 but in time of court decision under 18

Children distraints



Zdroj: Ministerstvo spravedlnosti ČR, Rejstřík zahájených exekucí k Červenci 2022. Vlastní kalkulace.



Space and Inequality

Space and place

- Space
 - Absolute/physical space and Geometrical space
 - 3D, 4D
 - Social space
 - "(social) space is (social) product"
- Place
 - A part of the space with meaning
- Landscape
 - Space on the horizon
- Non-places
- Residual spaces

Spatial differentiation

- Space is exclusive
- Space is differentiated by
 - Economic forces
 - Social and cultural forces
 - Demographics
 - Functions
- Spatial differentiation (can) leads to spatial inequality
 - Vertical differentiation
 - Separation voluntary
 - Segregation involuntary

Public and private space

- Public space
 - Public space sensu stricto
 - Specific public space
 - Public space run by private subjects
- Private space
 - Private space sensu stricto
 - Privately owned collective space
 - Complex private space

Aproaches to public sphere/space

B. Normative

- 1. "Classic"
 - Hannah Arendt, Jürgen Habermas
- 2. Critical post-Marxists/feminists
 - Nancy Fraser, Iris M. Young

C. Descriptive

- 3. Dramaturgic conceptions in sociology and anthropology
 - Ervin Goffman, Clifford Geertz and particularly Richard Sennett
- 4. Post-Marxists in human geography and sociology/anthropology
 - David Harvey, Setha Low, Neil Smith...

"In Arendt, the whole notion of the public realm is one that transcends difference by design. That is to say when you enter into the public, you take off the particularities of being black, a woman, or poor... Habermas's notion is that with fuller communicative interaction the differences do not go away, but they do not matter to people... For Habermas, if you have a vivid public realm, eventually if there is enough interaction, a poor black will feel himself/herself entitled to speak openly to a rich white. So for Habermas the whole politics of the public realm is to make that kind of entitlement, that kind of growing together so that one thinks about what race is or class is without self-reference, occur more and more."

Annihilation of Public Space in Rotava

- Some facts
 - Rotava
 - Small "town" in the north-west part of the Czech Republic
 - High rates of unemployment
 - 20% of the population are Roma (compared to 1,9% at national level)
 - Most of them came to Rotava 2-5 years ago due to evictions from nearby cities

Annihilation of Public Space in Rotava

- In 2010 city council of Rotava issued an ordinance that banned sitting in public space
 - Sitting is allowed only on city benches
 - All the city benches expect three were removed
 - The ordinance also banned placing tables, chairs, blankets, grills, and other objects in public space
- Argumentation: it is "an activity which could disrupt the public order of the community or be in contradiction with good customs, protection of security, health and property"
- In 2011 sitting was extended to leaning, standing or laying on walls, palisades, waste bins, etc.



Main street in town of the Rotava. Photo by Laco Toušek.



A man violating the ordinance while drinking a coffee on stairs in front of his flat in Rotava. Photo by Jan Jaroš.



Bus stop in Rotava from where benches in name of public order have been removed. Photo by Jan Jaroš.



A young girl in Rotava leaning on a palisade and violating the ordinance. Photo by Jan Jaroš.



One of the few benches in Rotava where sitting is allowed. Photo by Jan Jaroš



"Finally it is all clean here." says Jan Slíva, (ex)mayor of the Rotava. Photo by Jan Jaroš

"We placed a number of complaints about them [Roma]. If people wanted to sleep after a night shift, they couldn't due to the noise below their windows. They left trash lying around, and when an older person wanted to get into his home, the vagrants didn't want to let him by and even swore at him. People were afraid of them and it looked awful here."

Jan Slíva, (ex)mayor of Rotava

"Gypsies react to light. When the sun comes out, they come outside and they spend all day on the street. They sit around, talk with one another and they annoy other people with this [...]."

Informant L.S.

"Those gypsies aren't actually doing anything. They're grouped on the street, not doing anything wrong..., they're not committing any crimes or offences. They're just outside in front of their building and we [the police] have a problem with getting them off the streets."

Informant P.K.

Interpretaion

- Firstly, Roma's extensive a intensive usage of public space disrupts the dominant dichotomy between public and private
- Secondly, it exceeds the level of social confrontation of diversity which the majority is willing to tolerate
- The ordinance in Rotava is a tool for purifying public space, albeit at the cost of its annihilation
- The essence of the purification mechanism is a fear of losing control over the space (Sennet) and strengthens of group boundaries (Sibley)

Multidimensional meaning of home

Key signifier	General connotation	Sense of security	In relation to Self	In relation to Others
Shelter	Materiality	Physical	Protection	Roofing
Hearth	Warmth	Physiological	Relaxation	Homeliness
Heart	Love	Emotional	Happiness	Stability
Privacy	Control	Territorial	Possession	Exclusion
Roots	Source of identity	Ontological	Sense	Reference
Abode	Place	Spatial	Rest	Living/sleeping space
Paradise	Ideality	Spiritual	Bliss	Non-existence
				Sommerville 1992

Case Study of Homeless in Pilsen

Some facts

- Homeless population size in Pilsen is about 200
- In 2010 Pilsen Municipal Police established "special unit of officers" whose aim is to "drive out the homeless from the center"
- Aside from common daily patrolling activities, municipal police with state police organize regular bi-weekly "special crackdowns aimed at controlling homeless, beggars, and other asocial individuals who appear and harass citizens in the central area of the city of Pilsen"

Out of place: Case Study of Homeless in Pilsen

- The arguments for expelling the homeless are that the homeless:
 - Smell, beg, pollute surroundings, sleep, urinate, drinking and own dogs
- The homeless generally evoke anxiety and fear in passing or spending time in certain public place
- Their behavior is not necessarily illegal but they are criminalized and are victims of police harassment and violence

Out of place: Case Study of Homeless in Pilsen

- Interpretation
 - The homeless transgress the meanings of the public space and so they are labeled as deviant
 - Their behavior on public is not appropriate because belongs to private
 - They are "matter out of place" (M. Douglas)
 - Just like dirt they pollute the symbolic order of society because their behavior or simply their own existence is located in the wrong place and must be removed.

"Shoes are not dirty in themselves, but it is dirty to place them on the dining table; food is not dirty in itself, but it is dirty to leave cooking utensils in the bedroom, or food bespattered on clothing; similarly, bathroom equipment in the drawing room; clothing lying on chairs; outdoor things in-doors; upstairs things downstairs; under clothing appearing where over-clothing should be, and so on."

(Douglas 2001:37)

Public space and exclusion

- Public sphere (space) is far from asymptotic and inclusive
 - We can see tendency of growing exclusivity of public places
- The production of dominant public space serve as a mechanism of exclusion and purification of otherness
 - Through acts of transgression this mechanism is visible and analyzable
- Complex issue of tolerance cannot be explored without its spatial dimension
 - Particular places determines who and what we are willing to tolerate and who or what is out of place





















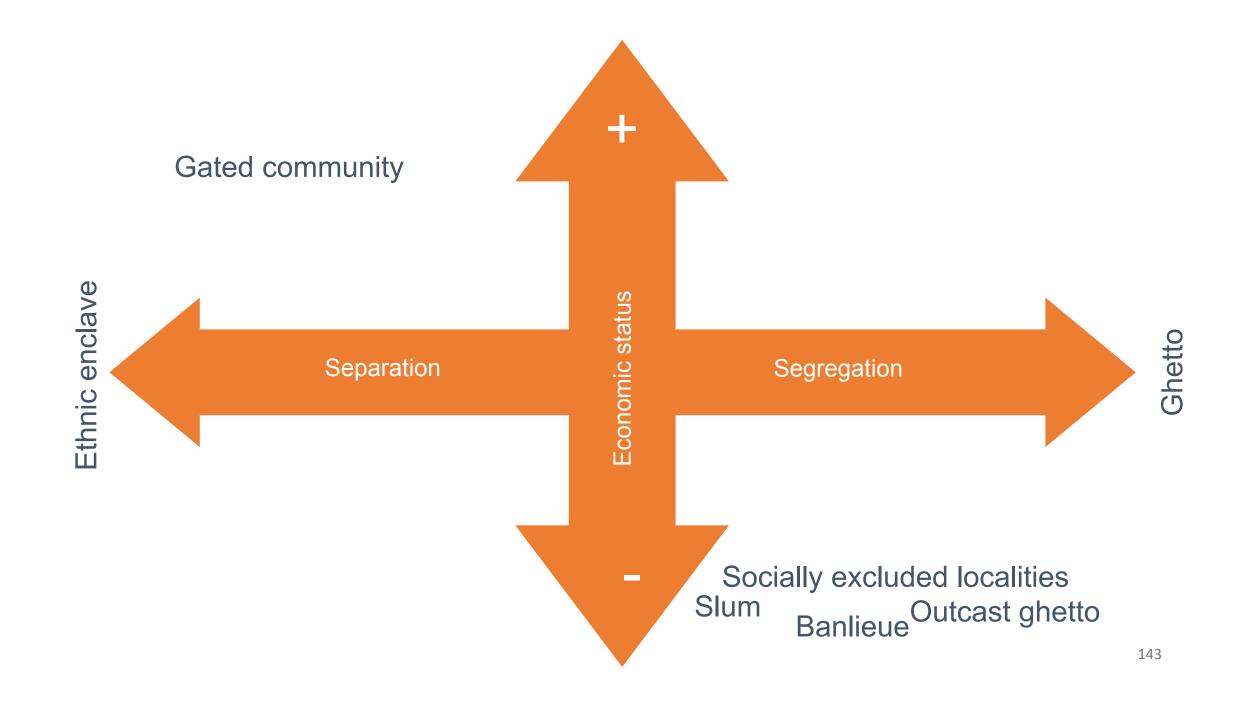








Spatial Segregation







Slum

- Favela, cortico, villa miseria, shanty town...
- Hard to define but most common characteristics are
 - Migration from rural areas to the urban
 - Poverty
 - Pathological areas of the city
 - Nonstandard housing
 - Lack of infrastructure
 - Illegal status
 - Black, shadow economy

Slum

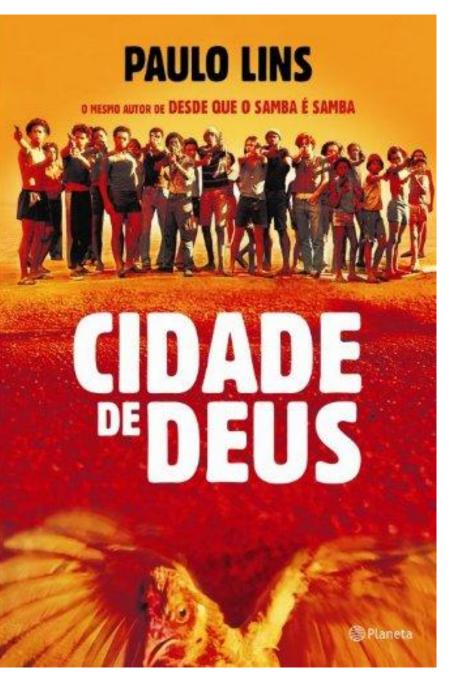
- UN-Habitat (2003): The Challenge of slums
 - First comparative study slums (237 cities)
 - About 32 % of world population
 - Ethiopia (99,4%),
 - Chad (99,4%),
 - Afghanistan (98,5%)
 - Countries with highest population in slums
 - China (194 mil.),
 - India (159 mil.),
 - Brazil (52 mil.)
 - ¼ of urban population under line of absolute poverty















Ghetto

- 1516 Ghetto Nuovo ("New Foundry") in Venezia
- The name spread across the Europe as general term for Jewish segregated localities
- Before the WWII transformed to more general term (Louis Wirth)
- During the WWII rehabilitation of the term as Jewish segregation
- From 1950 "black" ghetto
 - From 1970 changes of sociodemographic composition toward "Outcast ghetto" and "advanced marginality"

"An outcast ghetto is a ghetto in which ethnicity is combined with class in a spatially concentrated area with residents who are excluded from the mainstream of the economic life of the surrounding society, which dos not profit significantly from its existence.,,

Marcuse 1998:19

Ghetto

- 1. Is not define by a poverty
- 2. Is a segregated locality but not all segregated localities are ghettos
- 3. Ghetto creates parallel institutions in opposition to majority
- 4. Ghetto is a source of identity, place of reification

Banlieues

- "Banlieus rouges" (red belt)
- French suburbs inhabited by immigrants
- Structurally different from ghettos
- From 1950s centrally planned housing construction (villes nouvelles) for middle class
 - Insipiration Le Corbusier
- 1960s
 - Inflow of migrants from Maghreb
 - Outflow of middle class
- 1970s
 - Economic deprivation
 - Unemployment, social exclusion, criminalization...













César 96 du meilleur film et du meilleur montage



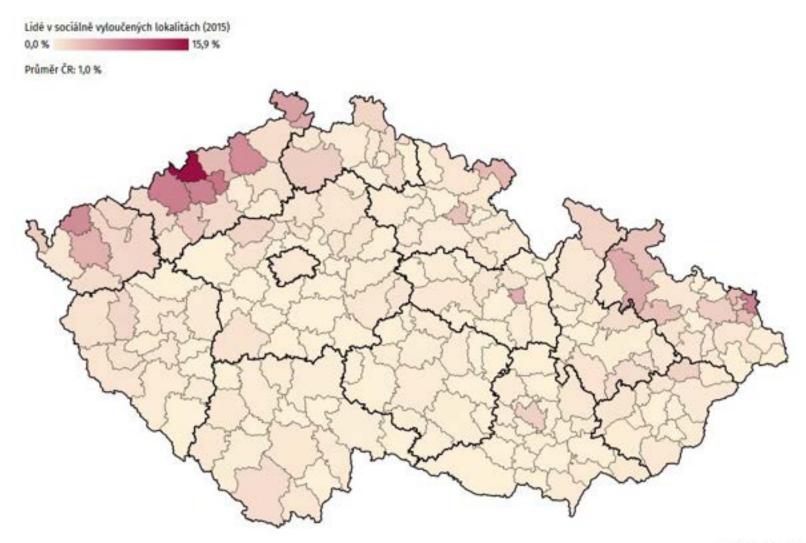
jusqu'ici tout va bien...



What is a 'socially excluded locality'?

- Socially excluded locality is the term prevailing in Czech academic discourse referring to segregated places
- Socially excluded locality is defined very broadly as any locality inhabited by marginalized population
 - House, rooming house, street or whole neighbourhood...
 - Predominantly inhabited by people perceived as Roma
 - Lack of clear analytical boundaries

Number of citizens in socially excluded localities





























Cultural and Symbolic forms of Exclusion

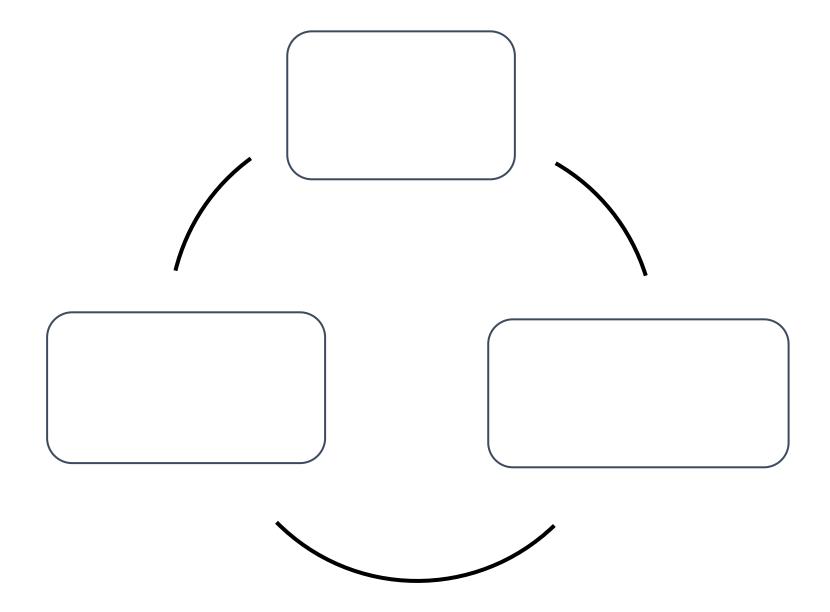
Forms of capital (Bourdieu)

- 1. Economic
 - Material and financial possessions
- 2. Social
 - Contacts, social networks...
- Cultural
 - Intellectual property, education, taste...
- 4. Symbolic
 - Any form of capital that is recognize and honored
 - Capital is anything what has differential power in the particular social field
 - physical, sexual capital...

Habitus and capital

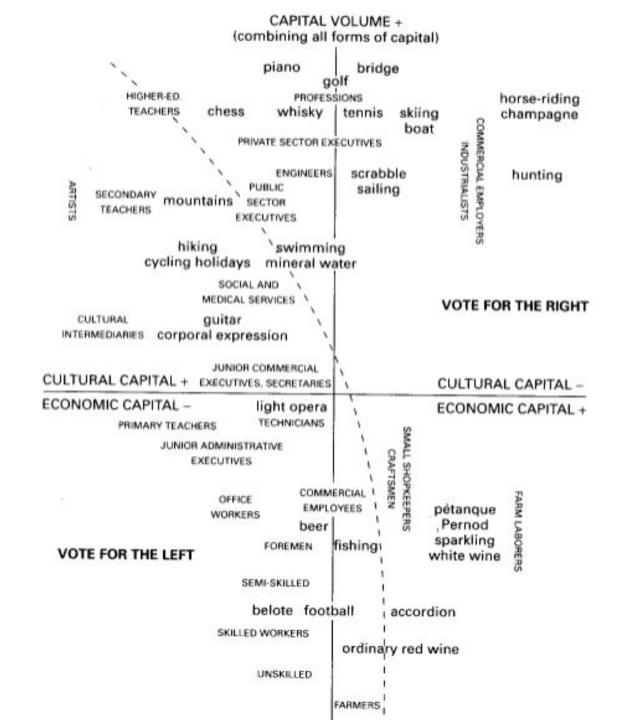
Habitus

- "...systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. " (Wacquant 2002)
- The system of dispositions is formed by forms of capital
 - Individual position in the society depends on the volume a structure of different forms of capital



Bourdieu – distinction

- La Distinction: Critique sociale du jugement (1979)
 - Sociology of taste and lifestyle
 - Taste as a symbolic form of distinction and social differentiation
 - Achieved (and ascribed) manifestation of cultural capital
 - Main mechanism of cultural hegemony



Bourdieu and Forms of Cultural capital

1. Embodied

 Includes normative behaviors such as language use, manner of dress, and the "proper" guidelines for conducting oneself

2. Objectified

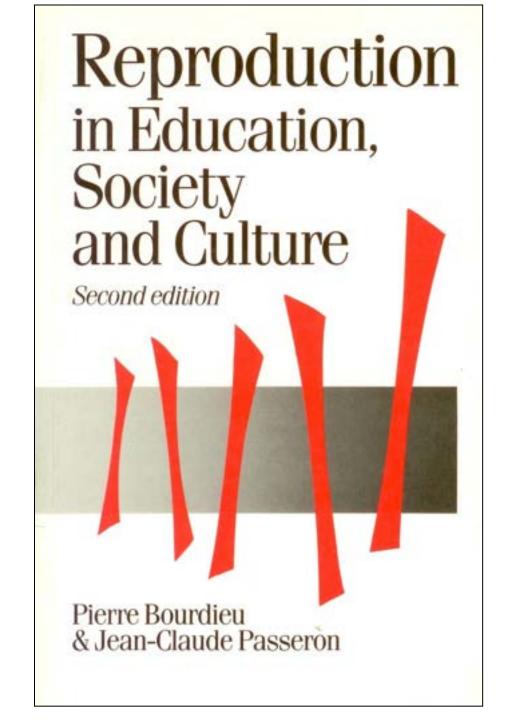
- The objectified state of cultural capital may be consumed through money and/or embodied through the appreciation of a fine painting
 - Cultural objects can be consumed materially which presupposes economic capital
 - Cultural objects can be consumed symbolically which presupposes cultural capital

3. Institutionalized

- The objectification of cultural capital in the form of academic qualification
- This presupposes academic success and is therefore dependent on the embodiment of cultural capital

Bourdieu and reproduction of inequality

- The differential accumulation of capital through material gains and embodied features drives and reproduces social inequalities
- Family is a place of cultural capital reproduction
- Students from middle/high class have the preferred cultural capital that enables them to function in school
 - These students have a particular knowledge that allows them to navigate through the school system by displaying desired behavior and/or conforming to unspoken norms
 - Students that possess the appropriate cultural capital will be recognized as "advanced" leaving those that do not possess the same cultural capital left to reproduce their habitus.
- Ideology of meritocracy masking the reality of inequality
 - Individuals who do not have the desired cultural capital are labeled as lacking in intelligence



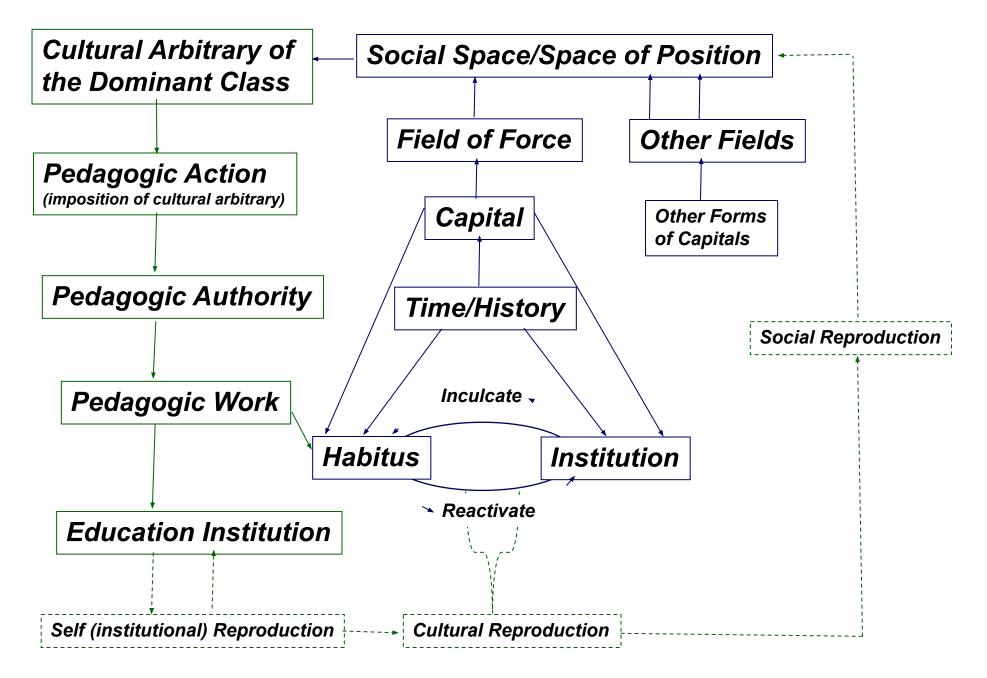
"All pedagogic action is, objectively, symbolic violence insofar as it is the imposition of a cultural arbitrary by an arbitrary power." (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 5)

Bourdieu & Passeron

"Insofar as it is a power of symbolic violence, exerted within a relation of pedagogic communication which can produce its own specifically symbolic effect only because the arbitrary power which makes imposition possible is never seen in its full truth; and insofar as it is the inculcation of a cultural arbitrary, carried on within a relation of pedagogic communication which can produce its own, specifically pedagogic effect only because the arbitrariness of the content inculcated is never seen in its full truth—pedagogic action necessarily implies, as a social condition of its exercise, pedagogic authority and the relative autonomy of the agency commissioned to exercise it." (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p. 11-12)

Bourdieu & Passeron

"Every institutionalized education system owes the specific characteristics of its structure and functioning to the fact that, by the means proper to the institution, it has to produce and reproduce the institutional conditions whose existence and persistence (self-reproduction of the system) are necessary both to the exercise of its essential function of inculcation and to the fulfillment of its function of reproducing a cultural arbitrary which it does not produce (cultural reproduction), the reproduction of which contributes to the reproduction of the relations between the groups or classes (social reproduction)" (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, p.54)



Louis Althusser

- Louis Athusser (1971) Theory of the state
 - Repressive state apparatus
 - Ideological state apparatus
 - School as an essential ideological state apparatus in reproduction of labor power

Louis Althusser

"Unlike social formations characterized by slavery or serfdom, this reproduction of the skills of labour power tends decreasingly to be provided for 'on the spot', but is achieved more and more outside production: by the capitalist education system, and by other instances and institutions.

What do children learn at school? ... They learn to read, to write and to add – i.e. a number of techniques, and a number of other things as well, including elements of 'scientific' or 'literary culture', which are directly useful in the different jobs in production. Thus they learn 'know-how'.

But besides these ...children at school also learn the 'rules' of good behaviour, i.e. the attitude that should be observed by every agent in the division of labour, according to the job he is 'destined' for: rule of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually means rules of respect for socio-technical division of labour and ultimately the rule of the order established by class domination." (Authusser, 1971, p. 132)

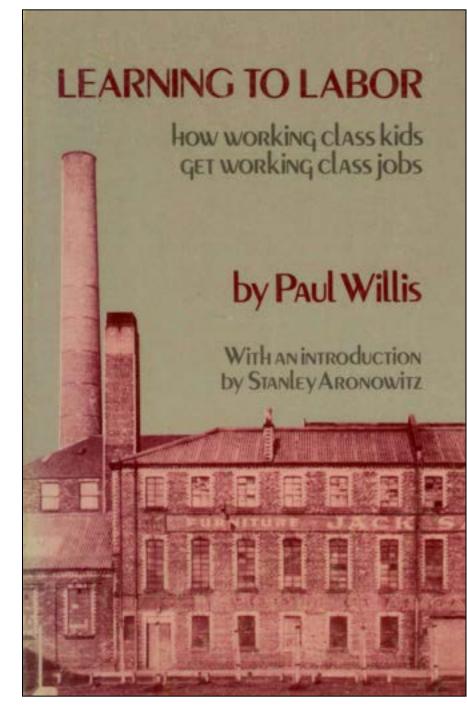
Basil Bernstein

- Two ways or codes of talking
 - **Restricted** code used by the working class;
 - A "short-hand" way of speaking and it tends to be used between people who share the same meanings, e.g. close friends
 - Thus it is not generally understood by everyone in all situations
 - Elaborated code used by the middle class
 - It is not restricted or particular to whether or not a person already knows what one are talking about
 - It is a more detailed way of talking, everyone can understand what one means because one explains oneself very clearly
- Middle class children achieve more in school because teachers use the same way of speaking
- Working class children start off with a disadvantage because they do not speak in the same way as teachers as the restricted code is not used in education

Paul Willis

- Learning to Labor: How Working Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs (1977)
 - Education reproduces the type of workforce required by capitalism
 - Reaction of working-class kids is "counter school culture"
 - Opposition to school system and questioning legitimacy of the system
 - Anti-authority, anti-intellectual, hard-tough masculine identity, sexism and racism.
 - No educational aspirations
 - Willis argued that this school counter-culture had direct relationship with the main features of the shop-floor culture of the working class.

"For no matter what the larger pattern of working class culture and cycle of its continuous regeneration, no matter what the severity of disillusion amongst 'the lads' as they get older, their passage is to all intents and purposes irreversible. When the cultural apprenticeship of the shopfloor is fully worked out, and its main real activity of arduous production for others in unpleasant surroundings is seen more clearly, there is a double kind of entrapment in what might then be seen, as the school was seen before, as the prison of the workshop. Ironically, as the shopfloor becomes a prison, education is seen retrospectively, and hopelessly, as the only escape." (Willis, 1977, 107)

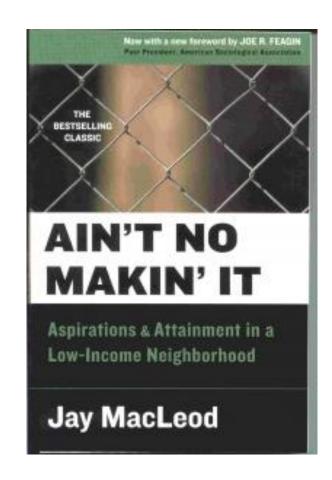


Jay MacLeod: Ain't No Makin' It (1987, 1995, 2009)

- Jay MacLeod researches the intersection of structure, agency, and culture within social reproduction in a housing project "Claredon Heights"
 - The Hallway Hangers: a group of predominantly white high school boys that reject notions of meritocracy and engage in self destructive acts such as drinking, consuming drugs, dealing drugs, and ditching school.
 - The Brothers: a group of black high school boys who embrace notions of meritocracy, envision bright futures for themselves, and generally stay away from activities characteristic of the hallway hangers.

Jay MacLeod: Ain't No Makin' It

- Hallway Hangers: Like their families, they reject meritocracy and the notion that education provides a vehicle toward success
- The Brothers: Like their families, embrace the ideology of meritocracy and base their self—worth on its accomplishment whereby education is a crucial component.
- Though it appears that the brothers' ambitions will lead them to a path out of Claredon Heights, McLeod reveals that both the hallway hangers and the brothers remain in the lower class from which they came thus reproducing inequalities

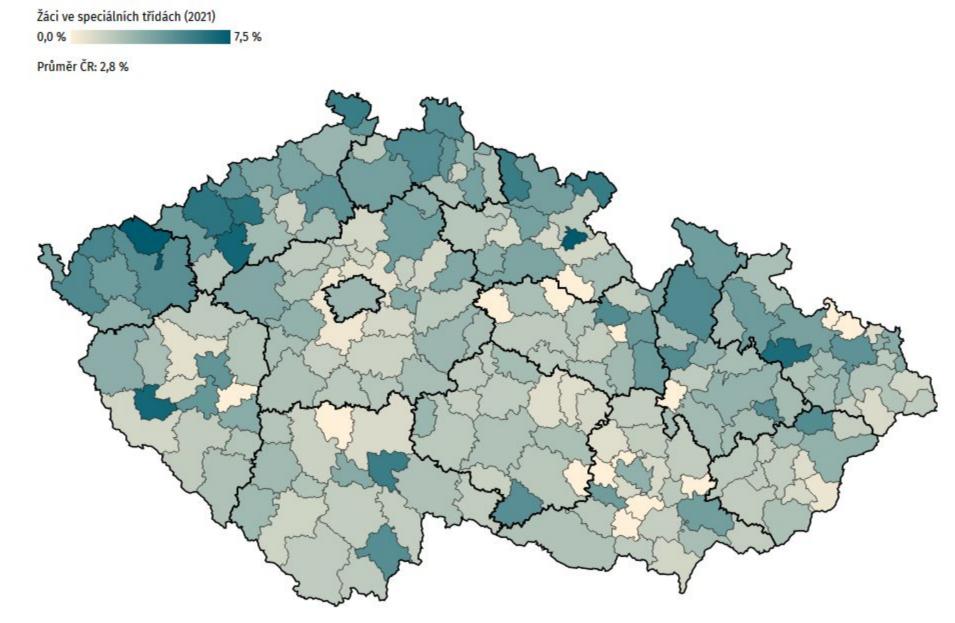


Education and Discrimination of Roma

- D.H. and others vs. Czech Republic (ECHR/57325/00)
 - Aa case decided by the European Court of Human Rights concerning discrimination of Romani children in the education system of the Czech Republic.
 - The eighteen applicants were all school children from the town of Ostrava. They were Czech nationals of Roma descent, born between 1985 and 1991 and therefore nine to fifteen years old at the time of the application in 2000.
 - Between 1996 and 1999 they were placed into "special schools" for children with mental disabilities.
 - The decision to place them in these schools was made by the head teacher on the basis of a psychological examination, and with the consent of the child's parent or guardian.
- As a result, the "special schools" have been renamed
 - But still follow the same substandard curriculum
 - Roma continue to be assigned to these schools in disproportionate numbers

Education and Roma

- Monitoring of curriculums in 2009
 - 4,5 % of primary pupils identified as Roma
 - 27 % of them were educated as mentally handicaped
 - Only 2,17 % of non-roma
 - 1/3 of all pupils educated as mentally handicaped were Roma
- Monitoring of curriculums in 2015
 - Standard curriculum
 - 9,5 % (4209) pupils identified as Roma
 - Substandard curriculum
 - 32,4 % (3468) pupils identified as Roma

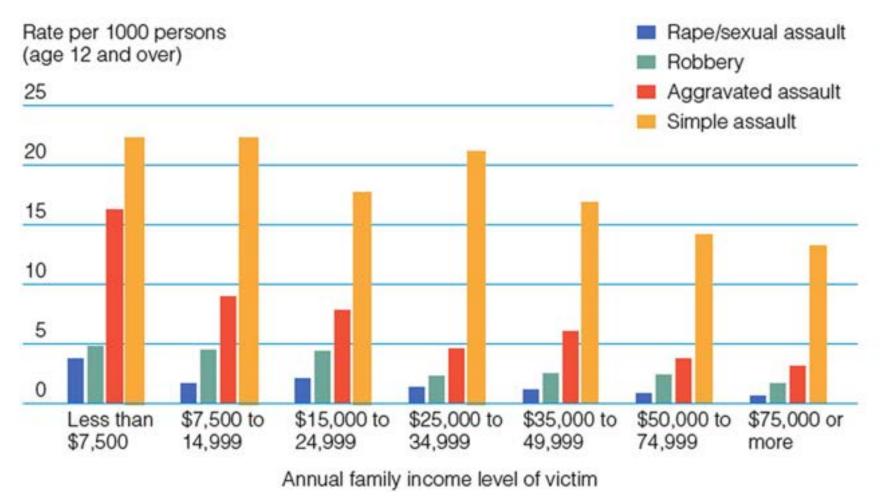


Crime, Criminalization, and Victimization

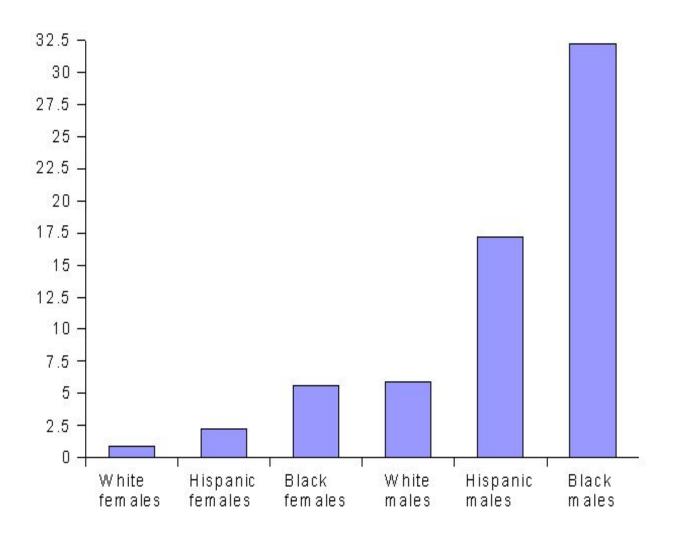
Victimization and Criminalization

- Victimization is a process of being victimised or becoming a victim
- Criminalization is a process by which behaviors and individuals are transformed into crime and criminals
- Certain individuals and social groups have a higher probability to be victimized and criminalized
 - Social status
 - Identity
 - Gender
 - Age
 - Place

USA: Victimization and Income



Incarceration rates in USA (2001)



- Chances of going to prison
 - Black males (32.2%)and
 - Hispanic males (17.2%)
 - White males (5.9%).
 - Black females (5.6%)
 - Hispanic females (2.2%)
 - White females (0.9%)

About the project

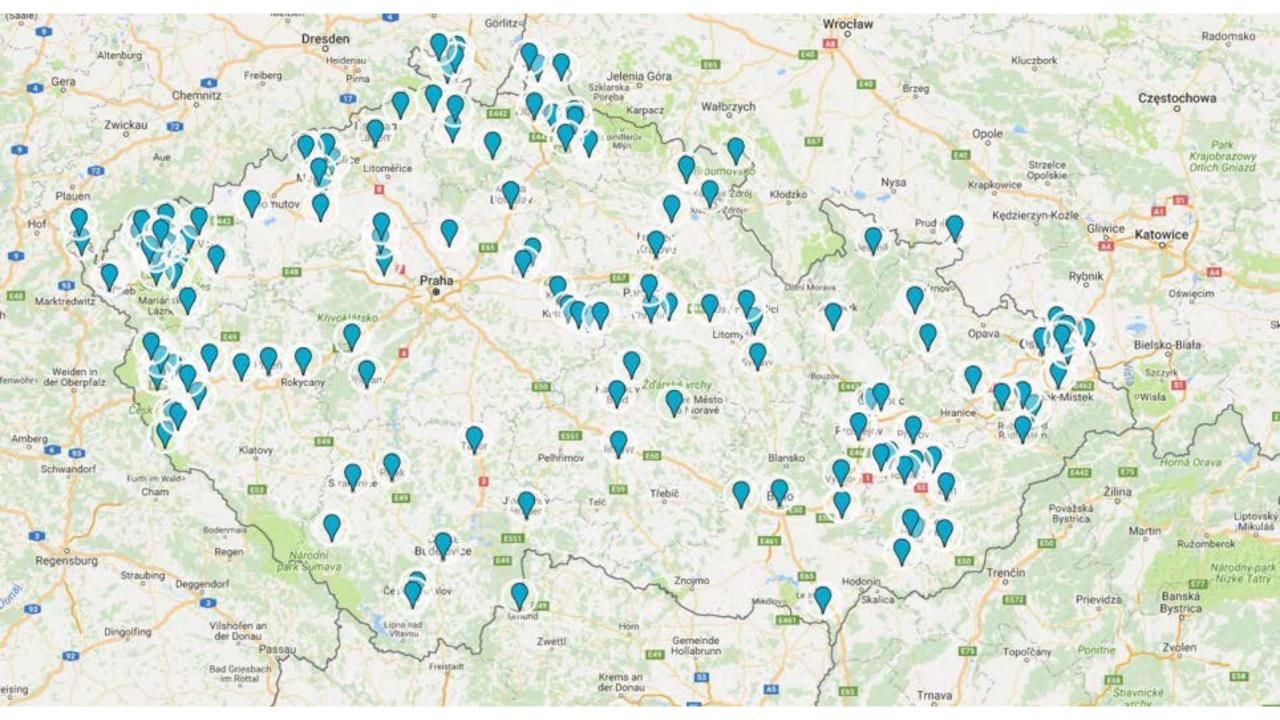
- Security risks of socially excluded localities: Producing the knowledge and instruments for crime management and prevention (Czech abbreviation BRIZOLIT)
 - I. phase (2016)
 - Quantitative victimization survey at socially excluded localities (SEL)
 - •II. Phase (2017)
 - Ethnography of crime connected to socially excluded localities

About the victimization survey

- •Data collection from 19. 4. to 28. 8. 2016
- 13 regions (out of 14), 62 districts, 132 municipalities, 282 localities
- •2493 respondents living at socially excluded localities
 - And 591 respondents living outside of SEL (in municipalities which contain a SEL) for data comparison

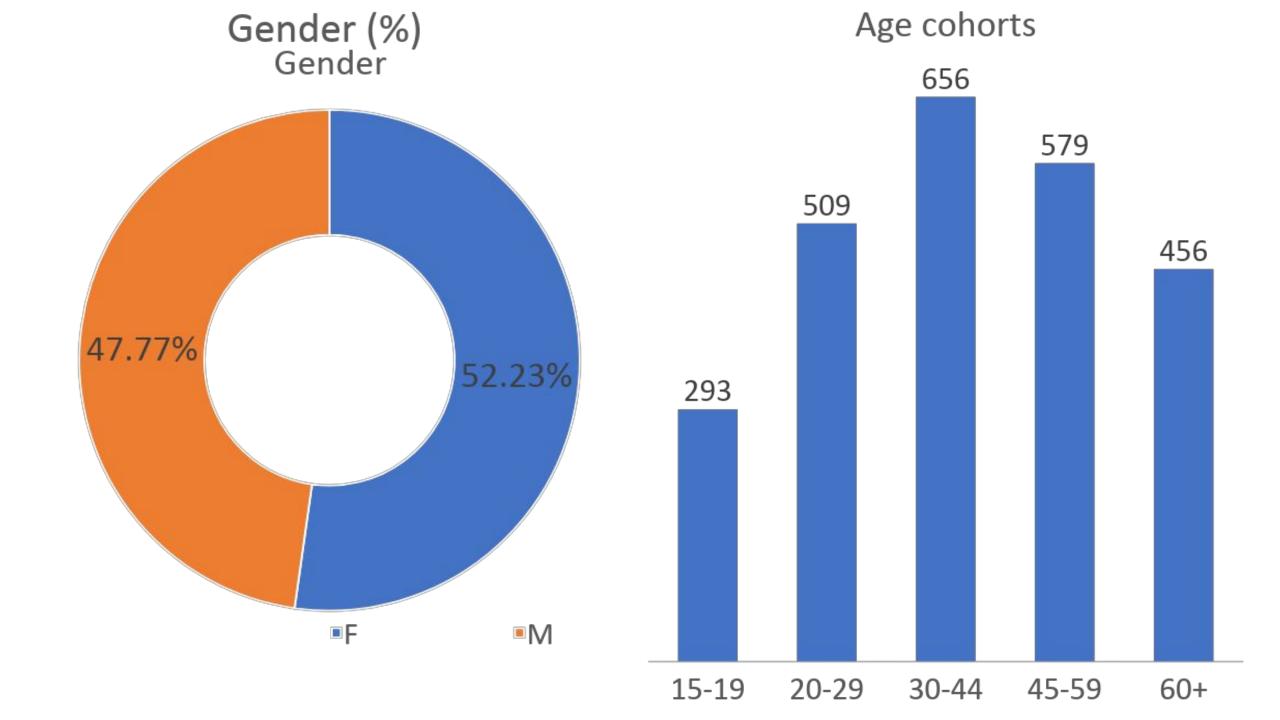
Selection of SEL for the survey

- Database of SEL from available secondary sources
 - Circa 250 municipalities with 600 localities
- Municipalities were divided into two groups of quantiles regarding
 - 1. Whole population size
 - 2. Estimated ratio of excluded population to whole population
 - From each combination of the quantiles at least one municipality at the regional level (in each of the 13 regions) was selected



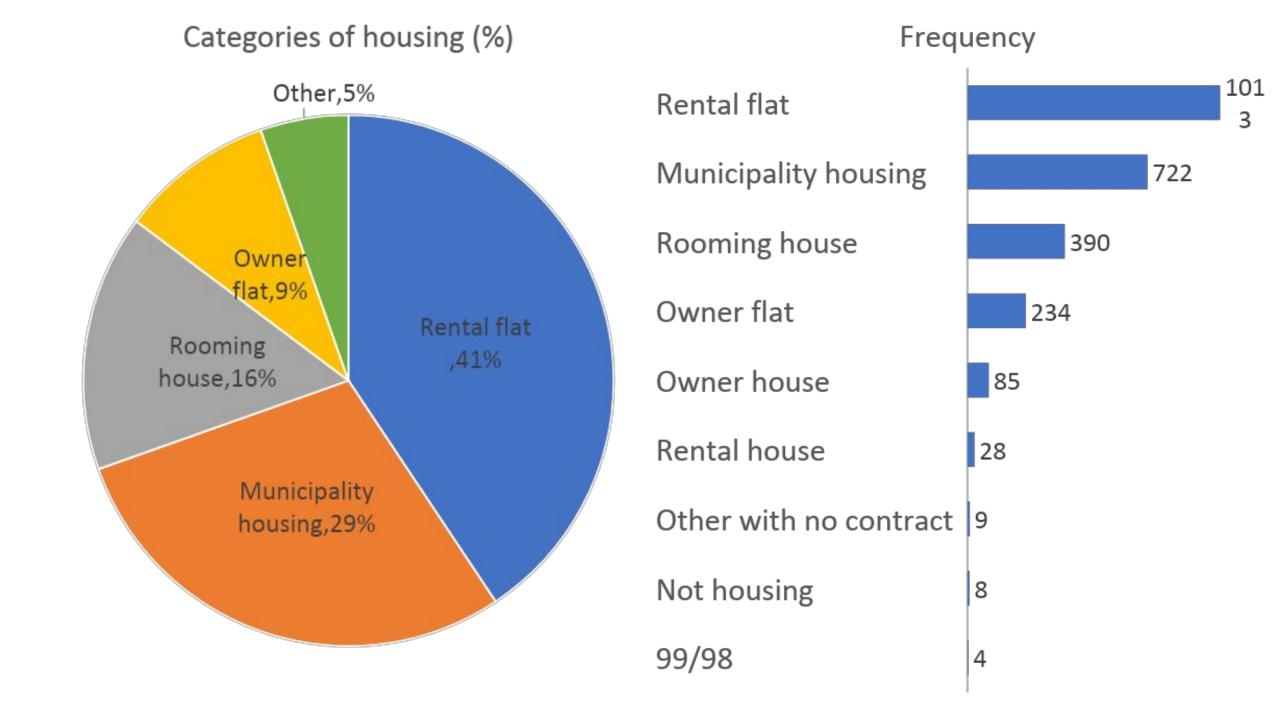
Methodology

- •F2F survey
 - Unit of observation
 - An individual 15 years or older living in a socially excluded locality
 - Tools
 - Main questionnaire with 67 questions
 - Incident questionnaire
 - Only for cases of victimization in the past 12 months
- Quota sampling at geographically delimited units
 - •Quotas: age, gender, residence

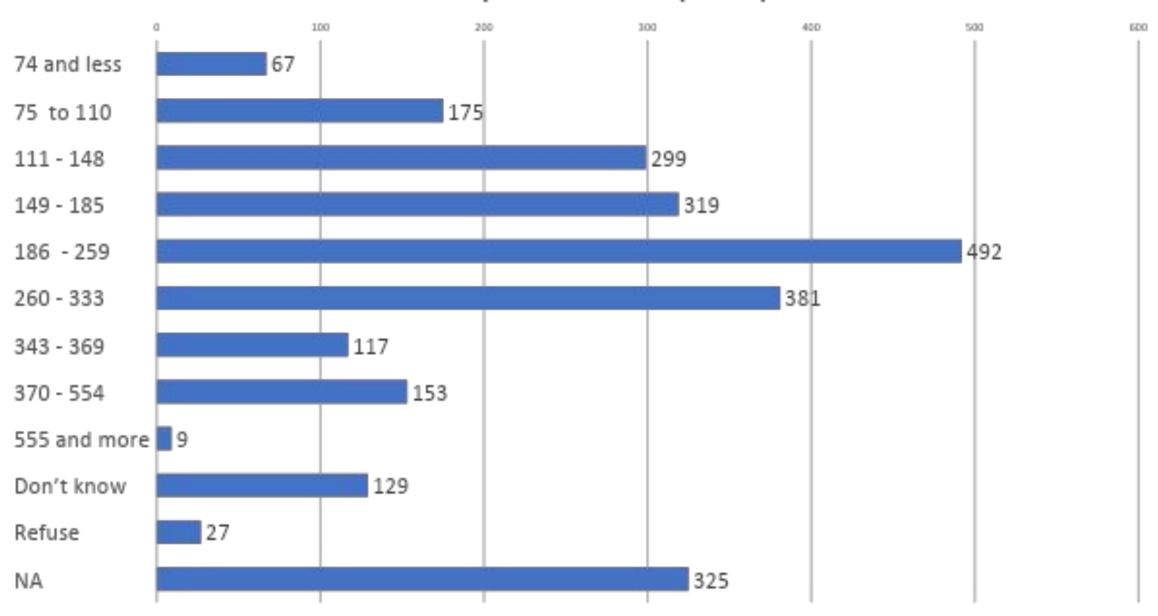


Sociodemographic indicators

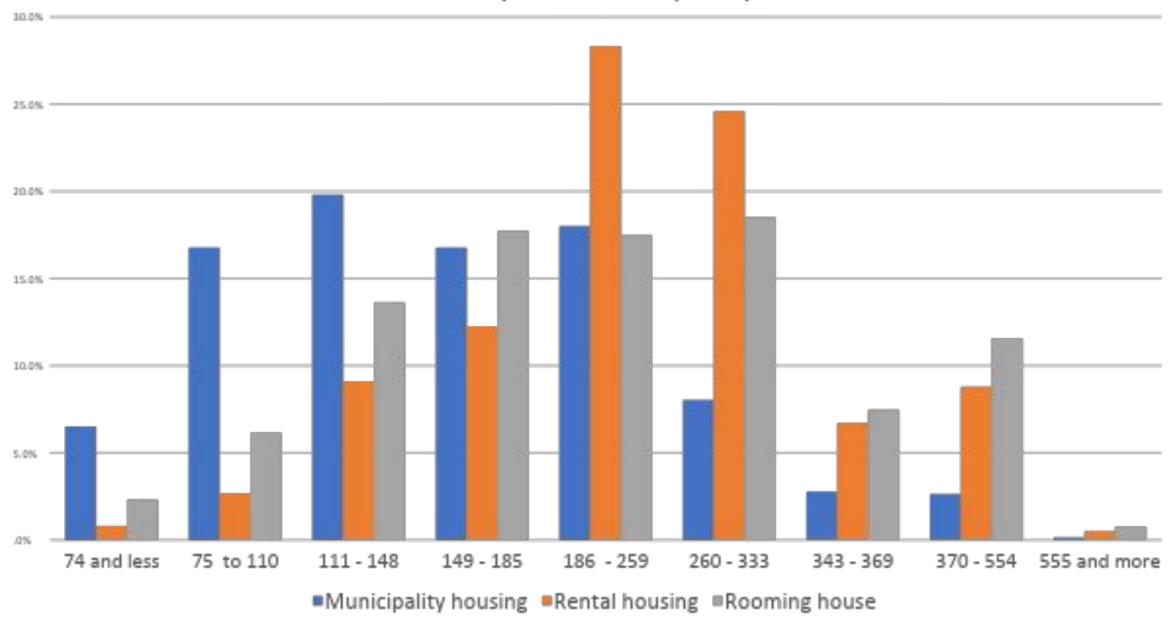
- The socially excluded population differs fundamentally from the rest of the population regarding:
 - Education
 - Marital status
 - Economic status
 - Income poverty
 - Housing
 - Number of persons per household
 - Ethnicity/nationality
 - Mobility (inner migration)

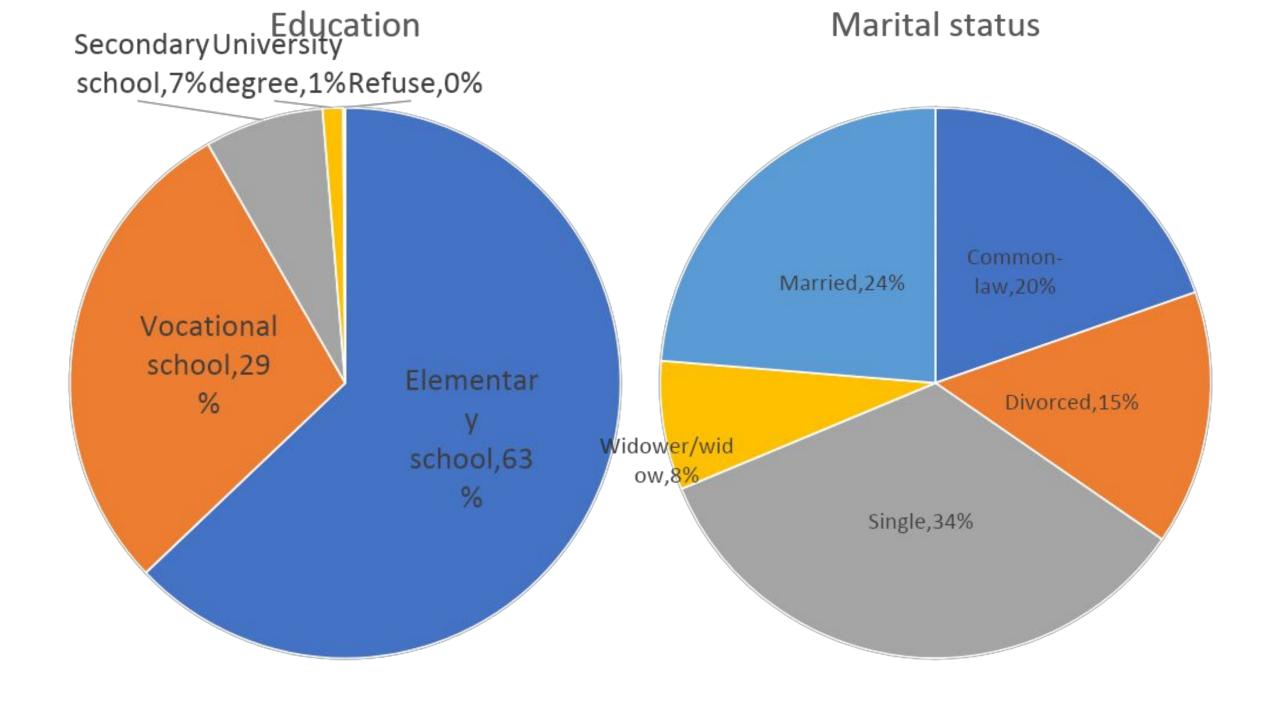


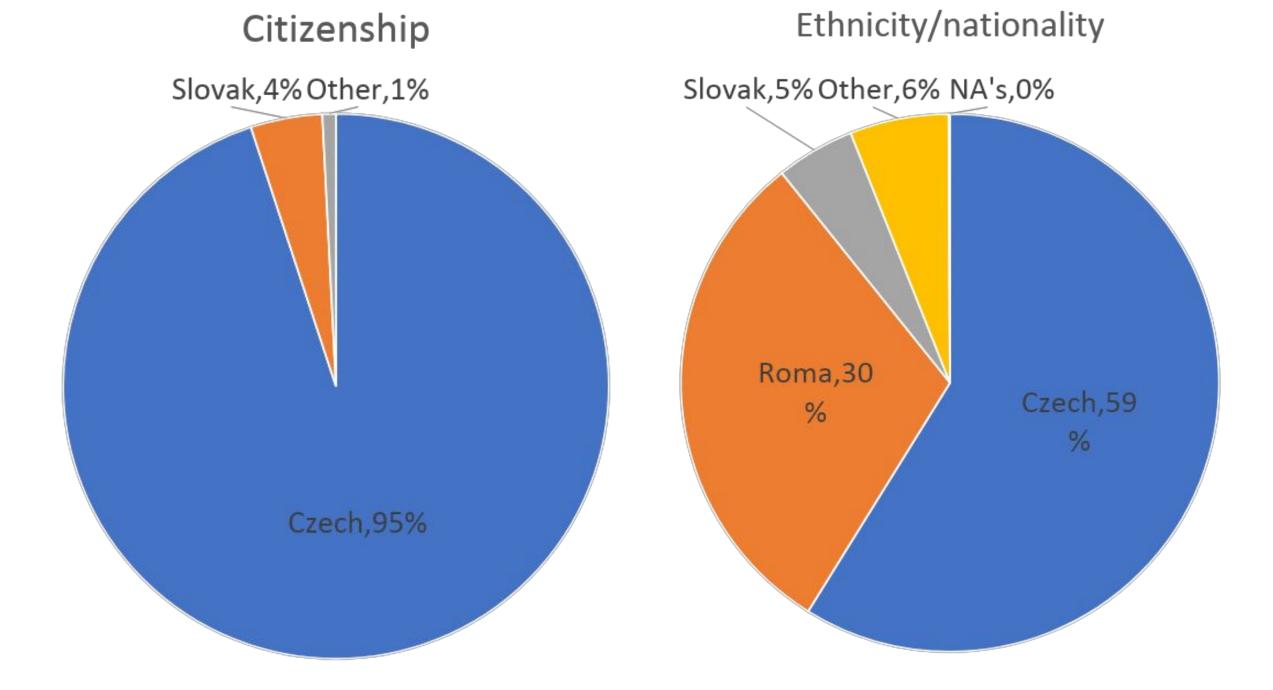
Rent per month (EUR)



Rent per month (EUR)



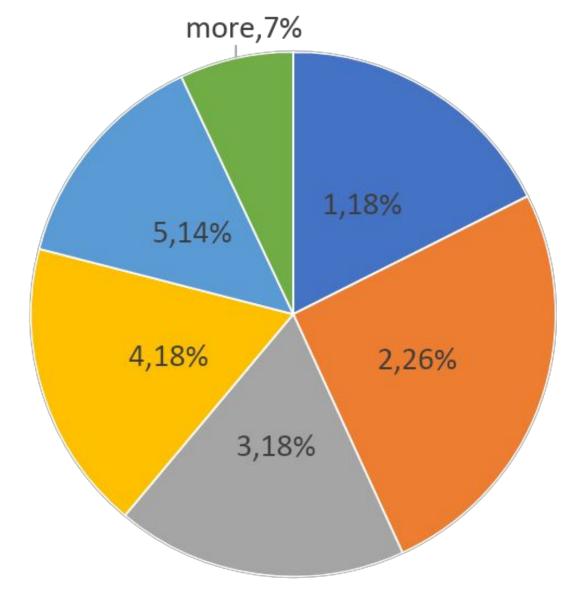




Comparison of average number of persons per household

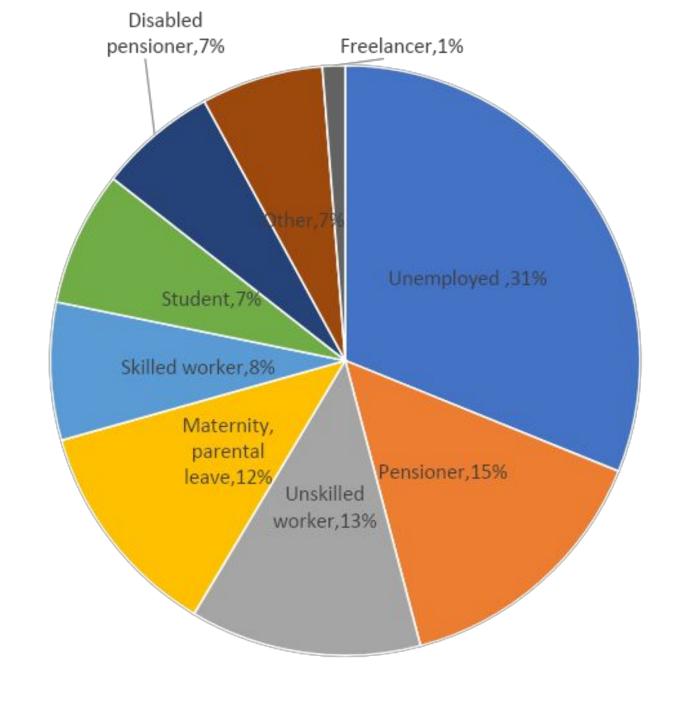
- SEL 3,43
- CZ 2011 2,34
- CZ 1950 3,14
- CZ 1930 3,67





Economic status

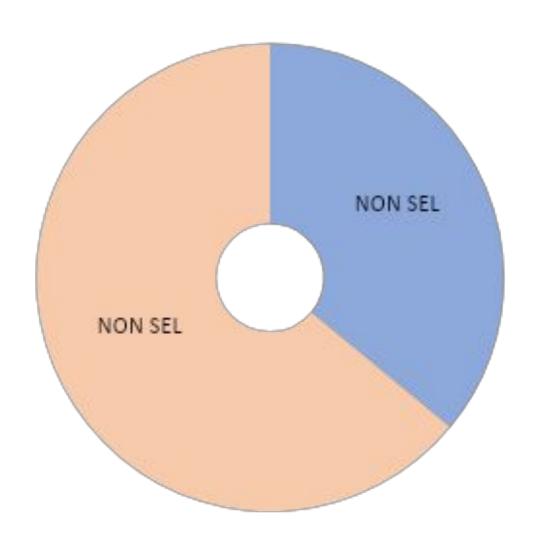
- Employed 29 %
- "Unemployed" 31 %
 - Not consistent with Eurostat/ILO definition
 - Based on self-identification
- Income poverty
 - At least 70 % of the households below the income poverty rate



General rate of victimization

- In total 49 % (1217) of the respondents have been victimized in the past 12 months
 - 12 % of them twice and 10 % three times and more
 - Among non-excluded population the rate is 36 %
- In the past 5 years 75 % respondents have been victimized

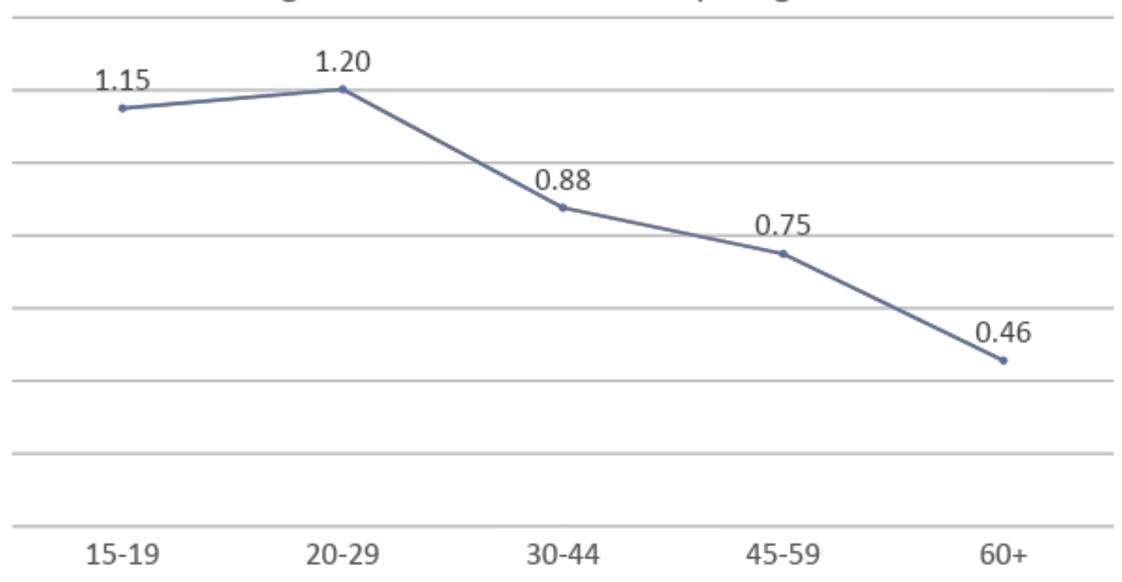
Victimization in the past 12 mont



Average rate of victimization

- •In total 2154 cases of victimization for the past 12 months have been recorded
- Average 0,87 per person
 - Average for NON SEL 0,6
- In general a difference between women and men has not been found
 - 0,84 F x 0,89 M
- Rate of victimization is declining with the age
 - The highest is among the youngest age cohorts
 - The lowest is among the oldest age cohort (60+)

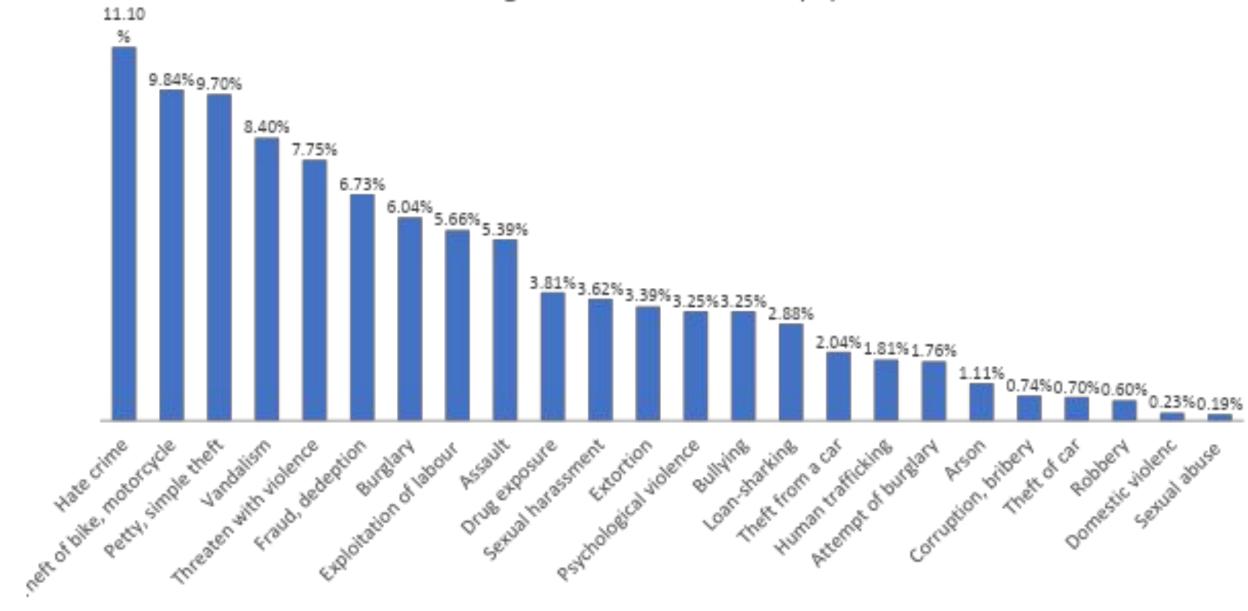
Average number of victimization per age cohorts



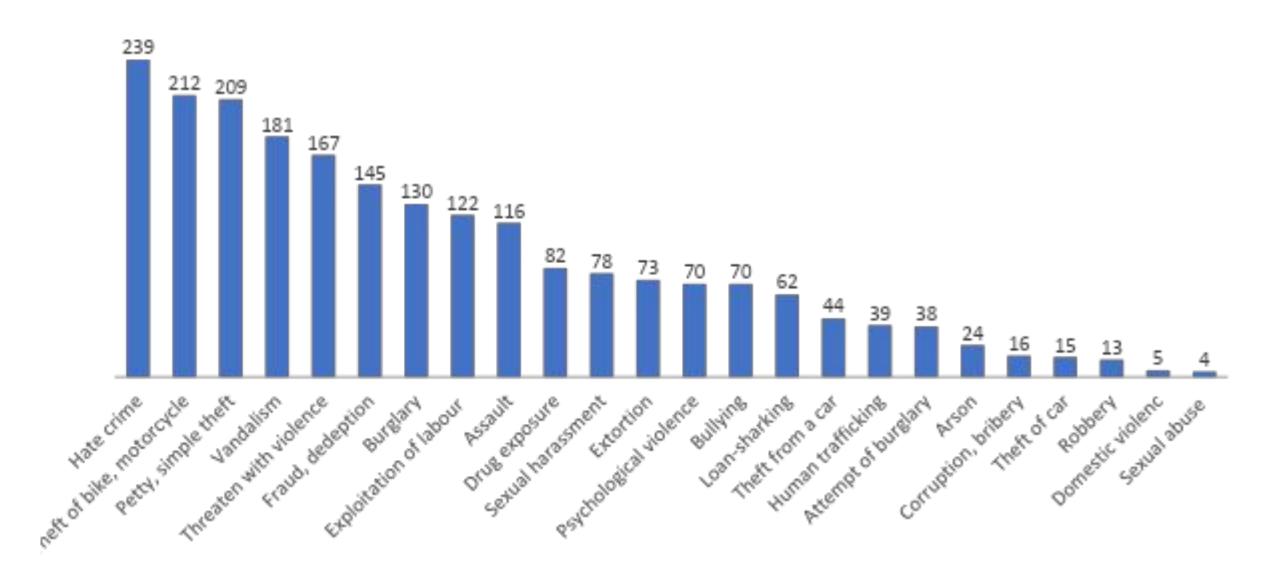
Categories of victimization

- General categories of victimization
 - Property 55 %
 - Violence 38,2 %
 - Others 6,7 %
- The most frequent categories of victimization:
 - 1. Hate crime 11 %
 - 2. Theft of bike/motorcycle 9,8 %
 - 3. Petty (simple) theft 9,7 %

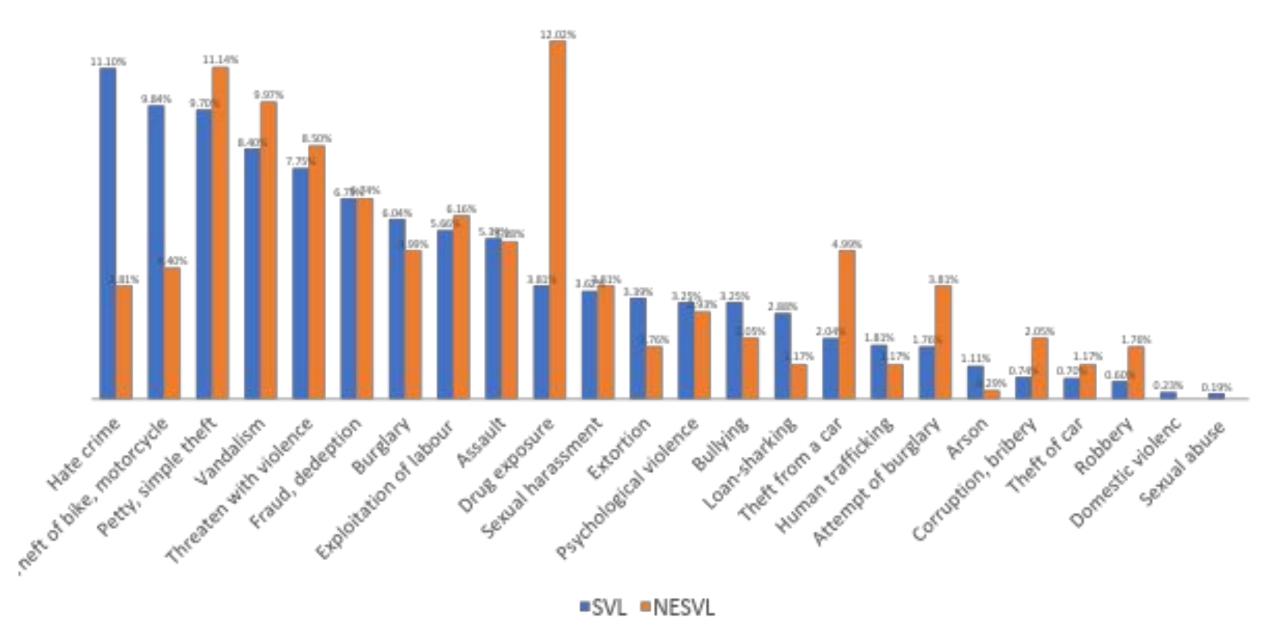
Categories of victimization (%)



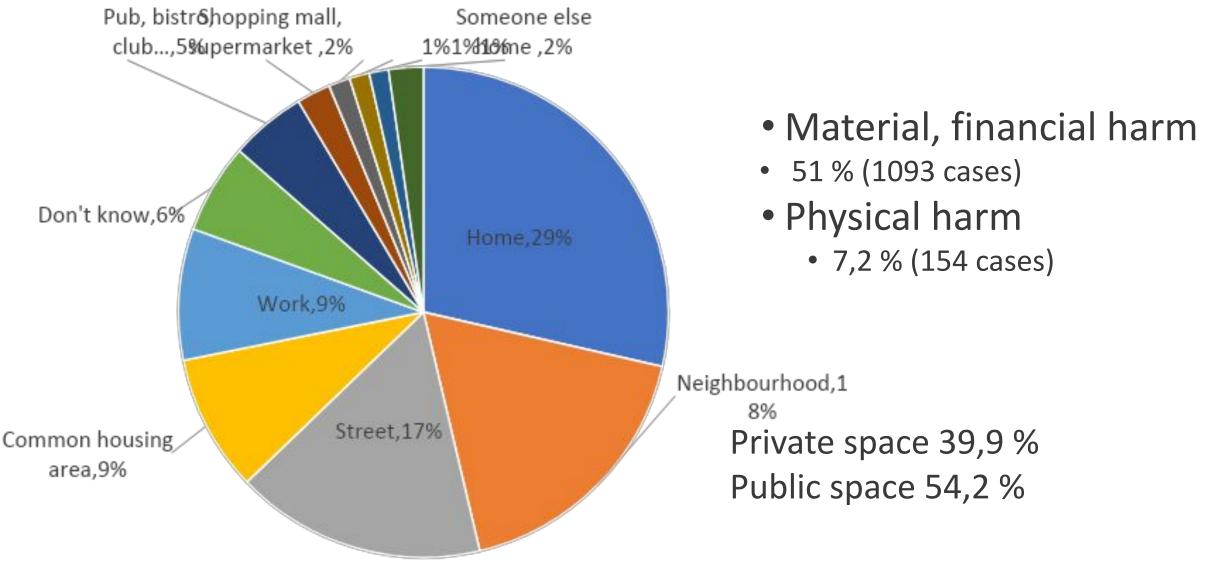
Categories of victimization

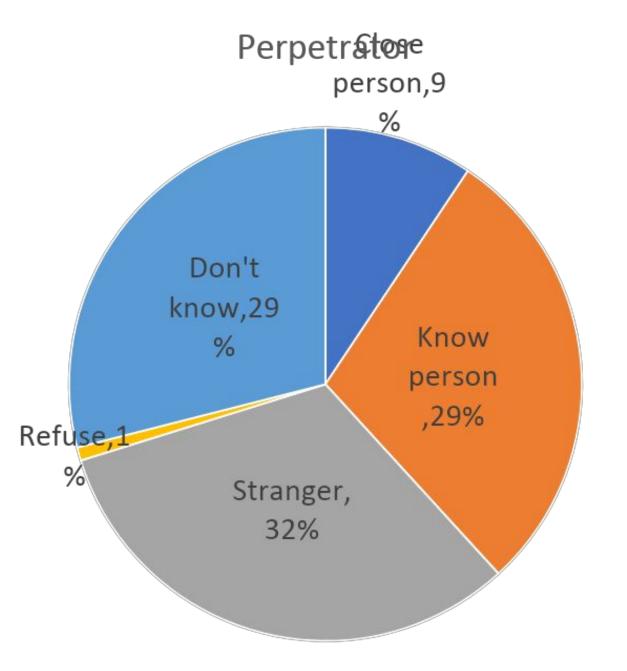


Categories of victimization SEL and NON-SEL (%)



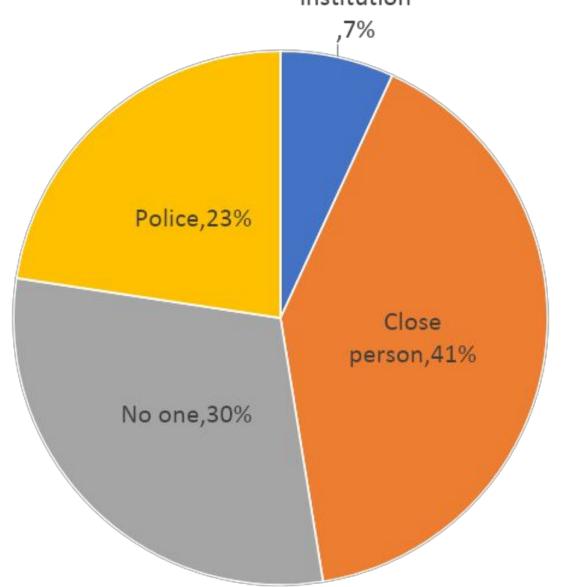
Place of victimizat





- Armed perpetrator
 - 5,6 % (121 cases)
 - 3,2 % he/she used it (69 cases)
- Gender of the perpetrator
 - 80 % male
 - 9 % female
 - 9 % both (a group of perpetrators consisting of both men and women)
- 18 % of victims assumed that the incident was motivated by their ethnicity

Incident was reported to...



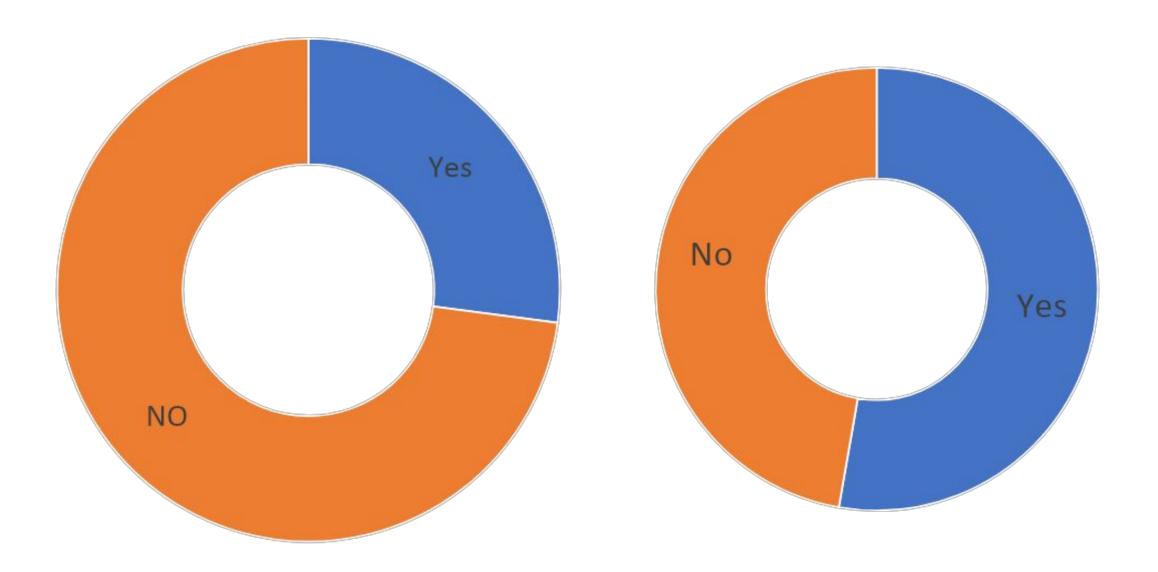
• If reported to the police

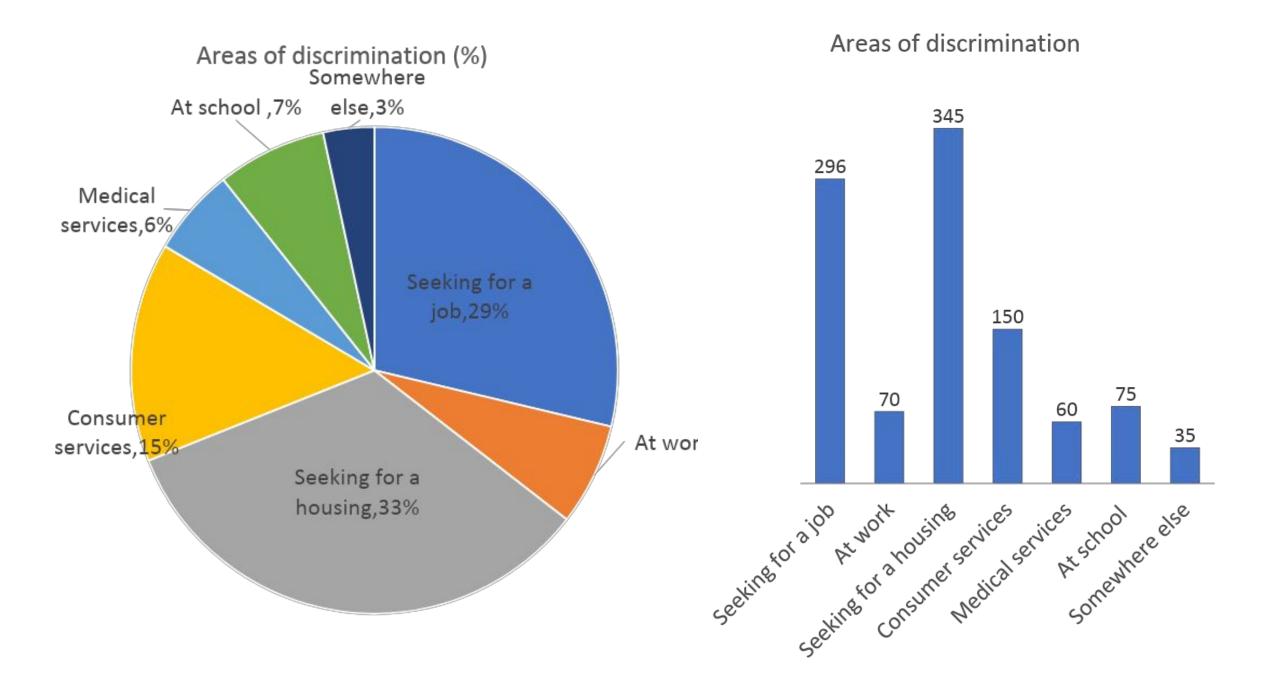
- 27 % (136) classified as a crime
- 31,8 % not classified as a crime
- 9,7 % classified as a misdemeanor
- 31,4 % don't know

Self-report crime

- Sentence of imprisonment in the past
 - 16 % respondents (402 in total)
 - Importance of prisons for social exclusion: poverty industry/penal/segregated education complex

Discriminated in the past 5 years





An ideal victimized actor

• A person between 20 and 30, living alone, declaring that he/she is Roma, and admitting that he/she broke the law in the past

- Regarding sociodemographic characteristics the socially excluded population differ fundamentally from the general Czech population
 - Education
 - Marital status
 - Economic status
 - Income poverty
 - Housing
 - Number of persons per household
 - Ethnicity/nationality
 - Mobility (inner migration)

- Regarding victimization no major difference has been found between SEL population a NON-SEL population except for hate crime incidents
 - Possible interpretation
 - 1. Double marginalization
 - NON-SEL population inhabits inner peripheries (marginalized regions) of the Czech Republic
 - 2. Low spatial determination
 - Excluded localities are too small and not so much segregated to have an impact on crime patterns

- However the victimization rate is very high
 - In 2015 the official crime rate (according to police statistics) in the CZ was 0,02 incident per person
 - Victimization rate from the survey is 0,87 incident per person
 - 31 x more than the official crime rate
- Of course not all cases of victimization would pass as crime by legal standards, but...
 - •Only 22,6 % of the incidents were reported to the police
 - 27 % of the reported cases (6,3 % from the total) were by the knowledge of the respondents prosecuted as a crime
 - Still, it is 3 x more than the official crime rate

- Predictors of victimization: no significant correlation between variables has been found
- Except for
 - Age
 - Marital status
 - Ethnic/national identity
 - (admitting to breaking the law)