

Doctoral (Ph.D) thesis

Theses

Árpád Budavári

2023

NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF PUBLIC SERVICE
Doctoral School of Law Enforcement

Árpád Budavári

**Prospects for reform and community-
based operations in Hungarian law
enforcement**

Doctoral (Ph.D) thesis

Theses of the dissertation

Supervisor:

.....

.....

**Dr. Katalin
Molnár**

Dunaújváros, 2023

Table of content

I.	Reasons for the choice of topic and purpose of the research	7
II.	Hypotheses of the research.....	10
III.	Structure of the thesis, scope and extent of the research, the research methods used.....	11
IV.	Key findings and results of the research.....	16
V.	New directions for future research	24
VI.	Literature cited in the presentation of the theses	25
VII.	List of publications related to the research.....	26

I. Reasons for the choice of topic and purpose of the research

The idea of renewing the police, inherited after forty years of state socialism, dates back to the pre-reform era. The basic structural set-up has remained virtually unchanged since 1949: a highly hierarchical and militarised centrally controlled state police force, separate from the civil administration. Under the party state, the professional and political management of the police, which was part of the Ministry of the Interior, was not separated. Its operation was not under the rule of law but of the state party, and there was no social control. The state had a monopoly on the performance of public security functions, ensuring both total control over its citizens and a low crime rate, aided by the fact that the economy was also under the control of the state administration, with no private property and no market economy.

The democratic rule of law that took shape after the change of regime was far from being able to guarantee security to the same extent as in the period of total dictatorship. With privatisation, huge fortunes were privatised, and the egalitarian planned economy of socialism was replaced by a market economy. The democratic turnaround required both a reform of the judicial system and the democratisation of the police, and a fight against the sharp rise in crime. It was also clear that a new police force could only be formed on the basis of the rule of law and respect for human rights.

Opinions on the future of the police were divided into two poles. The proponents of a radical turnaround were mainly theoreticians. Their aim was to replace the military-style organisation with a decentralised municipal police force integrated into the civil administration, which would provide strong guarantees against abuses of the monopoly on the use of force. However, police leaders and policy makers did not turn their backs on the past, arguing for the maintenance of the old structure and wanting to build fewer constraints and greater empowerment into the way it operated. In the end, the latter idea won the day (Finszter, 2008). The constitutionalisation brought the police under the same authority as the defence,¹ now without direct party control, but still with

¹ Act XX of 1949, Chapter VIII

a centralised, militarised state police structure.

The change of regime created an opportunity for our police to face its past openly, to make an accurate diagnosis of its state and to offer a chance for a socio-political consensus on the police's role in the rule of law. Without this, it would not have been possible over the past thirty-two years to develop long-term concepts for the organisation and functioning of the police that could withstand the test of changing political courses. And although renewal has been a constant theme of police research, in my opinion only one period has offered any real prospect of reform: the period 2006-2010. The investigations carried out in the aftermath of the police handling of the demonstrations in Budapest in autumn 2006 highlighted the shortcomings that are closely linked to the unchanged organisation. These failures led to a serious level of social dissatisfaction and a crisis of confidence in the police. The poor state of public safety and the police became a leading theme in political rhetoric in the following years. This dissatisfaction revived vigilante movements calling for the restoration of public safety and the crackdown on criminals. The emergence of the paramilitary Hungarian Guard, which had the largest social support of all, both cast doubt on the state's ability to fulfil its function of protecting public safety and deepened the divisions between the Roma and the majority society. The police's handling of the series of attacks against Roma in 2008-2009, which can be seen as the most extreme manifestation of this, pointed to professional shortcomings,² and some manifestations of prejudice in the organisation's staff (Pap, 2019).³ It became obvious that the government of the time was unable to deal with this situation.

In the more than a decade since then, however, the improved outcomes, growing sense of security and confidence mentioned earlier have pushed the idea of a reformed, structural overhaul of the police back into the research

² The police initially treated the double homicide in Tatárszentgyörgy on 23 February 2009 as an accident, failed to make every effort to initiate and effectively conduct criminal proceedings during the initial measures, and as a result the complainant's fundamental right to a fair trial was seriously violated.

³ Discrimination against Roma in the operation of the police has been confirmed by several studies. In the course of a study conducted in cooperation with the Hungarian Helsinki Committee, the National Police Headquarters and the Police College, the closest to the period described here, the analysis of the stop and search practices of the police stations of Szeged, Kaposvár and Budapest, District VI revealed that Roma, representing 6-8% of the total population, accounted for 22% of the total number of people stopped during the period under review (Pap, 2019, p. 84-86).

workshops. There have been several attempts to introduce a community policing approach in recent years, but no breakthrough structural change has occurred (Christián, 2019. p. 79-89.).

It is reasonable to ask why, at a time when crime is at its lowest point in terms of numbers, the police, one of the institutions of the state that has the trust of society, needs to change. One reason is precisely the reduction in crime. The reasons for this are extremely complex. We have to accept that there is no single absolute cause, but it is certainly influenced by police activity and other measures taken by the state to directly or indirectly strengthen its control over crime. It is precisely the low crime rate and the high level of institutional confidence that provide an opportunity to move from spectacular measures to a workshop, where the community's need for security, the results of scientific research and the views of the profession can all be taken into account.

The situation is not only ripe for change, but also makes it necessary. Globalisation processes are also fundamentally changing the conditions that affect security and the perception of security. The global security risks that have become the focus of security risks have been accompanied by a redefinition of the role of the police in society in many European countries, with implications for the relationship between the police and society.

Demographic changes have a significant impact on future crime trends. In our society, the number of young people, who make up the majority of the age distribution of offenders, is decreasing, while the number of elderly people, who are more vulnerable to victimisation, is steadily increasing. The rapid pace of technological change is creating new forms of crime and the tools used by the police need to keep pace with technological developments. In times of expected economic crises, the effectiveness and efficiency of policing and the role of complementary voluntary and market-based policing resources will be enhanced. Cultural values are being transformed, with significant assets becoming available on the web, which may mean that the crime landscape in the public domain is changing.

The general objective of the research is to assess whether structural reform is necessary to ensure an effective police force in our country that respects human rights, is close to civil society and citizens, and recognises and cooperates with

the public security needs of communities. This paper does not deny the need for change. It does, however, suggest that the reform that has not taken place since the change of regime is not the only way to bring about change, and perhaps not even the most effective one. There is currently a huge gap between the views of police science, which argues for radical change, and those of police policy and the law enforcement profession, which are stubbornly attached to the current way of operating, and a bridge can be built between these views and the arguments of science, backed up by practical experience.

The first of the specific objectives of the research is to understand the reasons for, the content and the results of the police reforms implemented in the different countries since the turn of the millennium, the main elements of the police reforms, how these reforms harmonise with the principles of community policing and the experiences of their implementation. The knowledge thus gained can contribute to a general understanding of the nature of police reforms and to an analysis of the situation of the Hungarian police in the light of the changes in policing that have taken place.

In the rest of the research, I will draw on my knowledge of police reform, systematise the relevant literature and my own experience, and use empirical methods to examine the Hungarian police in order to take a position on the need for police reform through an understanding of its relationship with communities.

II. Hypotheses of the research

In my research I test the following hypotheses:

1. The economic and social tensions caused by the transformation of the political system, and in particular the dramatic rise in crime in the first half of the 1990s, demanded that the police, above all, should be kept operational rather than undergoing radical structural changes. In view of the social, political and policing conditions of the period, the failure to implement a reform in line with the requirements of the rule of law, in the spirit of depoliticisation, decentralisation and demilitarisation, during the period of regime change, can

be considered reasonable.

2. Especially since the change of regime, the Hungarian police has been experiencing changes towards cooperation with communities, the characteristics of community-based cooperative problem solving, and the intervention needs that can improve the problem sensitivity and cooperative competences of the police.
3. The reform focusing on decentralisation, demilitarisation and depoliticisation of the police is not necessarily the way to renew Hungarian policing. The changing, globalising and crisis-ridden world situation shows new directions for the development of police forces. A model of state policing that reinforces centralisation does not exclude the emergence of a community idea that is capable of cooperating with society.

III. Structure of the thesis, scope and extent of the research, the research methods used

The thesis is divided into five main parts, progressively narrowing the focus of the research from the analysis of the changes in the understanding of security and the social role of the police in the international arena, to the analysis of international reforms and community-oriented policing strategies, to the situation of community policing in Hungary and Fejér County. This also means that the processing of the experiences of the areas under study moves from the identification of general world trends towards concrete proposals for the identification of the needs for change in the domestic police.

In the first, theoretical part, I will present the changes in the interpretation of security from the beginning of modern statehood to the present day, and at the same time the context of the applied policing strategies and operational models, thus providing a basis for the analysis of international policing reforms. Among them, I pay particular attention to community policing as a fundamental policing strategy of modern policing. The focus of the analysis is on the impact of globalisation and, in this context, of the risk society on the understanding of security, the relationship between police and society and community policing. I describe the 'abstract policing' theory of Jan Terpstra, Nick Fyfe and Renze Salet, which illustrates the increasingly abstract nature of police relations systems

focused on addressing global security challenges as an undesirable side-effect of police reforms, using the examples of the Scottish and Dutch police (Terpstra et.al. 2019). I explain the process of pluralisation of policing, highlighting its democratising role. I will analyse the specificities of the former socialist countries' approaches to security and the challenges of democratising their policing. Finally, I take a position on the main criteria for democratic policing today.

Drawing on the experience of the first part, the second part looks at police and police reforms in other countries at the turn of the millennium and beyond. The aim of this chapter is to take a position, through the international examples presented, on the main trends in police reform today and what lessons can be drawn from the various police reforms that can be applied to domestic policing. In the first part of the chapter, I will analyse in detail the reforms of Belgium, the Netherlands, Scotland and the Czech Republic, and present their important experiences that are worth considering in the context of domestic conditions. An important task of the analyses is to shed light on how the countries under study have responded to globalising security threats in their reforms. In what ways has the end of the monopoly of state policing and the pluralisation of policing taken place? And how has this affected the relationship between police and society?

In what follows, I will discuss the police reform implemented by William Bratton in New York, USA. The experience of this reform plays an important role in the research in a number of ways. On the one hand, they can provide lessons on how repressive policing, distanced from the communities it serves, can cause serious discontent, escalating to the point of social crisis, even in the face of significant reductions in crime. On the other hand, William Bratton's second term as New York City police commissioner demonstrates the kind of policing strategy that can both serve the community and reduce crime without significantly altering the police structure.

The general world trends and the experience of the five reforms under review contribute in an organic way to my position on the main issues of the paper. For this purpose, a knowledge of changes in security perceptions and of the lessons of police reforms in other countries is necessary but not sufficient. In order to use these experiences in Hungary, it is necessary to examine the needs and opportunities for reform in the Hungarian police, why these were not

realized, how the relationship between the police and society has changed since the regime change, and what changes are needed for the future.

This is what I will do in part three. I will show how the democratisation process of the Hungarian police progressed after the regime change, and how the need for a reform worthy transformation emerged. In this section, I will first describe the emergence of the need for reform, starting from the period of regime change, and the main periods of reform potential. I will examine in detail the period of regime change, including the findings of the Team Consult study, the changes in the period 2006-2010, and the years after 2010 with a unified approach to criminal policy.

The relationship between the Hungarian police and society, and through this the desirable directions of change needs, are presented through the following dimensions:

- a. I will illustrate the crime policy and social inclusion efforts reflected in the National Strategy for Social Crime Prevention and the National Crime Prevention Strategy through a comparative analysis;
- b. a key indicator of the relationship with the community is the expected police behaviour as set out in ethical standards, the development of which I will outline through a sketch of the various codes of ethics;
- c. respect for universal human freedoms is a fundamental characteristic of modern, democratic policing. In a separate sub-chapter, I will show how the Hungarian police have built up guarantees for the enforcement of these rights after the regime change and what characterises the police of our time. This thesis cannot attempt to cover the topic in its entirety, therefore, in addition to the changes in the legislative activity determining the functioning of the police, I will examine the situation of two fundamental rights, the right to peaceful assembly and the right to equal treatment, in more detail. In this context, I also considered it important to examine how the control mechanisms of the police, which are empowered to restrict fundamental rights, are structured and how they serve the rule of law;

- d. describe the development of the community policing concept that has become a core value of socially integrated democratic police forces from the change of regime to the present day.

The current system of "police-society" relations is fundamentally determined by the fact that the organisation is becoming increasingly detached in its external and internal relations. In the fourth part of this thesis, I will draw on the results of my empirical research to assess the domestic situation of what Jan Terpstra, Nick Fyfe and Renze Salet have termed 'abstract policing'. Among the globalisation influences, illegal migration, the COVID-19 epidemic, e-governance, the transformation of information gathering activities, and the introduction of the current system of performance evaluation and the Single Emergency Call System have had a significant impact on the distancing of the police within the organisation and its relationship with society. I will attempt to illustrate this in Part Four.

The study of the above-mentioned areas cannot do without the processing of the relevant literature, but at the same time it also requires independent, empirical data-based knowledge of the topic. The fifth part of my thesis is a detailed description of the empirical research, which I have chosen as a model my place of service, the Fejér County Police Headquarters and the police officers serving there. In terms of its organisational functioning, its structural organisation, the varied structure of its municipalities and its crime characteristics, which are free of extremes, the police headquarters seemed to be a suitable place to draw conclusions about the functioning of the police as a whole.

In order to understand the police's understanding of security, the system of cooperation and the definition of public security problems, I analysed the reports of the Fejér County Police Headquarters to the County Assembly from the entry into force of the Police Act until today. The reports are public data, they were previously available on the website of the Fejér County Assembly, but at my request the President of the Assembly sent them to me in full, covering the period 1994-2020. The minutes of the debates are available from 1999. They have enabled me to follow the evolution of the relationship between the police and the communities, which is evident from the reports. In particular, I examined the way in which these accounts reflect police problem

identification, the way in which they deal with public safety problems, and the relationship between the police and communities.

In my intervention studies, I used a self-completion questionnaire to investigate the perception of security, problem-solving attitudes and cooperation skills of police officers working in public areas at the police stations of the headquarters. The reported data have a margin of error of +/- 1.9 - 3.1% for binomial (two-category) questions at the 95% confidence level and depending on the number of respondents to each question. This means that the measured results deviate by at most this much from the results that would be obtained if all police officers on duty in the public areas of Fejér County were asked. I also involved Tamás Ruff, a senior staff member of the Hungarian Urban Research Institute Ltd., in the data analysis, which was carried out using SPSS.

The survey asked closed questions, some of which were so-called multiple-choice questions, while others required respondents to rank their answers on an ordinal scale. For some questions, I asked them to rate statements, social actions, problems and institutions on a scale of four or five. For these questions, I converted the scores to a scale of one hundred, where one hundred would be the maximum score if all respondents were unanimous on the question and zero would be the minimum score. The cut-off point on such a scale of one hundred is fifty points. A value below this usually indicates a negative opinion (distrust, dissatisfaction, dislike, etc.), while a value above this indicates a positive opinion.

In its design, it was essential that the results could be compared with the results of a recent questionnaire survey of public perceptions of security and public opinion on public security and its institutionalised actors. In 2016, a survey was carried out among the population of Székesfehérvár in the framework of the project "*Improving public safety in Székesfehérvár by focusing on settlement safety and youth protection*" (BM-15-MA-0052), which was implemented by the Hungarian Urban Research Institute Ltd. and supported by the National Crime Prevention Council. During the survey, 500 Székesfehérvár residents aged 18 and over were interviewed using standard questionnaires. The sample was selected using a random probability procedure, ensuring that all residents had an equal chance of being included.

In addition, the attitudes of the managers who have a fundamental influence on the functioning of the departments through their decisions were investigated

through semi-structured interviews. The interviews may shed light on how managers identify local problems, what options, room for manoeuvre and individual methods they have to deal with them, how they think about cooperation with local communities and with non-police actors in the police.

As a result of these investigations, it is possible to take a position on the validity of the basic questions and hypotheses of my research, and to formulate the needs for change that will make the Hungarian police adequate in problem definition and its cooperative skills capable of protecting public safety in cooperation with the communities, even within its current organisational structure.

IV. Key findings and results of the research

The findings that support the first hypothesis can basically be found in the chapters on Hungarian policing, but the thesis on which they are based became clear when examining reforms abroad. A common feature of the law enforcement reforms analysed in this thesis is that among the causes of the reforms, social changes leading to a deterioration of public security are of fundamental importance. The poor state of public security, in turn, leads state leaders to be cautious about reform. Organisations in transition are distracted by change itself and can easily become unstable, which can make it difficult to manage an already critical public safety situation. Stability, however, is not an incentive for reform. Consequently, there is little chance of reforming the police at a time when it is most desirable to do so.

This contradiction can also be traced through the Hungarian police of the period of regime change. The need for decentralisation, demilitarisation and depoliticisation had already been expressed before the change of regime, but the apparatus was not interested in their implementation, and the new system could not do without their expertise. In events that tested both the new democracy and the police, such as the opening of the western border or the taxi strike, the centrally controlled police performed well. The fact that the status of the police was discussed in the constitutional law alongside the army gave the militant establishment a constitutional mandate. There has been no meaningful public debate on public security and the place of the militia in a democracy, nor

has there been any social demand for a new organisation to confront the police's past. Team Consult, which conducted an external review of the police, also expressed its belief in a monolithic police organisation, and foreign experts who had insights into the functioning of the domestic police (in this paper, the Dutch police) praised the professionalism of our police. After all this, it is indeed reasonable not to reform the police.

The second hypothesis formulates a premise regarding the social integration process of our police after the regime change: the section on the changes in the Hungarian police's relationship with society after the regime change supported this hypothesis from several sides. The hypothesis that the Hungarian police started on the path of social integration after the regime change was based on the assumption that the Hungarian police had to learn from the experiences of its "own skin". Undoubtedly, the centralised, militant operational structure inherited from the police of state socialism, which has not been shaken by the crises that gave rise to reform during the regime change and the subsequent periods under scrutiny, has hindered the completion of this process to this day. However, there are also a number of factors that show that the present police are much more open to local communities than they were before or immediately after the regime change. The continuity of the community approach of our two crime prevention strategies has not been a breakthrough in the domesticisation of community policing, but the values of this approach have seeped into daily operations and we can now see locally initiated community-oriented projects across the country.

The culture shift announced in 2014, the implementation of a growing and broadening cooperation to tackle local security problems, is a way of reaching out to society. However, the research also points to the increasing distraction of the police in the domestic context. However, surveys of police officers suggest that this is more a process of internal police relations, with respondents perceiving little negative impact on police-society relations, as in Western Europe. This is supported by the high level of institutional trust in the police.

The process of opening up and getting closer to society was most clearly illustrated by the reports of the Fejér County Police Headquarters before the General Assembly. In the annual evaluations, which were at the beginning terse and based only on crime statistics, signs of a gradual shift from the police's position of power towards a service organisation began to appear in the mid-

1990s. There is a growing need to build partnerships, and the reports increasingly focus on crime prevention and the evaluation of various satisfaction measures.

The process of transformation from a position of power to a service police force will never be complete and will only slowly catch up with the backlog of forty years of state socialism. However, it seems that this need does not only exist in society. Both the managerial expectations and mission statements for the operation of the police and the police officers in daily contact with society understand and appreciate the importance of cooperation and practice it in the performance of their daily duties. While, in addition to the crime prevention strategies mentioned above, minority liaison working groups, District Public Safety Advisory Forums, Drug Advisory Forums, culture change or expectations of police services are examples of cooperation initiated from above, questionnaires and interview surveys, in addition to numerous local community policing projects, provide a good ammunition for joint problem solving in the everyday life of police officers. On this basis, the hypothesis can be considered valid.

The third hypothesis, concerning the necessity of structural reform, is based on a number of findings which, on the basis of the laws of law enforcement reform and the evaluation of the individual reforms under examination, provide arguments in support of the hypothesis of decentralisation, demilitarisation and depoliticisation in general. Among these findings, which resonate most with the need for change in the Hungarian police, the following should be highlighted:

First, it is important to recall the findings of David H. Bayley, who argues that there are no universally applicable police reform strategies. A country's tradition of policing, the relationship between police and society, the legislative environment, the organisational culture and a number of other external factors determine how a country's police can be changed and moved towards democratisation. Reforms in Western Europe show that democracy is compatible with both centralised and decentralised systems (Bayley, 2001).

- Reforms are often motivated by the desirability of their objectives, not their feasibility, but they are rarely implemented when they are most needed.
- The organisational culture of the police cannot be changed by formal

reorganisation within the police. Changing some elements of the organisational structure cannot have a significant impact on the content of operations unless it is accompanied by a much slower change in organisational culture.

- In addition to stable external conditions, a firm commitment of leaders to the goals of reform is essential, and this is lacking in the domestic police, as both the research I have studied and my own data confirm.
- Another reason for caution about reforms is that they can only fulfil their hopes much more slowly, after a series of "replications", than the accelerating changes in the complex world relations would require. Evaluators of the reforms that have already been carried out therefore stress that institutional development is not only a matter of change but also of continuity, and in our time a gradual process of development that is constantly mindful of social change seems more realistic than large, total transformations (Terpstra-Fyfe 2019, p. 106).
- And these changes should focus on professional development rather than structural issues. All the more so because there does not seem to be an exclusive path to follow on the question of centralisation/decentralisation of the police either. The key may be to find and maintain a balance between the unifying aspirations of the central will and the needs of local priorities.

The main experiences of the law enforcement reforms studied that affect my hypothesis:

- Western European countries with traditionally municipal police forces (see the analysis of the Belgian, Dutch and Scottish reforms) have reformed to create unified national police forces. The main objectives of creating monolithic police forces were to standardise the quality of police services, eliminate duplication in fragmented police organisations, build a common record and information base, apply a common policing strategy and increase cost-effectiveness. The operation of the restructured organisations then has a strong centralised character.
- In a security environment transformed by globalisation, police forces

are becoming increasingly empowered by the state, and their operations are becoming increasingly military in character. This is supported by Klára Kerezsi, who argues that the militarisation of the police - although the definition of this concept is still unclear - is a reflexive response to global threats and, in addition to its relationship with society, has implications for procedural justice, legitimacy, law enforcement and police cooperation (Kerezsi, 2020b, p. 157.)

- The risk of a bias towards arbitrariness is most acute in the close relationship between police and politics. This is particularly true for all centrally controlled police forces, and thus also applies to the police forces under investigation. States opting for unification are seeking to mitigate this risk by strengthening police controls.

In sum, we can conclude that the police forces of modern democracies are operating in a direction opposite to the triple requirements of decentralisation, demilitarisation and depoliticisation. It can also be seen that police forces in Western European democracies are finding it extremely difficult to deal with the security deficit resulting from the effects of globalisation. The national police forces are concentrating a significant part of their forces on these issues and are becoming increasingly distanced from local communities (the phenomenon of abstract policing), repressive elements are being intensified and the application of the community policing model is being increasingly withdrawn from everyday practice into the realm of rhetoric. The authority of the police is undermined by professional errors (the killing of Linda van der Giessen in the car park of Waalwijk hospital, the mishandling of an accident on the M9 motorway in Scotland - see Terpstra et. al. 2019) and serious excesses (the cases of Moise Bangoura, Mawda Savri, Mehdi Bouda, Adil Charrot, Jozef Chovanec, Ibrahim Barrie – see Budavári 2022).

At the same time, the creation of national police forces has catalysed the multiplication of policing. In addition to police forces that paid less attention to local problems, there was an increased demand from society for various municipal police formations, whose role was strengthened by the state increasing their powers. The multiplication of policing can contribute to the achievement of the three 'buts', if interpreted for the whole policing system:

- As a consequence of the reflexive modernisation of global society, the focus of addressing public security challenges has shifted towards prevention. This process has enabled organisations with no or limited legitimacy to use force to play a prominent role in public security. This may contribute to the demilitarisation of policing.
- Local public safety is delivered by independent organisations working in partnership with each other and in close cooperation with local communities. This provides an opportunity for a decentralised, community-based approach to policing.
- The democratic control and transparent functioning of independent local organisations and their cooperative networks of partners is ensured by the state and social control instruments, but central power is not directly involved in their management. Non-political policing can therefore be achieved by non-state police organisations.

To justify my hypothesis, I have made a number of significant arguments in the course of the previous hypotheses: the Hungarian police force after the regime change - despite the maintenance of its basic organisational structure and the lack of structural reform - has made significant progress towards democratisation and social integration. At the same time, however, there were also circumstances that made social integration, and ultimately the democratisation of our police, difficult. In relation to the enforcement of human liberties in policing, there is a clear international trend, even in the domestic context, to increase the powers of the police while limiting these rights. However, this process has been able to take place virtually without significant social resistance. In addition to this important lesson, it can also be concluded that the control system necessary for a police force that respects human rights has been established, but is only partially fulfilling its purpose. The powers of the Fundamental Rights Commissioner are limited, and much of the control of the police by local authorities is nominal. However, the low number of complaints and the use of non-institutionalised control mechanisms also suggest that there is a lack of a strong societal demand for more effective controls.

The perception - also inherited from socialism - that responsibility for public safety rests solely with the police and, through them, the state, is only slowly

being dismantled. *"Domestic society expects the police to provide public safety, although it probably knows in its heart of hearts that the police alone cannot do this."* – says Kerezsi (Kerezsi, 2020, p. 586). The gradually expanding system of plural policing is still far from the situation in many European countries, where, in addition to police forces focused on global threats, the state has given local authorities considerable powers to operate local police forces. These, complemented by private police formations, have the potential to take a significant burden off the shoulders of the police and become important actors in addressing local security problems. In our country, in addition to the scarcity of legal powers, there is a lack of expertise and a lack of a guarantee system for accountable and transparent operations. This is partly the reason why pluralisation processes in Hungary have started later and are more difficult to develop than in the Western European police forces analysed. The common, unanimous conclusion of both the evaluations of the reports illustrating the process of social integration and the questionnaire surveys and interviews contributing to the present state of play is that the complementary actors of policing still play only a marginal role in the policing system. This perception persists despite the fact that it is evident that, with the proliferation of tasks, the police are finding it increasingly difficult to cope with the role-conflict-ridden entrenchment of the dual expectation that they (the police) should meet local security needs and address global security threats. The explosion of illegal migration after 2015, the COVID epidemic and the Russian-Ukrainian war have led to the Hungarian police devoting more and more attention to global threats and, as a consequence, less of their work to local problems, which, despite the obstacles, reinforces the need for multi-role policing.

It is also clear that without a vision of a policing strategy, the organisation is often forced to drift with the tide of daily compliance demands. What is more, important basic prerequisites for strategising are missing. The deficit that has been dragging on since the change of regime is the lack of a real social debate on the desired functioning of the police, which is inextricably linked to the need to carry out a situation analysis that would show precisely what the desired relationship between the police and society is, what conditions are in place for the expected functioning and what conditions need to be provided by legal, financial, training, etc. means. Of the police reforms analysed, both Western European and Czech police forces have carried out the necessary

work and, building on this experience, have developed their medium- and long-term policing strategies.

Today, the performance evaluation system is the compass of police work. Day-to-day operations are determined by the actions taken to achieve the performance targets set. In order to ensure that this closed system, fraught with conceptual uncertainties, does not mislead both the police officer and the organisation as to the social purpose of policing, I have outlined the contours of a performance evaluation system that builds on the current system, with a perspective that takes into account the needs of community safety.

As so often in this work, however, it should be noted that the list of intervention needs cannot be exhaustive. The framework of this paper is defined by what can be called the typical functioning of a police force of general competence, i.e. the police activity that is perceived by society in everyday life and is therefore decisive for the relationship of the police with society. The work of the police is much more diverse than this, and it is clear that an examination of each of these areas can reveal both virtues and failings. There is no doubt that many areas not covered by this research play an important role in social integration and the democratisation of policing. For example, there can be no question about the importance of the training system or police communication. A precise analysis of these areas was hampered both by my lack of expertise and by the operational characteristics of the police headquarters of the county in which the research was carried out. Thus, the identification of shortcomings was limited to those operational areas that could be 'explored' in sufficient depth within the constraints of this research.

It does not follow from the support for these hypotheses that changes involving decentralisation, demilitarisation and depoliticisation are unnecessary. However, the direction to take is a new approach to policing as a whole, one that allows for a truly multi-stakeholder policing system. A paradigm shift must take place in state, society, science and policing. Even in our country, it is not possible to effectively address the challenges of public security today if the police remain solely responsible for it. For, as we have seen, a considerable proportion of its resources are tied up in tackling global security problems, but local communities still have a vital interest in the assistance of collaborators close to them who are open to their problems. In many respects, pluralist policing actors can provide solutions to these problems, but this requires a

change of mindset between the state, which has the authority to mandate, train and regulate, the police, which is interested in working in partnership, and society, which has come to expect only the police to provide security services. We can also make progress if we do not interpret the desired decentralisation, demilitarisation and depoliticisation solely within the organisational framework of the police. With a truly pluralist police force, this is inevitable.

The police, as the representative of the supreme power of the state, with a monopoly on the use of force, will continue to play a leading role in protecting public safety, and there is an inherent interest in their operation under the rule of law. However, the multi-playing role of the police may also represent an 'evolution' of the police, leading to a more advanced state of affairs, which will result in a higher level of service to society's security needs. However, while emphasising this, it is also important to stress that the aforementioned effects of an expanded system of understanding of policing should not exempt the state from the ongoing democratisation of its police.

V. New directions for future research

The objectives of the research have been achieved, but the research cannot be considered complete. New tasks have been set for research on the role of plural policing in the present and its possible future. A more complete picture of the actors of the law enforcement system in Fejér County can be obtained by examining in detail the situation of each of these actors: municipalities, civil police, private police. This, like a drop in the ocean, can reflect the state of Hungarian plural policing.

Our picture of the police will be more complex and complete if I broaden the scope of the research by analysing the situation of problem sensitivity and cooperation between police officers serving in an executive and managerial role in several departments outside the county.

A third new direction is to explore areas not covered by current research, such as training, communication or human resource management, with competent peers, which could create new opportunities for a broader exploration of the subject.

VI. Literature cited in the presentation of the theses

- BAYLEY, David H. (2001)** – *Democratizing the Police Abroad: What to Do and How to Do it* – Washington Dc: U.S. dept. Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice Retrieved from the Library of Congress, 2001.
- BUDAVÁRI, Árpád (2022)** – *A közösségtől az absztrakt rendészetig: A 20 éves belga rendészeti reform színe és visszája* – In: Magyar Rendészet 2022/1. p. 15-36. (DOI: 10.32577/mr.2022.1.1)
- CHRISTIÁN, László (2019)** – *Egy feledésbe merülő közösségi rendészeti modellkísérlet margójára.* – In: GAÁL–HAUTZINGER (szerk): *Gondolatok a rendészettudományról* – Budapest: Magyar Rendészettudományi Társaság, 2019, p. 79–89.
- FINSZTER, Géza (2008)** – *A rendészet átalakulásának húsz esztendeje (1988-2008)* – In: SÁNDOR, Péter; STUMPF, Anna; VASS, László (szerk.): *Magyarország politikai évtuszkönyve. A magyar demokrácia kormányzati rendszere (1988–2008)* – Budapest: Demokráciakutatások Magyar Központja Közhasznú Alapítvány, 2008.
- KEREZSI, Klára (2020)** – *Trend lesz-e (a jövőben is) a bűnözés csökkenése?* – In: Magyar Tudomány 18 (2020) 5, p. 577-590. (DOI 10.101556/2065.181.2020.5.2)
- PAP, András László (2019)** – *Rendészet és sokszínűség* – Budapest: Dialóg Campus, 2019.
- TERPSTRA, John; FYFE, Nicholas (2019)** – *Great expectations? Assessing the creation of national police organisations in Scotland and the Netherlands.* – In: International Journal of Police Science & Management. 21(2), 2019. p. 101-107. (doi:10.1177/1461355719842310)
- TERPSTRA, Jan; FYFE, Nicholas; SALET, Renze (2019)** – *The Abstract Police: A conceptual exploration of unintended changes of police organisations.* – In: SAGE Journal, Volume 12. Issue: 4. p. 339-359. (<https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0032258X18817999>)

VII. List of publications related to the research

<p>Budavári, Árpád A megtapasztalt rendőrség egy magyar vármegye rendőri vezetőinek szemszögéből In: <i>Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata</i> (2010-) 71(8) (2023) p. 1363-1390. DOI: https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2023.8.3 Teljes dokumentum: https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/12119/10035</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád Kevesebb borospince, több szakma. Rendőrségi Együttműködési Program Magyarország és Hollandia rendőrségei között 1993–1995 In: <i>Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata</i> (2010-) 71(3) (2023) p. 479-491. DOI: https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2023.3.7 Teljes dokumentum: https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/10002</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád Does Community-Centred Performance Evaluation Exist? In: <i>Magyar Rendészet</i> 22(3) (2022) p. 101-115. DOI: https://doi.org/10.32577/mr.2022.3.6 Teljes dokumentum: https://folyoirat.ludovika.hu/index.php/magyrend/article/view/5757/5184</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád A holland rendőrség reformja In: <i>Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata</i> (2010-) 70(6) (2022) p. 1273-1292. DOI: https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2022.6.8 Teljes dokumentum: https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/8770</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád Absztrakt rendőrség In: <i>Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata</i> (2010-) 70(5) (2022) p. 1089-1100. DOI: https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2022.5.12 Teljes dokumentum: https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/8536</p>

<p>Budavári, Árpád</p> <p>A közösségitől az absztrakt rendészetig: 20 éves a belga rendészeti reform színe és visszája</p> <p>In: <i>Magyar Rendészet</i> 22(1) (2022) p. 15-36.</p> <p>DOI: https://doi.org/10.32577/mr.2022.1.1</p> <p>Teljes dokumentum: https://folyoirat.ludovika.hu/index.php/magyrend/article/view/5654/4908</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád</p> <p>Két évtized sikerstratégiája: a belga rendészeti reform előzményei és megvalósulása</p> <p>In: <i>Magyar Rendészet</i> 21(4) (2021) p. 51-66.</p> <p>DOI: https://doi.org/10.32577/mr.2021.4.2</p> <p>Teljes dokumentum: https://folyoirat.ludovika.hu/index.php/magyrend/article/view/5653/4866</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád</p> <p>A változás, amiről akár a Jereváni Rádió is tudósíthatott volna, avagy a betört ablakok elméletére épített rendészeti reform végrehajtása Kazahsztánban és Ukrajnában</p> <p>In: <i>Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata</i> (2010-) 69(7) (2021) p. 1261-1268.</p> <p>DOI: https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2021.7.10</p> <p>Teljes dokumentum: https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/6782/5347</p>
<p>Lippai, Zsolt Sándor; Christián, László; Budavári, Árpád</p> <p>A helyi rendészet és a településbiztonság új trendjei itthon és külföldön</p> <p>In: <i>Glossa Iuridica</i> 8(4) (2021) p. 175-191.</p> <p>Teljes dokumentum: https://ajk.kre.hu/images/doc2021/glossa/2021VIII4/Glossa_Iuridica_2021_4_szam.pdf#page=175</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád</p> <p>A közfoglalkoztatás, rendészeti célú megvalósítása Dunaújvárosban</p> <p>In: Marton, Zsuzsanna; Németh, Kornél; Pelesz, Pelbárt; Péter, Erzsébet (szerk.) – <i>IV. Turizmus és biztonság nemzetközi tudományos konferencia tanulmánykötet</i> – Nagykanizsa: Pannon Egyetem Nagykanizsai Campus, 2020. p. 82-91.</p> <p>Teljes dokumentum: https://uni-pen.hu/files/konferencia/2019/Konferenciak%C3%B6tet_2020.pdf#page=82</p>
<p>Budavári, Árpád</p> <p>Az alternatív rendészet lehetőségei a közfoglalkoztatásban egy magyar középváros</p>

példáján keresztül

In: *Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata* (2010-) 68(7) (2020)
p. 25-46.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2020.7.2>

Teljes dokumentum: <https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/3880>

Budavári, Árpád

Bratton másképp: A kritikus tömeg elvére épülő vezetés

In: Marton, Zs; Németh, K; Péter, E (szerk.) – *III. Turizmus és Biztonság Nemzetközi Tudományos Konferencia: tanulmánykötet* – Nagykanizsa: Pannon Egyetem Nagykanizsai Campus, 2019.
p. 33-42.

Teljes dokumentum: https://uni-pen.hu/files/konferencia/2018/Turbizt_kotet_2018.pdf#page=33

Budavári, Árpád

Partnerség a rendészetben

In: *Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata* (2010-) 67(6) (2019)
p. 85-99.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.38146/BSZ.2019.6.6>

Teljes dokumentum:
<https://ojs.mtak.hu/index.php/belugyiszemle/article/view/3462/2598>

Budavári, Árpád

A rend kedvéért (?)

In: *Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata* (2010-) 61(3) (2013)
p. 57-86.

Matarka: <http://www.matarka.hu/egy-kozlemony-oldala.php?MatarkaID=2189778>

Budavári, Árpád

A közbiztonság kőlevele

In: *Belügyi Szemle: A belügyminisztérium szakmai tudományos folyóirata* (2010-) 60(11) (2012)
p. 70-98.

Matarka: <http://www.matarka.hu/egy-kozlemony-oldala.php?MatarkaID=1891006>

VIII. Curriculum Vitae

I was born in Ózd, in 1973, the first child of a family of iron workers. My father was a metallurgical engineer, my mother a crane operator at the steelworks in Ózd and later in Dunaújváros. My sister, Edina (who is also one of the language proofreaders and editors of this thesis) is four years younger than me.

I finished primary school in Ózd, and after my family moved to Dunaújváros I finished high school here, at the Széchenyi István High School, in 1991. After that I continued my studies at the Police College, where I graduated as a "law enforcement organizer" in 1995. After my ordination as an officer, I was appointed to the position of commander of the Adony Police Station at the Dunaújváros Police Headquarters of Fejér County Police Headquarters, but I continued my work in the criminal field as an investigator.

After two years I became a senior detective at the police headquarters, then I served two years in the Life Protection Department of the Pest County Police Headquarters, where I was involved in the investigation of priority crimes against life. In 1999, I was again employed at the Dunaújváros Police Headquarters, first as a deputy investigative sub-department head, then as a sub-department head, and from 2003 to 2008 I was head of the Criminal Investigation Department.

After that, in March 2008, I was given my first assignment as a police captain, and for four and a half years I headed the Dunaújváros Police Headquarters. Then, from September 2012, I served as Chief Commissioner at the Bicske Police Headquarters, and for one and a half years as Head of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Fejér County Police Headquarters. Between 2014 and 2021, I was in charge of the Sárbogárd Police Headquarters, and for two years, until March this year, I was in charge of the Gárdony Police Headquarters. Now I am again the head of the Dunaújváros Police Headquarters.

In the meantime, I graduated with honours from the Master of Law Enforcement Leadership course at the National University of Public Service in 2012, and in 2018 I started my PhD studies, my research here is entitled "Prospects for reform and community-based operations in Hungarian law

enforcement". I consider it my research mission to be a "bridge man" between police science and police officers as a police leader with significant practical experience.

During my doctoral studies, I published 14 scientific publications in Hungarian and one in English, and 9 conference presentations helped to promote my research in the academic field. I consider it a significant recognition that in 2020 I was awarded the student scholarship of the Cooperative Doctoral Programme announced by the National Research, Development and Innovation Office. For a year and a half I was also involved in the research management tasks of the Safe Settlements Subproject of the National Laboratory for Security Technologies of the National Research, Development and Innovation Office. In addition, I have regularly lectured on law enforcement reform and plural policing to undergraduate and masters students.

During my doctoral studies I had to postpone one semester due to illness. I passed the complex exam in January 2020 and obtained my diploma in January 2023. In addition to my German language exam, which I had also taken during my doctoral studies, I also took the English intermediate "C" exam.

Dunaújváros, 13th August, 2023.

Árpád Budavári
PhD candidate