

INNOVATIVE SOLUTIONS IN HUNGARY'S DECONCENTRATED STATE ADMINISTRATION¹

Attila BARTA*

ABSTRACT: *Many countries have been delegating a diverse set of tasks to mid-level public administration and typically deconcentrated bodies of state administration. Deconcentration is a dominant principle of Hungarian public administration as well. The evolution and latest innovations of Hungarian deconcentrated (or territorial) state administration is best understood by summarizing some specialities of its pre-Transition and post-Transition history.*

After the Democratic Transformation of Hungary, there was a longer period in which there was no linear, unbroken development path for territorial state administration, instead occasionally, substantial paradigm shifts in this sub-system. But in the last decade Hungarian legislation mainly aspired to better reflect the will of the central government on the territorial level – this could have been done best via the deconcentrated bodies of state administration.

In my opinion the gist of deconcentrated state administration is to convert the central will of government to the lower level of administration. Following the wide-scale structural merges and reorganization in the last 10 years, territorial state administration has been reformed into a system that proved to be a Hungarian specialty. In this study, I am going to summarize some cornerstones and major findings, in accordance with the recent administrative developments and innovations.

KEYWORDS: *Deconcentration; territorial state administration; government offices; Hungarian County (and Capital) Government Offices*

JEL CODE: K23

1. SCIENTIFIC POSITIONS ON THE PRINCIPLE OF DECONCENTRATION

The past three decades has seen the emergence of numerous significant social, economic, and ecological tendencies (European Committee of Regions, 2020, pp. 7-134) that generating political decisions around the world that also affected public

¹ „The study is being published in the framework of the EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00022 Debrecen Venture Catapult Program” (in Hungarian: “A tanulmány megjelenését az EFOP-3.6.1-16-2016-00022 Debrecen Venture Catapult Program című pályázat tette lehetővé”).

* Assistant Professor of Law. Department of Administrative Law, Faculty of Law, University of Debrecen. Debrecen, HUNGARY.

administration and more precisely, its territorial level as well. In Hungary, as part of reinforcing the role of the state, deconcentrated state administration has become a dominant element of the previously-fragmented middle level of public administration (Patyi and Rixer, 2014, pp. 304-320). The sub-system of deconcentrated (or in other words; territorial) state administrative bodies has been the main focus of some of my earlier research (Kozma and Barta, 2013, pp. 59-69; Barta, 2016, pp. 5-19; Barta, 2020a, pp. 165-184; Barta, 2020b, pp. 74-95) and I have been able to write about this topic in the columns of this journal for almost a decade (Barta, 2012, pp. 75-84) – thus, I'd like to share some of my key conclusions about this topic.

From a historical and international perspective, I concluded that developed countries have been delegating a diverse set of tasks to mid-level public administration and the deconcentrated bodies of state administration, mostly because of historical and traditional reasons, and due to their constitutional structures. This approach is no different today either, as there is still a multitude of approaches available to perform territorial administrative duties, despite the diverse set of contemporary challenges and crises they have to face (Seele, 1992, pp. 74-78). As such, there is no common approach to handle territorial duties: the organisational principles of mid-level public administration could be governed by the idea of decentralisation just as much as deconcentration, or subsidiarity. Understandably, the logic of how territorial duties are performed is then defined by two factors: the ideas that govern said logic in the investigated country and time period; and the ratio in which these ideas are floating around relative to each other.

Contemporary scientific literature offers several opposing stances on the definition and basic aim of “deconcentration”. There is a known position that emphasizes deconcentration “*is the least ambitious level of decentralization*” (World Bank, 1999, p. 11). Other professionals prefer to call the attention to this is a possible way to “*administrative functions being done through the establishment of regional or local field offices*” (Wollmann, 2007, pp. 2-3), or this is “*the first step in a newly decentralizing government to improve service delivery*” (Work, 2002, p. 6). Personally, I share the positions of Paul D. Hutchcroft and Gérard Divay on this matter, who argue that in continental law, deconcentration “*involves an intra-organizational transfer of particular functions and workloads from the central government to its regional or local offices*” (Hutchcroft, 2001, p. 30; Divay, 2012).

At the same time, when it comes to the Hungarian definition, I consider the 1992 study of Gábor Szabó as my starting point, in which he stipulates that deconcentrated bodies “*[...] are basically the subordinates of the central level, [...] the agents of the central government's will in a territorial unit, [...] and beyond their jurisdictions, they are not attached in any way to the region or population that they serve [...]*” (Szabó, 1992, pp. 468-484). Transposing this definition to contemporary Hungarian public administration, it becomes clear that the deconcentrated bodies of state administration typically perform all duties that have a weak link towards the territorial level, but a strong one towards the central, and therefore require standardised procedures, special eligibilities, or specialised official powers.

Based on these arguments, I consider a public administration body to be a deconcentrated public administrative institution (or territorial state administrative body) if it meets three key criteria. Firstly, it performs the executive duties of a central state administrative organisation, secondly, it carries out its official authorities and

enforcement under the control and supervision of a higher authority, and finally, it enjoys executive autonomy in carrying out its duties.

2. SOME SNAPSHOTS FROM THE PRE-TRANSITION HUNGARIAN DECONCENTRATED STATE ADMINISTRATION

The evolution of Hungarian territorial state administration is best understood by briefly summarizing some specialities of its history. Deconcentration of administrative bodies and territorial state administration itself had been rather dominant parts of Hungarian public administration until the Democratic Transition. This is mainly due to the tendencies shaping Hungarian history, and which have always been pointing toward centralisation either because of national or imperial interests. As Lajos Lőrincz and Heady Ferrell also pointed out, “*one of the essential means of effectively enforcing the will of the central government regardless of the time period is maintaining a specialised apparatus of territorial administrative bodies that reports only to the central level, and is detached from territorial interests*” (Lőrincz, 2007. p. 66; Heady, 2001. p. 182.).

Undoubtedly, one of the most important public law event in this field was the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867.² These events sparked the rapid development of the deconcentrated state administration apparatus, resulting in a highly heterogeneous organisation in the Kingdom of Hungary. The embourgeoisement and the steady economic growth that characterized this era of Austro-Hungarian Dualism greatly contributed to the expansion of central administration into an administrative apparatus organised on territorial units. Albeit the administrative system of this so-called dualistic era have already had a mid-level unit with general scope of action (this was the county) that could administer down to the settlement level through its respective districts. However, the institution of county has been facing severe restrictions due to the increasing tendencies of centralisation and deconcentrated state administrative organs. It should be pointed out though, that the public administration of the Dualist era only afforded a marginal role to municipal level administration.

The new administrative system that was created after 1949/1950 in Hungary, did not trivialise the importance of mid-level state administration. This was organized on the Soviet model. The former split model of public administration (state administration and local self-governments), being replaced with a unified, hierarchical system of state administration. Although the soviet system has officially forfeited local self-governments, this technically did not change the importance of county and district level. In fact, the socialist period of 1949/50–1989/90 was clearly characterised by a county-centric state administration, as inherited administrative duties were rarely passed on below the level of county soviets. Of course, this also meant that the municipal level could not become a notable agent of public administration in this system either: this was ensured mostly through the hierarchical connection to the overseeing soviet, the network of party organisations and the so-called common municipal committees.

² And as its result, the separation of the judiciary and executive branches of power in 1896. For more information see: <https://www.britannica.com/place/Hungary/The-Dual-Monarchy-1867-1918> (Accessed 19 March 2021).

Based on the above summary, the conclusion is that both pre-Transition period featured a clear tendency for centralisation. However the 1970s–1980s saw a reduction, the importance of territorial administrative units was never questioned, and the municipal level was equally ignored. From now on this study is focusing on the milestones of history and innovative solutions of Hungarian post-Transition territorial state administration consisting of two main eras. I will summarize my findings along these periods.

3. A SHORT SUMMARY OF THE FIRST 20 YEARS FOLLOWING THE DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

The Democratic Transition of 1989-1990 proved to be an important turning point from a state administration perspective, as it laid the foundations of the modern, two-pillar civilian public administration system in Hungary (Vintar & Rosenbaum & Jenei & Drechsler, 2013). However, the Transition not only renewed but also partially dissolved the former administrative solutions, which particularly affected of course the creation/institutionalization process of deconcentrated bodies of state administration as well. During the transition period, the decision-makers were driven by the will to break away from the historical legacies of the previous (dualist and soviet) regimes, and thus wanted to intentionally counterweigh some elements of our earlier administrative systems. As part of these aspirations, the system of local self-governments was favoured over state administration, and the municipal level received more focus than the territorial level. Since the changes concentrated primarily to the local (municipal) administrations, the former specialised bodies of the soviet system were dropped out of the unified administrative framework, and consequently were largely ignored – only to be rebuilt as specialised territorial state administrative organisations. In addition, these organisations quickly started thriving in the new democratic environment without any real governmental control and/or coordination.

Therefore deconcentrated state administration system was thus created in a somewhat evolutive way (Peters, Pierre, 2012. p. 597) in Hungary after the Democratic Transformation, and while there were numerous attempts to reform its structure, none of them achieved breakthrough and durable success. I think that the failures (or partial failures) of these (re)integration attempts following said extreme disintegration had multiple reasons in the first two decades following the Democratic Transition.

Firstly, the independence of the various party-controlled portfolios became a power factor, even on territorial level. As such, any attempts to reform territorial state administration were considered to be an intervention into internal affairs of said portfolios. Secondly, a value crisis, as that time period saw the emergence of several scientific concepts and professional approaches that shaped the executive level of state administration. Such concepts included the regional approach, New Public Management³ (Osborne and Gaebler, 1992), or the idea of the European Administrative Space (Torma, 2011, pp. 149–161). These approaches, however, were affecting state administration in

³ For another Central and Eastern European example see: Gheorghe, Irina (2012) Weberian Public Administration Versus New Public Management in Eastern Europe: The Case of Romania, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(10), 695-702.

parallel, and sometimes defining conflicting objectives. And finally, an organisational reason, because of which the widespread integration of deconcentrated state administrative bodies would have resulted offices with almost unmanageable size, both budget- and workforce-wise.

Because of these factors, there was no linear, unbroken development path for this sector. Instead, the history of Hungary's heavily fragmented, post-Transition state administration was characterized by professional deviations, and occasionally, substantial paradigm shifts as well.

4. 2010. THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ERA?

The Financial Crisis of 2007-2008 and its effects required an almost complete rethink of how the state and public administration systems work (Randma-Liiv, 2008). To achieve a more efficient level of crisis management, Hungarian legislation mainly aspired to better reflect the will of the central government on the territorial level – this could have been done best via the deconcentrated bodies of state administration, as they have been already dependent on the central level. I think that in the development period that started in 2010 and which was, admittedly, based on neo-Weberian principles (Drechsler, 2005, pp. 94-108; Byrkjeflot and Greve, 2018) in Hungary, the decision-makers essentially reversed the tendencies experienced during the Democratic Transition. Namely, legislation started favouring state administration instead of local self-governments, and put more focus/emphasis on the territorial level of state administration over the municipal level. This aspiration brought forward a large-scale organisational fusion (characterised by, for example, the foundation of the capital and county government offices, see it in the next point), and also an increased level of vertical granularity [shown by the (re)creation of the district offices], eventually resulting in a massive governmental prevalence on the territorial level of public administration (Bohne and Graham, 2014; Vineetha, 2013).

This increase of governmental capacity was obviously meant to establish a mega-office (the so-called county and capital government office) for territorial state administration that can handle most official procedures. However, this approach did not consider the reassignment of the various specialised administrative duties to the territorial units of Hungarian local self-government system: the county-level local self-governments.⁴

For the remainder of this study, I am going to summarize some cornerstones and major findings, in accordance with the recent administrative developments and innovations of the last decade.

⁴ Processes in the opposite direction can also be experienced, as shown by the Croatian solution. See: Lopižić, Iva (2020) 'Uloga ureda državne uprave u županijama u hrvatskome upravno-političkom sustavu', *Croatian and Comparative Public Administration. HKJU-CCPA*, 20(3), pp. 549–577.

5. CAPITAL AND COUNTY GOVERNMENT OFFICES. NOTHING IS PERMANENT, EXCEPT CHANGE?

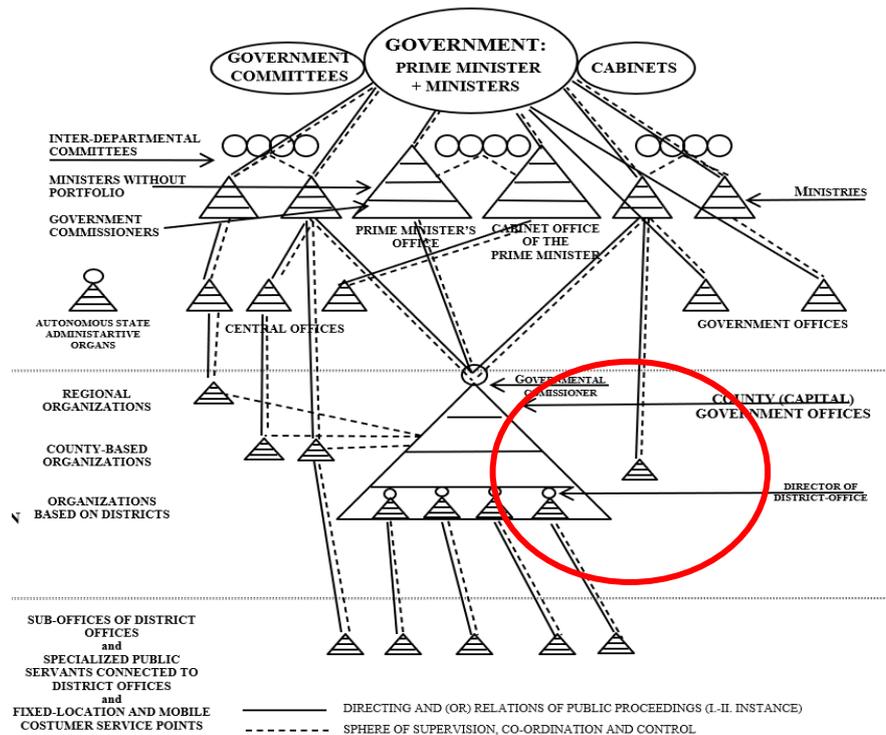
While the development direction for deconcentrated state administration chosen in 2010 obviously incorporated several ideas from the 1990s, there were some new innovations as well. The gradually introduced provisions providing its legal backbone have made it clear soon that legislation emphasized the structural (re)integration of this administrative subsystem. The foundation of the capital and county government offices served two purposes. Firstly, to integrate the heavily fragmented middle level of state administration, and secondly, to reinforce the mandate of the government on the territorial level as well.

The history of said government offices (themselves being the fundamental institutions of public administration⁵) was dotted by a multitude of minor corrections and major transformations, sometimes taking effect so rapidly after each other as if they were rolling down from an assembly line. Said changes manifested in five major modifications:

- an external and internal hyper-integration of previously unprecedented levels (basically in 2011 and 2015),
- transfer of the various duties, authorities, and thus personnel into state administration, namely to the government offices (in 2011, 2013, 2015, 2016 and 2017),
- disappearance of the various superior and supervisory authorities (basically in 2016-2018),
- elimination of legal appeals as a regular and standard legal remedy (2018-2020),
- and finally, the massive transformation of the state administrative legislation material (2010-2020).

Altogether, these changes resulted a state administrative system that is unique to Hungary. Although the middle-level of Hungarian public administration still features several agents, its main integrators are clearly the 20 government offices (check their positions in the state administrative system in the figure below).

⁵ See the *Fundamental Law of Hungary*, Art. 17., Para. (3). https://njt.hu/translation/TheFundamentalLawofHungary_20201223_FIN.pdf (accessed 30 April 2021).



*The System of Hungarian State Administration in 2017.
(edited by the author)*

However, it seems that the developments of 2020 are not really in line with the tendencies of the last decade. Albeit it is still undoubtable that the government offices have a pivotal role in territorial state administration, the most recent redistribution of tasks and responsibilities seem to be an inverse of the earlier tendencies (Barta, 2020a, pp. 165-184).⁶ At this point, the main goal does not seem to be integration, but rather the termination of duties considered obsolete. Which, of course, begs the question of whether the network of government offices has reached the limits of its growth? And if so, then whether its administrative transformations reached their stillpoint as well? In my opinion, the answer to both questions is „yes”. However, to get a complete picture of the system and its changes, it is recommended to expand the scope of the study, and to examine the events of the last 10 years not just on a capital and county level, but also on the district level as well.

⁶ http://xn--tosz-5qa.hu/uploads/dokumentumok-kiadvanyok/Onkorm_30_eve_konyv_netre.pdf (Accessed 12 April 2021).

6. THE DISTRICT OFFICES – THE “JACKS-OF-ALL-TRADES” OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION?

The most recent developments concerning the system of district offices proved to be just as eventful as the history of the government offices – and even more intensive. Based on the related specialised material, the creation of the district system in 2013 served two purposes. On the one hand, it was related to the so-called anomaly that local self-governments also had to carry out delegated state administrative duties. While this was not without international parallels, Hungarian local administrations had to perform an unnecessarily large amount of such duties. On the other hand, the birth of the district offices was an answer to the disorganisation of the deconcentrated bodies of state administration. This disorganisation occurred mostly because the sub-county units of these bodies (namely, their offices) were established without any regards to each other, thus a unified framework was required over time to manage them effectively.

The newly-founded district offices have been placed in an administrative space situated between the county and municipal levels of administration, and then were put under the supervision of the capital and county government offices. These decisions eventually reinforced the hegemony of state administration on the level of territorial public administration. I think that legislation had primarily aimed to make the district level a jack-of-all-trades of central and territorial state administration, directly in contact with the citizens. Due to their successive innovations, the role of the district offices have been reinforced over time in the public administration system, and consequently, the focus has been shifted from the county level to the district level within the government offices.

However, this tendency of preferring the lower-mid level of state administration has been broken once the Act on the Governmental Administration came into force (as a substantial number of public servants have left the district offices), and came to a full stop in 2020 once legislation started reassigning the majority of the duties within the government offices to the county-level, either by transferring them to other (in some cases non-state) organisations, or by making them available through electronic means. Besides moving the main focus within the conglomerate of government and district offices back to the county level, these changes also reverted the system of district offices back to an earlier “version” as it has been before the innovations of 2016 (Barta, 2020b, pp. 74-95).

While the loss of the „jack-of-all-trades” role is not a problem in itself, I think it still marked the end of an otherwise favorable trend. However, considering the major advancements of information technology in the 2000s, and the new opportunities they offered in electronic administration or simply maintaining contact with clients, all these changes may be put to a different perspective. That’s why I am going to deal with these questions in the next part of my paper.

7. IS THE DISTANT FAR AWAY? THE CONNECTIONS OF CUSTOMER CARE AND TERRITORIAL STATE ADMINISTRATION

The universal customer service points of district offices, known simply as “government windows” (abbreviated as KAB) are undoubtedly the most known

institutions of the past ten years of Hungarian state administration innovation. Nowadays, the network of Hungarian government windows consists of approximately 300 units (see the map below), while the number of administrative cases that can be initiated there is close to 2000. It is worthy to mention here though that the customer service points of the district offices also handle activities regarding special administrative areas that are otherwise related to other deconcentrated organisations, like the tax authority or the treasury.



<https://kormanyablak.hu/hu/kormanyablakok>
(accessed 21 February 2018)

The network of KABs has seen two notable innovations throughout the years. Firstly, several special-duty customer service points have been established, and secondly, the network of fixed-location customer service points has been supplemented with additional mobile administrative solutions to overcome the issues stemming from the geographic dispersion of the district offices. These solutions included, among others, the employment of specialized public servants of district offices, or the so-called mobile government windows which were situated in minibuses.

Until recently, the expansion of the KABs responsibilities has been continuous, and has seemed unstoppable. However, since it is unfeasible to establish government windows or even mobile customer service points in every municipality, it is inevitable to invest into the development of e-Administration methods⁷ to bring administrative services closer to citizens, and to ensure a more rational distribution of administrative duties (Orbán, 2019, pp. 83-95.). The reforms, rationalisations and innovative solutions that has characterised territorial state administration in recent years could certainly provide a more predictable framework for this.

⁷ For example see: <https://nyilvantarto.hu/en/personalcustomerservicecentre> (Accessed 30 April 2021).

I concluded that the customer service aspects of territorial state administration provide a complex challenge that can only be handled successfully by utilizing several solutions – as each of these has its own limitations. Whatever the course of development may be for the near future (European Commission, 2019, 15-24), one of its main goals should be the interconnection of the customer service points – after all, the clients would be supported best by public administration if it would let them take care of as many types of administrative cases as possible in a single location, and as fast as possible. And this aspiration should stand even if the currently available advanced electronic solutions, whose importance, by the way, has become much more apparent during the COVID-19 outbreak (Kumar & Pollack & Singh and Wrede Braden, 2020, 1-5) make the personal visit to these deconcentrated institutions (along with the necessary travel and waiting times) partly or completely avoidable. But what's the matter outside the world of government offices, district offices and government windows?

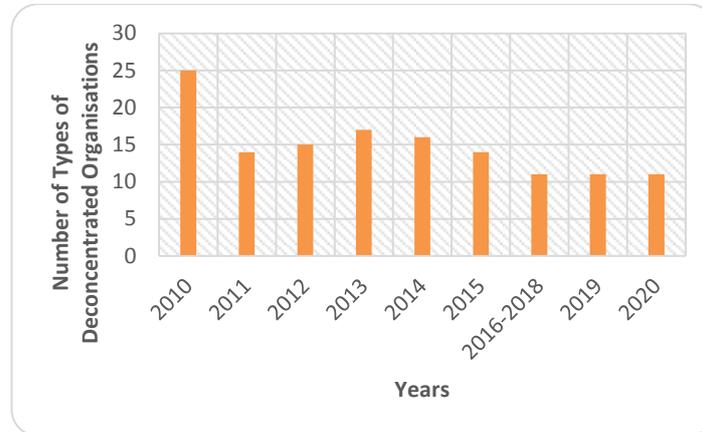
8. „LIFE BEYOND GOVERNMENT OFFICES.” ARE SPECIAL-DUTY TERRITORIAL STATE ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANISATIONS NECESSARY AT ALL?

Since the Democratic Transition, Hungarian state administration has fulfilled its specialised duties on the territorial level via a disintegrated state administrative system. However, between 2010 and 2020, there were two different initiatives that explicitly defined the goal of decreasing the number of special-duty deconcentrated state administration organisations: the Zoltán Magyary's Public Administration Development Programme⁸ and the Public Administration and Public Service Development Strategy (OECD, 2017).⁹ There were numerous reasons for why some of the deconcentrated state administrative organisations kept their independence from the government offices. These included, among others, their special geographical limitations, or the law enforcement character of some bodies. However, my research also shows that in many cases, the resistance of certain portfolios and institutional self-interest also played a large role in retaining the independence of said bodies.

Although the process has been somewhat uneven, the number of special-duty territorial state administration bodies has eventually decreased in Hungary (see in the figure below), mostly because legislation has been able to ignore sectoral interests (that had substantially affected decision-making earlier) and enforce the whole-of-government considerations instead (Barta, 2016, pp. 5–14.).

⁸ See: https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/download/4/07/a0000/Magyary_120903.pdf (Accessed 11 February 2021).

⁹ OECD: Hungary: Public Administration and Public Service Development Strategy, 2014-2020. OECD Public Governance Reviews, 2017. See: <https://www.oecd.org/publications/hungary-2017-9789264286535-en.htm> (Accessed 9 February 2021).



*Number of Types of Deconcentrated Organisations in Hungary 2010-2020.
(edited by the author)*

However, nowadays the main goal seems to have changed compared to the original aspiration: it is not necessarily the attempt to organisationally merge these bodies into the capital and county government offices, but instead to rethink the existing framework of duties and authorities.

However, such integration processes affected not just the government offices, but other independent special-duty administration areas as well. At some of these, for example in case of the state institution maintenance organisations of public health¹⁰ and public education, these processes have already concluded; however, at others like the National Tax and Customs Administration,¹¹ they are still ongoing. Based on these arguments, it is probably not surprising that recent years have favoured the creation and expansion of administrative mega-organisations. Basically, the bodies of each individual specialised administrative field have carved their own path and have developed in parallel with the capital/county government office system. Nowadays, deconcentrated state administration is still functioning in a mixed, or divided system. The mixed system of government offices and a reduced number of other specialised deconcentrated state administrative bodies. These two groups together comprise the executive level of Hungarian state administration. The latter group, however, has also seen clear changes due to the various operational, personnel and allowance-related reorganisations, eventually resulting in a stronger attachment towards their central organisations.

9. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the earlier overview, it can be concluded that deconcentration in state administration is essentially a functional work distribution method between the controlling concentrate and the executive deconcentrated bodies. This distribution of

¹⁰ <https://okfo.gov.hu/hu/web/national-healthcare-services-center/main-page> (Accessed 30 April 2021).

¹¹ <https://en.nav.gov.hu/> (Accessed 30 April 2021).

duties is the internal affair of the state administration subsystem, offering only minimal guarantees regarding duties and authorities (such as the prohibition of assumption of power in case of public proceedings). According to this, the gist of deconcentrated state administration is to convert the central will of the government to the lower level of administration, which is forced to operate in an integrated fashion because of the various world events. At the same time, the various foreign examples confirm that (Lopižić and Novak, 2018, pp. 294-295) there is no common formal requirement in the organisation of mid-level state administration; legislation typically opts for a combined organisational and operational integration instead.¹²

In Hungary, the state tries to solve the arising tasks with fewer deconcentrated organisations. While the central level is primarily meant for a controlling and strategy-planning role, the state institutionalised several mega-organisations in deconcentrated state administration that handle not only official procedures, but perform institution maintenance duties as well. Following the wide-scale structural merges, territorial state administration has been reformed into a system that proved to be a Hungarian specialty, and that has still been shaped until recently by four major tendencies. These included the following:

- extending the duties and powers of the capital and county government offices and their leaders,
- reinforcing the lower-middle (also known as district) level of state administration,
- extending the activities of district's customer service points,
- significantly decreasing the number of special-duty deconcentrated state administrative bodies outside government offices.

In my professional opinion, the series of reforms and innovative solutions that characterized Hungarian territorial state administration between 2010 and 2020 is aligned with the most recent aspirations of reinforcing the central government in the administrative sector – after all, a public administration that is efficient, user-friendly, service-oriented and flexible enough to quickly react to the ever-changing circumstances is a basic requirement in the 21st century. At the same time, it must be considered that a state of permanent reforms, rationalizations and modifications hinders effective operation, prevents the stabilisation of the administrative environment, and disrupts predictable management – after all, even if temporarily, but constant changes interrupt and upset public administration activities. 30 years have passed since the Democratic Transition, so following the constant innovations and the current COVID-19 outbreak, it would be time to lead the territorial subsystem of Hungarian state administration to the path of consolidation. This is especially important because said subsystem is supposed to be the most stable part of public administration, based on the various international examples of related comparative studies (Balázs, 2016). Only by this can it be ensured that territorial state administration can become an effective addition and supporter of the rest of the public administration subsystems. Which is of utmost importance, given that the deconcentrated bodies of state administration also have a pivotal role in handling the significant (and as I mentioned them in the beginning of this study) social, economic, and

¹² For more information visit: <http://www.eastr-asso.org/fiches-pays> (Accessed 20 April 2021).

ecological challenges of both today and tomorrow (Bouckaert, Nakrošis and Nemeč, 2011, pp. 9–29).

REFERENCES

- Balázs, István (2006) 'A központi szint alatti közigazgatás egyes EU-tagállamokban' in Lőrincz, Lajos (ed.) *Közigazgatás az Európai Unió tagállamaiban*, Budapest: UNIÓ.
- Barta, Attila (2012) 'New Trends in The Territorial Representation of Governments', *Curentul Juridic*, 10(1) pp. 75-84.
- Barta, Attila (2016) 'The Next Generation of Capital and County Government Offices. Developments in Hungarian Middle-Level State Administration Since 2011', *Public Governance Administration and Finances Law Review*, 1(2) pp. 5-14. <https://folyoirat.ludovika.hu/index.php/pga/article/view/4846> (accessed 3 February 2021).
- Barta, Attila (2020) 'The Way to a More Integrated Territorial State Administration. The Aims and Causes Behind the Renewal of Hungarian Mid-Level State Administration', *Pro Publico Bono - Magyar Közigazgatás*, 8(1) pp. 74-95.
- Barta, Attila (2020) 'The Major Reforms of Territorial State Administration in the Last Three Decades, and Their Effects on the System of Local Self-Governments' in Gyergyák, Ferenc (ed.) *A magyar önkormányzatok 30 éve. Tanulmányok, adatok, tények a helyi önkormányzatok három évtizedéből*. Budapest: Települési Önkormányzatok Országos Szövetsége, pp. 165-184. http://xn--tosz-5qa.hu/uploads/dokumentumok-kiadvanyok/Onkorm_30_eve_konyv_netre.pdf (accessed 12 April 2021).
- Bohne, Eberhard and Graham, John D. (eds.) (2014) *Public administration and the modern state. Assessing trends and impact*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bouckaert, Geert, Nakrošis, Vitalis and Nemeč, Juraj (2011) 'Public Administration and Management Reforms in CEE. Main Trajectories and Results', *NISPAcee Journal of Public Administration and Policy*. 4(1) pp. 9–29. <https://doi.org/10.2478/v10111-011-0001-9> (accessed 5 March 2018).
- Byrkjeflot, H, du Gay, P & Greve, C (2018), What is the 'Neo-Weberian State' as a Regime of Public Administration? in E Ongaro & S Van Thiel (eds), *The Palgrave Handbook of Public Administration and Management in Europe*. Palgrave Macmillan, Cham, pp. 991-1009. https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-55269-3_50
- Drechsler, Wolfgang (2005) 'The Reemergence of „Weberian” Public Administration after the Fall of New Public Management. The Central and Eastern European Perspective', *Halduskultuur*, 6. pp. 94-108.
- Divay, Gérard (2012) 'Deconcentration' in Côté, Louis and Savard, Jean-François (eds.) *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Public Administration [online]*. www.dictionnaire.enap.ca (accessed 1 November 2020).
- European Committee of Regions (2020) *EU annual regional and local barometer. Full report*. <https://cor.europa.eu/en/our-work/EURegionalBarometerDocs/4370-Barometer%20optimized.pdf> (Accessed 10 February 2021).

- European Commission (2019) *The Future of Government 2030+. A Citizen Centric Perspective on New Government Models*. pp. 5-106.
- Gheorghe, Irina (2012) Weberian Public Administration Versus New Public Management in Eastern Europe: The Case of Romania, *International Journal of Public Administration*, 35(10), 695-702.
- Heady, Ferrel (2001) *Public Administration. A comparative perspective*. 6th edn. CRC Press.
- Hutchcroft, Paul D. (2001) 'Centralization and Decentralization in Administration and Politics. Assessing Territorial Dimensions of Authority and Power', *Governance-An International Journal of Policy and Administration*. Blackwell Publishers. 14(1). pp. 23-53.
- Kozma, Gábor and Barta, Attila (2013) 'Geographical aspects of the changes of Hungary's deconcentrated state administration system between 1990 and 2012', *Bulletin of Geography Socio-Economic Series*, 20 pp. 59-69.
- Kumar, Adi & Pollack, Leah & Singh, Navjot and Wrede Braden, Catharina (2020) *Crisis nerve centers. Supporting governments' responses to coronavirus*. McKinsey & Company. pp. 1-5.
- Lopižić, Iva (2020) 'Uloga ureda državne uprave u županijama u hrvatskome upravno-političkom sustavu', *Croatian and Comparative Public Administration. HKJU-CCPA*, 20(3), pp. 549–577.
- Lopižić, Iva and Novak, Goranka Lalić (2018) 'The Role of Deconcentrated State Administration in Migration and Integration Affairs. A Way Forward', *Croatian and Comparative Public Administration*, 18(2) pp. 287-312.
- Lőrincz, Lajos (2007) *A közigazgatás alapintézményei*. Budapest: HVG-ORAC.
- OECD (2017) *Hungary: Public Administration and Public Service Development Strategy, 2014-2020*. OECD Public Governance Reviews. See: <https://www.oecd.org/publications/hungary-2017-9789264286535-en.htm> (Accessed 9 February 2021).
- Orbán, Anna (2019) 'The New Customisable Electronic Administration User Interface in Hungary' *CEE e/Dem and e/Gov Days*. pp. 83-95.
- Osborne, David and Gaebler, Ted (1992) *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector*. New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Patyi, A. and Rixer, Á. (2014) *Hungarian Public Administration and Administrative Law*. Passau: Schenk Verlag.
- Peters, B. Guy and Pierre, Jon (eds.) (2012) *The SAGE Handbook of Public Administration*. SAGE Publications Ltd.
- Randma-Liiv, Tiina (2008) 'New Public Management versus Neo-Weberian State in Central and Eastern Europe', *Trans-European Dialogue. Towards the Neo-Weberian State? Europe and Beyond*, 31 Jan – 1 Feb, Tallinn
- Seele, Günther (1992) 'A középszintű önkormányzati irányítás Európában', *Comitatus*, 2(11) pp. 74-78.
- Szabó, Gábor (1992) 'Szétpontosítás. Elméleti megközelítések és fejlődéstörténet', *Magyar Közigazgatás*. 42(8) pp. 468-484.

- Torma, András (2011) 'The European Administrative Space (EAS)', *European Integration Studies*, 9(1) pp. 149-161.
- Vineetha, Menon (2013) *Administrative Organization*. New Delhi: Wisdom Press.
- Vintar, Mirko & Rosenbaum, Allan & Jenei, György & Drechsler, Wolfgang (2013) *The Past, Present and the Future of Public Administration in Central and Eastern Europe*, Bratislava: NISPACEE Press. pp. 1-476.
- Wollmann, Hellmut (2007) 'Devolution of Public Tasks Between (Political) Decentralisation and (Administrative) Deconcentration – in Comparative (European) Perspective' in Social Science Institute of Tokyo University (ed.) *Social Science Japan, fall*. pp. 2-12.
- Work, Robertson (2002) 'Overview of Decentralization Worldwide. A Stepping Stone to Improved Governance and Human Development', *UNDP: 2nd International Conference on Decentralization Federalism. The Future of Decentralizing States?*
- World Bank (2008) *Decentralization in Client Countries. An Evaluation of World Bank Support, 1990–2007*. Washington D.C.
- Fundamental Law of Hungary*, Art. 17., Para. (3).
https://njt.hu/translation/TheFundamentalLawofHungary_20201223_FIN.pdf
(accessed 30 April 2021).
- https://2010-2014.kormany.hu/download/4/07/a0000/Magyary_120903.pdf (accessed 11 February 2021).
- <https://en.nav.gov.hu/> (accessed 30 April 2021).
- <https://nyilvantarto.hu/en/personalcustomerservicecentre> (accessed 30 April 2021).
- <https://okfo.gov.hu/hu/web/national-healthcare-services-center/main-page> (accessed 30 April 2021).
- <https://www.britannica.com/place/Hungary/The-Dual-Monarchy-1867-1918> (Accessed 19 March 2021).
- <http://www.eastr-asso.org/fiches-pays> (accessed 20 April 2021).
-
-
-