Project on Ethnic Relations

The Project on Ethnic Relations (PER) was founded in 1991 in anticipation of the serious interethnic conflicts that were to erupt following the collapse of Communism in Central and Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. PER conducts programs of high-level intervention and dialogue and serves as a neutral mediator in several major disputes in the region. PER also conducts programs of training, education, and research at international, national, and community levels.

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TOWARD COMMUNITY POLICING: THE POLICE AND ETHNIC MINORITIES IN HUNGARY

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PREFACE

While parliaments and cabinets debate interethnic relations, the attitudes of ordinary citizens are forged on the streets of their cities and villages. For many, especially members of ethnic minorities, it is the police who are the most immediate and visible embodiment of state authority. How they behave toward minorities and how they handle episodes of interethnic tensions have major consequences for public behavior. One of the most difficult problems facing the police in emerging democracies is the lack of conceptual and institutional resources for instilling and enforcing democratic practices at both national and local levels, especially in daily contacts with minority groups.

This report summarizes the work carried out in Hungary by the Southern Police Institute, a division of the Department of Justice Administration at the University of Louisville, in Louisville, Kentucky, USA. In 1993, under the leadership of Dr. Deborah Wilson, chair of the Department, expert teams consulted with Hungarian police authorities to assess their relations with civilians. That assessment underlined the need for particular attention to improving relations between the police and ethnic minorities, especially the Roma (Gypsies). The Project on Ethnic Relations had already enjoyed a highly productive collaboration with the Southern Police Institute since 1994, when we launched a series of joint projects in Romania to improve police performance in curbing violence against the Roma. We asked Dr. Wilson and her colleagues to take a closer look at police and interethnic relations, and in November 1996 organized a visit to Budapest for the Institute’s specialists. That visit paved the way for the Institute to organize a program in 1998-1999, which was funded by grants from the U.S. government and carried out by the Institute.

The Institute analyzed and made recommendations concerning police structures and practices, and provided a program of training in democratic policing. Some 200 National Police commanders from all over Hungary participated in the training, as well as teachers from police schools and colleges. This training had a significant impact on the design of police training curricula. In addition, members of the Romani leadership from Nógrád County provided the police commanders with information on how to build positive relations between the Roma and the police. At the end of the four training sessions, among other accomplishments, a section on International Relations and Minority Affairs was
INTRODUCTION

In less than a decade, the world has witnessed a series of events that resulted in the rejection of Communism and the overthrow of totalitarian repression in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Glasnost led to the breakup of the Soviet Union, the destruction of the Berlin Wall, the reunification of Germany, and the political transformation of one East European government after another. These events represent the first steps in the reform and democratization of nations that, since World War II, had been closed behind the Iron Curtain and cut off from the West.¹

In Hungary, the transition to a democratic government and free-market economy started in 1990, and has resulted in massive social change and transition. This transition has affected all social institutions within Hungarian society, but few more powerfully than the police. The shift from a totalitarian regime has prompted significant changes in the organization—an organization whose previous role was to support the regime “at all costs.” Now the police function as an institution within a democratic society, and members must enforce the rule of law. The democratization process has created new expectations among civilians for the free exercise of their human rights with minimal interference from law enforcement. The police are expected to respect these expanded civil rights, and to function within limitations that emphasize public accountability and responsiveness to civilian authority.

These new civil rights and limitations on police authority have redefined the relationship between the police and civilians. The redefinition is most saliently highlighted in the problematic and often confrontational relationship between the police and ethnic minorities within Hungary, especially the Roma. The Roma, as a longstanding ethnic minority within Hungary, have a history of discrimination and segregation. Descriptions of the extreme marginality of this ethnic minority before and during the Communist regime reflect institutionalized prejudice, discrimination, and racism. Evidence on the status of the Roma today suggests this situation has not changed, and some

¹ The actions and encounters of the police with civilians set a tone for the governmental philosophy concerning civil rights.
would argue that it has worsened under the new form of government. The police are the most visible form of government authority and the most visible government institution. The police are the form of government representation that civilians are most likely to encounter on a regular, if not daily, basis. The actions and encounters of the police with civilians set a tone for the governmental philosophy concerning civil rights. The relationship between the police and ethnic minorities is the most significant measure of the extent to which limitations on police powers and a respect for human rights have been incorporated into the exercise of governmental power and authority.

2. The current system of police education and training should be reviewed and assessed in an effort to improve its effectiveness. The system of police officer education—based on the classical model—trained police officers in two tiers; officers at the Police College and sub-officers at the police Secondary School. Those educated at the Police Secondary School have limited capacities for promotion and advancement, and are faced with a “glass ceiling” due to their educational background. Officers trained at the Police College are placed in supervisory positions upon completion of their degree, but they have received only limited training in modern management techniques and the practical application of modern police procedures.

3. The Hungarian National Police are highly centralized. The centralization of authority and decision making limits the ability of district commanders to make necessary changes and to be responsive to the changing needs of their district, district personnel, and local civilians. Decisions concerning budget, procurement of equipment and supplies, development of policies and procedures, publication of criminal data and information, release of information on major cases and case resolution, and the appointment of command staff to districts are centralized and highly controlled. When local needs arise, requests for special assistance and resources must be made through national headquarters. This process is often laborious and cumbersome. While district commanders support greater decentralization and local control of police services and resources, top leadership within the national police seems hesitant to relinquish the control necessary to support greater local autonomy.

4. The Hungarian National Police suffer from a lack of public trust and credibility. Police leadership recognizes this lack of public trust and credibility. There is a need to promote greater public credibility. In Pest

1993 ASSESSMENTS

During 1993, representatives from the Hungarian National Police communicated with representatives from the Department of Justice Administration, Southern Police Institute at the University of Louisville. Representatives from the Pest County Police District—interested in promoting democratic and modern management techniques among commanders within their district—made the initial contact. Following the development of this relationship, an assessment of the management needs of the Pest County Police District was conducted. The assessment team made several trips to Budapest to conduct on-site evaluations of police facilities and operations. Personal interviews as well as a survey were conducted among police commanders. The findings of these assessments were as follows:

1. The application of modern management techniques within the Pest County police was limited and sporadic, at best. This limited use of modern management techniques posed a hindrance to their ability to engage in efficient and effective management as well as crime control and crime prevention practices. Some of the limitations followed from traditional practices and policies within the organization, others from the highly centralized command structure of the organization, as well as limited exposure to police practices outside of Hungary. Specifically, promotion occurs simply as a product of seniority and was not based on accomplishments, skills, or merit. Competitive promotional practices and the use of promotional exams were virtually nonexistent, and annual performance appraisals and assessments were not regularly conducted. Training in management and leadership was generally on-the-job training and only intermittent. When conducted, management-skills training was in response to some immediate crisis and not for continued professional development and proficiency of command personnel.

2. The current system of police education and training should be reviewed and assessed in an effort to improve its effectiveness. The system of police officer education—based on the classical model—trained police officers in two tiers; officers at the Police College and sub-officers at the police Secondary School. Those educated at the Police Secondary School have limited capacities for promotion and advancement, and are faced with a “glass ceiling” due to their educational background. Officers trained at the Police College are placed in supervisory positions upon completion of their degree, but they have received only limited training in modern management techniques and the practical application of modern police procedures.

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4. The Hungarian National Police suffer from a lack of public trust and credibility. Police leadership recognizes this lack of public trust and credibility. There is a need to promote greater public credibility. In Pest
During November 1996, representatives from the University of Louisville conducted an assessment of the relationship between the Hungarian National Police and ethnic minorities, in particular, the Roma. The assessment was sponsored by PER and conducted with the cooperation and support of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior, Hungarian National Police, and representatives from various Romani and other ethnic-minority organizations and associations. The team conducted numerous interviews with police personnel and representatives from the ethnic-minority organizations. Additionally, the team engaged in tours of a Romani village and held on-site discussions with representatives of both the Roma and national police within the Nograd County Police District.

Many of the findings from the 1994 - 1995 work with the Pest County Police District commanders were confirmed, and the initial findings concerning problematic police relations with ethnic minorities further substantiated. The findings from the 1996 assessment were as follows:

1. The Hungarian National Police are a modern, professional police force. They have made great strides to adjust to the transition to a democratic government and free market economy.

2. The Hungarian National Police face a general lack of public credibility that is magnified among the Roma to a level of extreme distrust. The level of distrust between the police and the Roma creates situations in which efforts to ameliorate problems between the Roma and the police are misconstrued, frustrated, and hindered.

3. The extreme distrust between the Roma and the police has mitigated efforts by the police to invoke change as evidenced by the “mixed” and often negative reactions from Romani leaders when representatives from the Pest County District attempt to recruit, train, and hire the Roma as police officers.

4. The free market economy in Hungary has functioned to decrease the relative attractiveness of policing as a profession. This situation has resulted in high attrition rates and difficulties in retaining qualified personnel. The private sector, with its higher wages, is increasingly attractive to many younger and more educated police officers.

5. Practical means of identifying, investigating, and disciplining corruption, abuse, and unethical conduct by police officers was not well developed.

6. While the emergence of strong nationalism is important following the suppression of national pride under the Communist regime, the current wave of nationalism has the potential to result in diminished rights for ethnic minorities within Hungary.

7. Though the police maintain crime statistics, the current processes create inaccuracies and—as is not uncommon in the United States—police managers seem to be overly concerned by full public disclosure of crime statistics.

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ASSESSMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE POLICE AND MINORITIES

This initial assessment, though not specifically directed toward police and ethnic minority relations, identified the need for the national police to address their relationship with all civilians. The assessment also identified the problematic nature of police and ethnic minority relations within Hungary.

Based on the established relationship between University of Louisville and Hungarian National Police personnel and the success of programs in addressing police and ethnic minority relations within Romania, the Project on Ethnic Relations (PER) initiated a more specialized assessment of police and ethnic minority relations within Hungary. This program was a continuation of previous initiatives in Romania, also as a partnership between the University of Louisville and the Project on Ethnic Relations.
identifier when notifying police or when reporting crime statistics is standard practice in America. However, within Hungary, the Roma express concern based on their perceptions of the extreme racism and institutional bias that exist against the Roma within the police organization, as well as other public and private sector institutions.

3. The Roma—as an ethnic minority—are not socio-culturally or ideologically heterogeneous. There are disagreements among subgroups within the Roma and the organizations that represent Romani interests in Hungary. Some disagreements are basic, as estimates on the number of the Roma within Hungary. Others are disagreements over much more complex issues, such as the credibility of the police and the nature of the ultimate relationship that the Roma seek between themselves and the police.

4. The Hungarian National Police are not properly responding to civilian complaints. This failure includes the full range of responses from receipt of complaint to investigation and adjudication. There exists a serious absence of credible mechanisms to control the police and to address police abuses.

5. The Hungarian National Police are characterized by paramilitary, hierarchical, and centralized organizational structures and practices. National leadership appears to be attempting to encourage a certain amount of decentralization. But limited financial, technical, and personnel resources—as well as a lack of comfort and familiarity with autonomous or semi-autonomous leadership and managerial practices among the district commanders—hamper the ability of these commanders to understand fully and exercise the discretion that they have been granted.

6. National police practices are traditional in nature and therefore characterized by very few attempts to incorporate community members in problem identification and resolution; excessive concern with the possibility of civil unrest and disorder; reactive deployment and allocation strategies; and an over-emphasis on the paramilitary structure and function of policing. Crime prevention/public education units were generally small and produced activities and products that were relatively superficial and by-and-large not directed toward generating active, direct, meaningful, and long-term civilian participation in the delivery of fair, equitable, and effective police services.

7. Whether or not it influences the manner in which they meet their responsibilities, it is apparent that a number of commanders within the Hungarian National Police have clearly negative, if not racist, attitudes toward the Roma. It is also clear that most Hungarians hold stereotypic rather than accurate perceptions of the Roma.

8. Though not communicated during the meeting with the representative from the Jewish community, anti-Semitism—or the fear of acts of anti-Semitism—was evident.

9. Even though Hungarian law currently defines ethnic minorities, there are ethnic minorities that are growing in numbers, yet not legally defined as such.

10. The civilian-guard organization functions relatively independently of the police. Its mission is to support public safety and crime prevention. The police, depending on the district, may or may not have linkages with and/or informal influence over the activities of these groups. The civilian guard is accepted, if not institutionalized, within many Hungarian communities and neighborhoods.

11. The Hungarian National Police have faced, and will continue to face, dramatic changes in the extent and nature of criminal activity. In addition, they will be forced to confront new demands from the population as the concept of police “service” develops.

12. The Hungarian National Police appeared to be concerned with police and minority relations and have engaged in activities to improve these relations. Their efforts to date are, however, relatively piecemeal, reactive, disjointed, and short-term in orientation.

13. Among the Hungarian police districts, there existed at least one police district that appeared to be the “exception to the rule,” relative to the general orientation and practices of the Hungarian National Police, as well as to police and community—especially, police and minority community—relations.

In Nógrád County, following the in-custody death of a Romani suspect, a change in police command occurred. The new county police chief took advantage of the limited autonomy granted by national headquarters and moved aggressively to create partnerships with local community leadership, in particular, the Romani leadership. A key effort was the formation of a police and Romani advisory board. This board provides a forum for the police and Romani
representatives to identify and address problems of police and community relations. One concrete result of the board was a summer camp offered by the police for Romani children in 1996. Approximately 30 Romani children attended this camp; police officers provided educational and recreational activities designed to enhance the self-esteem of these children and encourage a positive image of police officers as role models rather than simply authority figures.

The assessment also made recommendations for the Hungarian National Police, including structural, operational, and procedural changes. These recommendations included:

1. **Adopt community-based policing as the central philosophy of the Hungarian National Police.**

As the national police evolve into an organization committed to the rule of law, it is critical that an appropriate management philosophy be adopted. Currently, the Hungarian National Police seem to be moving toward the American reform model of management, based on random patrol, rapid response, and reactive investigation. They are making this transition when most, more-advanced democratic police forces are moving away from this reform model to one based on problem-solving, partnership (with the community), and prevention. In summary, the Hungarian National Police are moving toward a policing philosophy that has been widely recognized as a failure. The Hungarian National Police should learn from—rather than adopt—the failures of other democratic police agencies.

The primary inadequacies of the Hungarian National Police currently are concentrated in the areas of lack of public credibility, poor police and community, especially minority-community relations, and a failure to recognize the importance of public accountability for law enforcement within democratic policing. The philosophy of community-based policing rests on the premise that only through strong linkages with the community, and a willingness to identify and resolve social and crime problems jointly with the community, can the police provide fair, efficient, and effective services. A dominant theme throughout community-based policing is the concept that both the police and civilians have an understanding of the community and its problems, and that, in fact, the citizens—rather than the police—may be a more accurate source of information on community problems, their causes, and solutions. Additionally, the theme of the public accountability of police as human service providers rather than solely crime fighters is central.

The Hungarian National Police have a partial model for community-based policing in Nograd County. Within this county, the district chief has established a “working group” or “citizens’ advisory board.” The board contains representatives from the community, including representation from the ethnic minorities within Nograd County. The board works with the chief to identify community problems and to develop mutually acceptable solutions. The board also assists the police district in developing various programs and strategies to promote an improved image of the police, to increase the credibility of police within the district, and to promote public order and safety within the county.

The adoption of community-based policing as a philosophy must come from leadership at the highest level within the Hungarian National Police to ensure that it is incorporated into the agency’s mission and purpose. Only with direction from the leadership at the executive level will it be possible to incorporate this philosophy and related strategy as a means of improving the status of the police, the Roma, and other ethnic minorities within Hungary.

2. **Provide joint training for ethnic-minority leaders and commanders within Hungarian National Police headquarters and districts on the concept and operational aspects of community-based policing.**

Once the decision to implement community-based policing has been made, training sessions need to be developed and delivered to national and district-level representatives of ethnic minorities and top-level commanders from Hungarian National Police headquarters and all districts. The training should include representatives from both the ethnic minorities and national police in the same sessions. Since the foundation of community-based policing is police and community partnerships and shared problem-solving and problem identification, it is important that civilians, as well as the police, receive training in this method of providing police services. Each group needs to understand and accept the joint responsibilities this model of policing requires.

During the training, the Nograd model could be presented and discussed. Specific information on the methods of implementing com-
munity-based policing within each unique district should be dis-
cussed so that those who participate in the training sessions will leave
with enough basic information to begin—at a minimum—to plan
for a direct implementation of this program within their district.

3. Conduct an assessment of the nature and frequency of police cor-
ruption.

There are serious questions concerning the extent, nature, severity,
and causes of corruption and misconduct within the Hungarian
National Police. The national police need to conduct an assessment
to address these questions. The new democratic police practices and
free-market economy have created previously unseen opportunities
for a wide array of police misconduct and corruption, at rates possi-
bly higher than those evident under the previous regime. This type
of internal analysis will assist in efforts to manage police corruption;
it will provide vital information about the management strategies
necessary to ensure functional, anti-corruption and anti-abuse activ-
ities.

4. Develop and implement an adequate civilian complaint process as
well as policies and procedures related to police use of force.

Two issues that are central contributors to the credibility of police
organizations are police fairness and integrity. The primary mecha-
nisms through which police agencies reflect their fairness and
integrity are the procedures, policies, and practices they follow when
addressing police misconduct, corruption, and criminality.

As described earlier, the Hungarian National Police appear to be
unconcerned, otherwise distracted, or generally naive about the
probable rate and nature of police corruption, misconduct, and
criminality within their organization. The current policies and
procedures related to police misconduct, corruption, and crimini-
ality convey a message that seems to ignore, if not condone, all
but the most serious and/or widely publicized acts. Moreover, the
policies treat civilian complaints with suspicion and hostility.
Similarly, policies and procedures related to excessive use of
force—one of the primary reasons for civilian complaints—are
loosely defined and communicate tolerance for deviations and
violations of this policy. The Hungarian National Police should
institute more appropriate, stringent, and specific policies and
procedures related to these issues. These should be implemented
within all districts coupled with informational and operational
training for all members of the national police.

5. The Hungarian National Police should immediately initiate an in-
service cultural diversity training program for all members of the
national police. This training should additionally be incorporat-
ed into the curriculum of the Police Secondary School and Police
College. The emphasis in this training should be the culture,
behavior, habits, and customs of members of ethnic minorities.
Those ethnic minorities currently defined by law, as well as those
not legally designated as such, constitute a growing proportion of
the Hungarian population. Any “un-designated minority,” for
example, the Chinese minority, should be included in this
diversity training.

The Hungarian National Police have provided human rights
training to current police officers and have incorporated this train-
ing into the curriculum of the Police Secondary School and Police
College. This training is, however, insufficient in that it is legalistic and not socio-cultural in nature. Members of the Hungarian National Police need socio-cultural diver-
sity training to promote better police and minority relations, to reduce
problematic police and minority encounters, to enhance police safety
and effectiveness, and to contribute to the improved status of the
members of ethnic minorities, especially the Roma, through increased
understanding and the reduction of stereotyping. The incorporation of
diversity training as in-service training and as part of the standard
police preparatory training within the Police College and Secondary
School should begin immediately. Refinements of this curriculum can
then be made once the findings from the research have been reported.

6. Reinstate the use of ethnicity in reporting descriptions of criminal
suspects and offenders as well as aggregate arrest and crime rates, but
report the ethnicity of all offenders, i.e., Romani, Asian, German,
Hungarian, etc. and not just the Romani offenders.

The Roma contend that the use of ethnicity to identify criminal
offenders and suspects and report aggregate crime statistics reinforces
the inappropriate stereotype of the Roma as criminals and furthers

Only through strong linkages with the community can the police provide fair, efficient, and effective services.
Institutional racism. This position is understandable since the police provide ethnicity only for Romani offenders and suspects. But the current solution of not including ethnicity on any suspect for identification purposes, nor in the reporting of aggregate crime statistics is not reasonable. Physically identifying suspects depends largely on external physical characteristics. If the police cannot rely on physical differences that may be easily summarized by reporting ethnicity, there may be increased cases of mistaken identity. Additionally, without the practice of reporting the ethnic identification of suspects and offenders and the use of ethnicity in crime statistics, any way of demonstrating that not all criminals are Romani is lost. The reasonable solution to this problem is to use ethnicity to identify all offenders and suspects of all ethnic groups.

7. Regulations governing the criteria for membership to the civilian guards, as well as defining and limiting the scope of powers of the civilian guard, should be established.

The civilian guard is established and accepted as an “auxiliary” unit that provides public safety and law enforcement within numerous communities in Hungary. But they function without regulation and oversight. This situation can potentially result in, at worst, vigilante justice and, at best, unfair and inequitable treatment of individuals.

While they currently represent a great threat to Romani communities and have in the past actually been involved in abuses, they also present an opportunity, which—if utilized correctly—could result in enhanced public order and safety. This improvement can only occur with the adoption of community-based policing and the incorporation of the civilian guard into this philosophy.

**ACTIVITIES AND ACCOMPLISHMENTS**

Since the 1996 assessment, the Hungarian National Police have carried out a number of activities and achieved several notable accomplishments. These important steps are as follows:

- Development of a report and recommendations for the Pest County Police District on management and educational needs as well as organizational management issues faced by the district.
- Advisement on the development and implementation of a college degree program at Godollo University specifically targeted for police officers. The degree—the first of its kind in Hungary to be offered outside of the National Police College—is an undergraduate degree in public administration with an emphasis on police management. The degree has, to date, been approved by the Hungarian Ministry of Education and is currently one of the largest programs at Godollo University. The program is also unique because it is not subsidized through government funds, as are the National Police College programs. Officers and their respective districts provide funds for the tuition and fees required by this program.
- Establishment by the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior and Hungarian National Police of a section on International Relations and Minority Affairs. This unit and its personnel have been very active in promoting more positive relationships between the Hungarian National Police and ethnic minorities.
- Training of various representatives from the Hungarian National Police in ethnic relations and model programs for positive police and ethnic minority relations in other European countries. Representatives from this unit have developed ongoing relationships with various ethnic minority organizations, and they regularly meet together to try to improve relations and identify potential problems so that they may be addressed in a proactive manner.
- Passage of a referendum within Parliament that made police and community partnerships (community-based policing) a priority for the Hungarian National Police.
- Appointment of leadership within the Hungarian National Police that identified community-based policing as a major, guiding philosophy within the organization.
- Conduct training for Hungarian National Police commanders in building police and community partnerships. This training was conducted in Budapest from 1998 to 1999. The training was supported through financial or in-kind contributions from the University of...
Evidence of attempts to build positive police and community relationships through the use of civilian advisory boards and activities such as the use of police district facilities for civilian activities and meetings.

Police and ethnic minority relations and police and community relations have been incorporated into the curricula of the Police Secondary School and Police College. These topics have also been included in management training seminars for police leaders from national headquarters in the various counties.

A new training program has been developed for candidates seeking appointment to the rank of captain. This training prepares individuals to assume the broader leadership and management responsibilities required of this position. In addition, the seminar contains units that address the management of police and ethnic minority relations, police and community relations, as well as basic human and civil rights.

Two police institutes were merged to form a Police Management Training and Research Institute. This change will promote greater integration of research on modern management techniques with officer training. Priorities for the institute include civil and human rights and police and community relations. Eventually, training from this institute will become part of the promotional requirements for officers seeking higher rank and greater responsibility.

Civilian advisory boards, based on the Nograd County model, have been established and are functioning in all counties. These boards have as their primary purpose crime prevention through promoting positive police and community relations. Recently, the boards have expanded their role to include victim-assistance initiatives.

The Hungarian National Police continue to support the recruitment and selection of the Roma as police officers. This initiative continues to receive “mixed” reactions from the Romani community. Nevertheless, it represents an attempt by the Hungarian National Police to incorporate ethnic minorities into their organization, and to have the national police become more representative of the population it serves.

Democratic policing requires not only a responsive and vigilant police force, but civilians who are willing to work with police to accomplish this goal.
SUMMARY

The Hungarian National Police have made great strides toward developing a modern and well-managed police force. The various initiatives that have been undertaken to date are an attempt to promote, not only improved efficiency and effectiveness, but to improve the relationship between the police and the community, especially the Romani community. The issues that the police are addressing—accountability, credibility, fairness and community relations, especially with the ethnic minority community—are the foundation of modern democratic policing. Democratic policing in longstanding Western democracies is not perfect and remains a goal requiring constant oversight and assessment. Democratic policing requires not only a responsive and vigilant police force, but civilians who are willing to work with police to accomplish this goal. The situation in Hungary appears to be one in which both the police and civilians are willing to make accommodations and to move toward the goal of democratic policing.

NOTES


3 Since 1951, the Southern Police Institute has provided advanced education and training courses for police practitioners. The Southern Police Institute is a division within the Department of Justice Administration at the University of Louisville in Louisville, Kentucky.

OTHER PER PUBLICATIONS

- Romanian-American Symposium on Inter-Ethnic Relations (1991)
- The Romanies in Central and Eastern Europe Illusions and Reality (1992)
- Nationality Policy in the Russian Federation (1992)
- The Media of Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union: Reporting on Interethnic Relations (1994)
- Russia and Eastern and Central Europe Old Divisions and New Bridges (1996)
- Second Slovakia Roundtable (1996)
- Prevention of Violence and Discrimination Against the Roma in Central and Eastern Europe (1997)
- Enhancing Regional Security: Russian and Central European Perspectives (1997)
- Political Leaders on Interethnic Relations and Regional Security in Central Europe: A Roundtable (1998)
- Schools, Language, and Interethnic Relations in Romania: The Debate Continues (1998)
- Political Participation and the Roma in Hungary and Slovakia (1999)
- Catastrophe in the Balkans: Serbia’s Neighbors and the Kosovo Conflict (1999)
- State Policies Toward Romani Communities in Candidate Countries to the EU: Government and Romani Participation in Policy-Making (1999)
- Montenegro on the Brink: Avoiding Another Yugoslav War (2000)
- The Year 2000 Elections in Romania: Interethnic Relations and European Integration (2000)