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The “complications” associated with domestic violence
– The impact and jurisprudence of novel legislature –

(Doctoral Dissertation Theses)

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1. Research topic reasoning and project definition

Family and violence? How could we speak of these two concepts in the same breath? Family, by nature, is a place of love, intimacy, security and peace, whereas the aggression that disrupts that family dynamic is characterised by brutality, and is shrouded under shame and secrecy. Domestic violence does not and cannot exist in a vacuum – it has complications and unintended side-effects, with new pathological processes accumulating on top of the existing status quo, creating a breeding ground for additional consequences and damage. We can rightly assume that domestic violence was just as present in ancient civilisations as it is in modern societies, and it is only in people's responses to the phenomenon where the paradigm has shifted.

Domestic violence had not been included in the Hungarian criminal code as a crime until lawmakers first incorporated it in the new Criminal Code that took effect on 1 July 2013. This does not mean that the actions involved in domestic violence are also new. It does, however, emphatically signal that the practice of domestic violence had reached the tolerance limit of the legislative system, which has therefore taken the events unfolding within the home increasingly under its protection.

This essay focuses primarily on the analysis of domestic violence as a crime, as regulated by paragraph 212/A of the Hungarian Criminal Code and its practical applications, as well as qualifying, distinction and culminative issues posed by other crimes committed against family members. The dissertation not only provides a detailed dogmatic analysis of domestic violence as a novice within the category of crime in the Hungarian legal system, but also gives an insight, in the section on empirical research, through the investigation of files covering a country-wide dataset, into related criminal proceedings that ended either in a legally binding final decision, or in termination, rejection of report or diversion. The significance of the subject and the justification for its investigation comes from the fact that in the almost ten years since its classification as a crime, no such comprehensive research has been conducted on the issue. This also means that the facts and findings of this research can serve as a guidepost to either law enforcement authorities or prosecutors and judges during – difficult, convoluted and poorly evidenced – criminal proceedings about crimes committed against family members.

The statutory provision for domestic violence does not involve objects, property or misdemeanour. Even the placemat of domestic violence in the specific section of the Criminal Code signals that it is not unknown individuals that suffer damages by it, but the protection of family and the children that are brought up in it. All this is inextricably bound to emotions, the necessity for special treatment and special judgment, the correlation with family law, child and victim protection, criminology, sociology and psychology, and even perhaps law enforcement. Taking all of the above into account, the boundaries of the scope of this discourse will be drawn at the aspects of domestic violence related to criminal law, an overview of the relevant Hungarian legal practice, and a narrower overview of the related regulations of a few neighbouring countries.

2. Description of the research, examination, analysis, recording of the method and inventory of sources

The Criminal Code ('Btk') entered into force on 1 July 2013 was the first to include separate sanctions against domestic violence, termed as „relationship violence” (Btk. Section 212/A.). The paper discusses the new criminal offence in eight chapters, both from theoretical and practical aspects, and also undertakes to make international comparisons.

The paper gives justification for examination in terms of jurisprudence, determines the subject, purpose and structure of the paper, and also describes the diversified methodology of research. Family is given great emphasis as a value to be protected, and in that context – the priority of marriage and the impact of changes, the role of child protection signalling system and the compulsory police tasks in the event of violence committed by relatives. The legislator recognised the necessity of protecting children and family, therefore not only physical abuse, but also oral violence and so-called economic abuse now also fall within the category of criminal offence. The theoretical part has a focus on dogmatic questions, through which the criminal offence is discussed comprehensively in all details (possible injured parties, time and place of the offence, human dignity, violent behaviour, humiliating treatment, etc.). The analysis divides the offence sharply into a part punishable upon private motion and a part to be prosecuted ex officio, and concludes that in the case of regular physical abuse and similar acts (e.g. light bodily harm, grievous bodily harm, violation of personal liberty, duress), the authorities are bound to take actions; in the matter of conducting criminal proceedings, the injured party may only decide in relation to oral violence, violence aimed against objects and economic abuse.

In the section of empirical research illustrating legal practice, the results of three nationwide examinations of files are presented, during which a total of 1085 criminal documents were analysed. First, there is a presentation of cases of relationship violence closed in judicial phase which provide opportunity to have an insight in the attitude and procedural practice of the police, the special circumstances of collecting evidence, the law application difficulties encountered and good legal solutions applied by the prosecution, the characteristics of victims and perpetrators, and also the practice of sentencing. The examination of files regarding refusal of reports of offence and termination of investigations revealed numerous faults and shortcomings, while, concerning sexual crimes, a high level of minors' involvement and the role of the family members' responsibility became distinct.

Protection by criminal sanctions against domestic violence is practised internationally as well. The paper examined the relevant body of law of three neighbouring countries (Austria, Slovakia, Romania), also with regard to the existence or lack of the ratification of the Istanbul Convention. Based on a comparison of respective laws, it can be established that the criminal law efforts made by Hungary provide protection for those seeking remedy at law, the statutory framework is in place for the abused, nevertheless, all authorities concerned still have to do a lot to reduce latency, i.e. to increase willingness to report such offences.

At every stage of the research, I tried to collect, interpret and analyse a wide variety of Hungarian and foreign data sources, and to formulate the causal relationships. Given the novel nature of the regulation of domestic violence as a separate crime, historical sources are unavailable or scarce, and the availability of relevant literature, articles and studies are still low (in addition, university coursebooks also carry no more than a few pages of explanation on the subject). This was the source background with which I conducted the detailed analysis of this criminal act, all the while with full awareness of the responsibility that such an endeavour entailed. The research on domestic violence as a criminal act spanned several years and consisted of several parts. The research methodology was accordingly varied: analysis of technical literature and statistical data, roundtable discussions and expert consultations with focus groups, field work, institution visits, interviews and deep interviews, questionnaire-based survey among prosecutors, and most emphatically investigation of criminal files.

a) Analysis of criminal statistics: The source used was the database of the Unified System of Criminal Statistics of the Investigative Authorities and of Public Prosecution (ENyÜBS) and the Prosecution Information System (VIR). This phase consisted of the exploration of national statistical data and the recording of the geographical distribution of the acts and the main characteristics of the proceedings.

b) Roundtable, focus groups, expert consultation: This phase was conducted with the participation of mostly police officers, prosecutors, judges and experts. In addition to the “main actors” of the justice department, the participants included other experts in the child protection signalling system (health visitors, teachers), and the experiences of basic and specialised child protective services (family and child welfare services and centres, group homes and foster parents) were also taken into consideration with special emphasis.

c) Prosecutors’ survey (nation-wide): Every prosecutor’s office in Hungary participated in the research aimed at learning more about the relevant case-law, meaning that in addition to criminal files, notes and suggestions also aided the collection of credible information. The overall results of the anonymous questionnaire filled in by the 90 respondents in total, who were selected by their superiors, greatly contributed to a better understanding of the prosecutorial attitude, but most importantly to the uncovering of practical difficulties.

d) Investigation of files: Rational presentation and logical reasoning is an indispensable part of scientific study, which is why I supported my claims by presenting the objective reality of the results of the investigations.

da) Domestic violence: cases concluded with a court decision (national)

The research tracked the criminal process from the reporting of the crime/charges pressed to the legally binding final decision taken by the court. Criminal files from all over the country were collected for the investigation, and thus a total of 556 files (441 decided by a court of first instance, 115 by a court of second instance) were investigated in connection with 443 defendants. Investigated period: 1 January 2015 – 31 December 2017 (spanning three whole years). The comparison between the number of “assault” cases committed against family members and criminal acts of “domestic violence” showed a large discrepancy, which necessitated a random review of files classified as “simple” aggravated assault cases. After statistical sorting, 95 additional cases were added to the research, meaning that a total of 651 files were processed in the topic.

db) Domestic violence: dismissal of criminal report, termination of investigation, diversion (nation-wide)

During the empirical research phase, I also reviewed files that were closed before the abuser was held accountable because the procedure ended with either the dismissal of the criminal report, the termination of the investigation or diversion. The full data set for this investigation included 171 files altogether from all counties of Hungary, and the period of investigation spanned one full year: 1 January 2017 – 31 December 2017.

dc) Sexual crime: cases concluded with a court decision (nation-wide)

The subject of the research was sexual coercion and sexual violence in cases that were concluded with a legally binding court decision. The criminal files were processed by county again, and a total of 263 files were investigated country-wide, covering the investigation period of 1 January 2017 – 31 December 2017 (one full year).

3. Brief summary of the results of the research

The enforcement of family protection or the failure thereof is without any doubt a telling reflection of the state of any society. It gives a snapshot of what the signalling system and the competent authorities do and do not do, and of the extent to which codification interferes. The number of marriages and divorces has seen a consistently shifting trend, while the transformation of family ties with the increase of co-habiting unmarried couples is still ongoing. A series of actions going beyond verbal abuse and manifesting in aggression, sometimes over a prolonged period of time, have an impact on underage family members living in such an environment. As a child-friendly justice system has yet to be fully accomplished, many fine-tuning legislative regulations and measures will have to be taken in the future for children's rights to be a tangible reality for minors. Domestic violence is not a private matter. If we discard our ostrich policy and duly take seriously the true meaning behind the words, it is nothing less than a common societal issue. Aggressive people who like dominating others do not tolerate any objections, which means that they cannot, and/or do not want to change their behaviours. Violence suffered over a long period of time will lead to the isolation of the victims – they can be overwhelmed by a sense of hopelessness and inability to break out of their situation. What further complicates their situation is the fact that even if they manage to conquer their fears to file a report, the authorities will sometimes sabotage those cases; without support, the victims will often get scared away, and finding themselves in a dead end, they withdraw into their shells.

The significantly updated “National Police Headquarters’ Order 2/2018 (I.25.) on the implementation of police tasks related to handling domestic violence and the protection of children” is sufficiently problem-oriented, in that it provides a detailed list of the police tasks to be performed at the site of domestic violence and subsequently. Similarly to the regulations in other branches of the law, the values protected under the criminal code also divide public opinion, but we must clarify that criminal law is the last resort in the repertoire of legal solutions. When a given behaviour has been declared a crime, that means that the act has reached the tolerance limit, and the law will provide protection for the victims, and the abusers can be held accountable. Such is the case with domestic violence, which was recently declared a crime, which empowered and gave a push forward to family and child protection services, also from a criminal law point of view.

When we hear the words “domestic violence”, we must not narrowly think only of physical violence. There are other behaviours not resulting in physical injuries that also fall in this category. The wording of the law describing domestic violence as a criminal act can cause practical confusion in application, namely that it can be difficult or impossible to distinguish between the behaviours described in paragraphs (1) and (2). In the cases of the behaviours described in paragraph (1) (oral/psychological abuse, disparaging, vulgar speech, economical exploitation), the victim can decide if they want to press criminal charges (private complaint), and the abuser will only be held accountable for their behaviours resulting in such milder material consequences if a more severe (subsidiary) crime is not committed. By contrast, the actions described in paragraph (2) are indictable offences (e.g., simple or aggravated assault, physical defamation, violation of personal freedoms, coercion), i.e., if the authorities become aware of the regular (multiple) repetition of such crimes, the victim cannot have a say in whether or not their abuser will be held accountable. It is worth noting that the category of domestic violence as a crime does not only include violence within a couple, as other members of the family besides the spouses or partners may also become victimised (such as the abuser’s parents, grandparents, sister-in-law, son-in-law, sibling etc.) if they lived in the same household or apartment at the time of or after the crime, with special emphasis on children. The abuse of minors lasting weeks, months or even years was “crammed” into the “endangerment of minors” category in the previously adopted practice, often not even associating it with the relevant form of physical assault as per paragraph 164 of the Criminal Code. Special attention needs to be paid in the future to the endangerment of minors as collateral damage in domestic violence

cases from many aspects, because the two categories still often blend in together in the actual application of the law, even after all this time.

The legislature extended the protection offered to dependant victims (including minors and the elderly) by the criminal, which justifies that outdated practices should be overwritten. The justice system has slowly started to acknowledge domestic abuse as a separate crime, but the pace of this change, eight years after the new Criminal Code took effect, is far from exemplary. The reason why I considered it necessary to review the theoretical and practical legal application issues regarding domestic violence disguised as physical assault and other crimes is that the new criminal code has classified a new criminal act, and the proper and lawful application of this law – should such a criminal act be committed – is just as mandatory as in the case of any other crime. Based on international examples and experiences, we must thoroughly review the classification of domestic violence as a criminal act as described in paragraph 212/A of the Criminal Code, then enforce it according to the legislative intent.

The geographical distribution and the number of criminal proceedings clearly illustrate the application of the criminal code and what areas of the country are lagging behind, which can give counties the opportunity to review and revise their own processes. Between 2014 and 2019, merely 2000 domestic violence cases were registered in Hungary, which means less than 400 such criminal cases per year. This, however, does not suggest – notwithstanding the high latency rate – that the number of actual instances of domestic violence was also low. It is rather that we often find these cases embedded in other crimes due to the faulty classification practices.

a) Besides the obviously low rate of reporting willingness, the sensitivity, cooperation and sense of duty of persons and organisations coming in contact with domestic violence is also a factor. In 55% of the cases that ended in court, it was the victim that decided to press charges, but in many cases the family members of the victims also took it upon themselves to report the crime. By contrast, the case files also confirmed a significant level of inactivity from the part of the child protective system, and hardly any action of significance was taken by general practitioners/paediatricians, health visitors or teachers. There are informal channels that transmit half-baked information, but the current signalling system still deserves harsh criticism and it must be urgently reviewed.

The legally binding decisions show that the majority of defendants committed simple assault or physical defamation to the detriment of their family members, but the incidence rate of aggravated assault, violation of personal freedom and coercion was also significant. Regarding

the circumstances of proving the case, domestic violence cases must be processed completely differently, as it is the only type of crime where the perpetrator and the victim continue to live under the same roof. Foreseeing that the defendants will then deny their guilt, the police, the prosecutor's office and the court must all be familiar with the background and dynamics of the cases, the fear behind the proceedings without witnesses, the dependent and helpless relationships, and last but not least, the impact on the physical and mental health and moral development of the children involved, as well as their endangerment.

Judges' deliberations are often based on realistic considerations, and the research has confirmed the privileged role of circumstantial evidence as opposed to direct evidence. A tendency we can observe in cases of domestic violence is that the time of injury reports and medical evidence is increasingly over, and they have been replaced by other types of evidence recorded with the help of information technological devices (SMS, email, messaging via social media sites, video and audio recordings and photos, etc.).

99% of the defendants (n=443) were men between the ages of 36–50, most of them with vocational/technical education, while the victims were mainly between 31–45 (n=461), and 94% women. A significant fact to note is that within the three investigated years, 93% of the defendants were convicted by the court, and only 4% of the cases ended in acquittal, while guilty pleas were very rare among these cases (3% of the defendants died during the course of the proceedings, resulting in the termination of their cases).

A parallel, smaller scale research investigated the appropriateness of the classification of the crime with regard to aggravated assault against family members, which investigation found that in 60% of the cases, the law was inappropriately applied. Given the severity of the problem, it must be emphasised that it is not the convictions, the evidence or the provability that is at issue here, but classifications that are unlawful and contradictory to the file, i.e., essentially a fundamental fault of jurisprudence.

b) In the three areas subject to research (n=171), only in 22% of the cases were the indictment postponed (currently: conditional suspension by the prosecution), while the report was rejected in 38% of the cases, and 40% ended in termination of investigation. In terms of rejection of report, the cause referenced was a lack of private complaint in 86% of those cases and "no crime committed" in 14%. The decision to terminate the investigation was made due to lack of complaint in the largest percentage, 71% of the cases, due to death of perpetrator in a not insignificant 12% of the cases, and lack of crime committed in 10% of the cases; in 7% of the cases the criminal proceeding ended as a result of the application of reprimand.

The law enforcement authorities investigating the case formulated a clear case in the reasoning, but the provision part included an unlawful classification and reason for rejection – this is the overall summary of the case files that were closed due to rejection of report or termination of investigation. The researched cases clearly reflect the often inappropriate attitude of the authorities towards domestic violence, as well as the fact that the practice has gone off track or completely lost its way. There is a marked distinction between physical and psychological violence, but the authorities enforcing the Criminal Code must be aware of the fact that the threshold of tolerance up to which they are not obligated to indict is now very low. In fact, law enforcement can only and exclusively ignore family feuds and leave the fate of the case to the victim until the violence is restricted to verbal or financial abuse, but there have not been repeated instances of physical assault. The victim has no influence of the stages of the proceeding where the crime must be lawfully prosecuted, and therefore private complaints have no relevance (but once they have been filed, they cannot be withdrawn, just like the charges pressed, which in itself expresses the intent of the victim to have the proceedings conducted). Victims of abuse have a very narrow room for manoeuvring once the police has been informed of the act of violence. The victims, however, do not experience this, because with such files they have trouble comprehending any of it, and they do not know what to do in addition to enclosing the report, the medical evidence, the medical documents, the audio recordings and other evidence. Victims of abuse exist in a separate world. They languish in a bland, colourless void, while expecting law enforcement to show them the light at the end of the tunnel, and although they know that the tunnel is long, the blinking light of hope at the end of it means, for many of these victims, life itself. All in all, the most important objective could be to shine a spotlight on the mistakes, but also to uncover best practice examples to be followed for how the law should be applied in this case. The legislature created the provision for domestic violence with the expressed goal to have it applied in practice, and to help abuse victims waiting for help not feel like sand is slipping through their fingers.

c) The research has also confirmed the relevance of sexual crimes within the melting pot of domestic violence. 271 defendants committed sexual crimes against 326 victims in total, where 16% of the victims were men or little boys, and 84% of the victims were women or little girls. 65% of the victims were minors at the time of the sexual crime, which were committed against them – typically in a continued fashion – mostly by family members, family friends and close acquaintances. A comprehensive review of country-wide files of sexual coercion and sexual violence cases showed the increasing vulnerability of the family, and most specifically

minors, which is why the role that competent organisations and authorities have in prevention and management, as well as the professional and moral responsibility of any persons coming in contact with these families in any way, cannot be overemphasised.

The international overview shows that Austria and Romania have ratified the Istanbul Convention, while Hungary and Slovakia have not. All the criminal codes of the reviewed countries regulate domestic violence, but penalties are the lowest in Hungary. With the exception of Romania, the law also sanctions psychological violence in addition to physical assault, but it is my opinion that (from the point of view of criminal law) there is no correlation between a country's sanctioning system and whether or not they have ratified the Istanbul Convention. As a conclusion, regarding the fact that domestic violence is a complex phenomenon, prevention opportunities and actual measures can only be investigated together with the efficiency of the signalling system of family and child protective services. The Istanbul Convention and other equally important international documents could form the pillars for the criminal provisions of certain countries, including in cases where signature has not been followed by ratification (while emphasising the necessity for further measures, an appropriate institutional system and the necessary conditions).

4. List of publications

4.1. Publications related to the dissertation

1.) Renáta Garai: *A szexuális erőszak és a szexuális kényszerítés az országos jogalkalmazói gyakorlatban. Dogmatikai kérdések, eljárási és kriminológiai jellemzők.* In: Vókó György (szerk.) *Kriminológiai Tanulmányok OKRI*, Budapest, 2020. 57. szám 68-86. o.
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2.) Renáta Garai – Bernadett Csapucha: *A tartási kötelezettség elmulasztásának komplexitása, különös tekintettel az önhiba megítélésére és a gyermekek érdekeire.* In: *Jog-Állam-Politika* 2020/03. 141-156. o.
https://dfk-online.sze.hu/images/J%C3%81P/2020/3/JAP_2020_03_garai-renata_csapucha-bernadett.pdf

3.) Renáta Garai: *Nemzetközi törekvések a családon belüli erőszak elleni büntetőjogi védelemre - a távcső túloldalán: Ausztria és Szlovákia.* In: *Külügyi Műhely* 2020/1. 126-145. o. (ÚNKP ösztöndíj keretében)
<http://kulugyimuhelyalapitvany.hu/kulugyi-muhely-2020-1/>
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<https://epa.oszk.hu/03800/03841/00002/pdf/>

4.) Andrea Domokos - Renáta Garai: *A bűnözés és a büntető igazságszolgáltatás áldozatai*. In: Glossa Iuridica VI. évf. 3-4. Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar Budapest, 2020. 9-22. o.

https://ajk.kre.hu/images/doc6/kiadvanyok/Glossa_Iuridica_2019_3-4_szam.pdf

5.) Renáta Garai: *Kérlek vedd észre, én nem tudom elmondani!* In: Miskolczi Bodnár Péter (szerk.): XVI. Jogász Doktoranduszok Szakmai Találkozója. Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar, Budapest, Jog és Állam 2020/29. 95-104. o.

https://ajk.kre.hu/images/doc6/PR/Allam_es_Jog_XVI_Doktorandusz_konferencia_kotete.pdf

6.) Renáta Garai: *Kapcsolati erőszak: a feljelentés elutasítások és nyomozás megszüntetések országos vizsgálatának tapasztalatai*. Legfőbb Ügyészség XXX. Ügyészségi Szakmai-Tudományos Konferencia - a szekcióelnök (Halmos Krisztina, Legfőbb Ügyészség Fiatalokúak Büntetőügyeinek Önálló Osztálya) által kiemelt előadás írásos anyaga (2020)

Magyarország Ügyészsége - Intranet. Belső hálózat, a tanulmány kizárólag az ügyészségi szolgálati jogviszonnyal rendelkezők számára érhető el.

7.) Renáta Garai - Anikó Béda: *A kapcsolati erőszak elmúlt 6 éve - avagy egy nóvum hatása és joggyakorlata*. In: Vókó György (főszerk.) Ügyészségi Szemle 2019/2. 6-25. o.

<http://ugyeszsegiszemle.hu/hu/201902/ujzag#6>

8.) Renáta Garai: *A kapcsolati erőszak bűncselekményének jogalkalmazási gyakorlata - a jogerős ítéletek tanulságai*. In: Vókó György (szerk.) Kriminológiai Tanulmányok OKRI, Budapest, 2019. 56. szám 30-47. o.

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9.) Renáta Garai: *Nemcsak a testnek fájhat! A családi erőszak elleni büntetőjogi védelem lehetőségei*. In: Miskolczi Bodnár Péter (szerk.): XIV. Jogász Doktoranduszok Országos Szakmai Találkozója. Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar, Budapest, Jog és Állam 2018/24. 131-137. o.

http://kre.hu/ajk/images/doc5/konferencia/merge_from_ofoct_19.pdf

10.) Renáta Garai: *Die strafrechtliche Regelung der häuslichen Beziehungsgewalt in Ungarn - eine neue Strafhandlung im Spiegel der Rechtspraxis* - In: Deli Gergely, Szoboszlai-Kiss Katalin (szerk.) Jog-Állam-Politika. Palatia Nyomda, Győr, X. évf. 2018/2. 131-148. o.

http://www.epa.hu/03000/03010/00010/pdf/EPA03010_jap_2018_2_131-148.pdf

11.) Renáta Garai: *A fátyol túloldalán: szeretet vagy kilátástalanság?* In: KRE-DIt 2018/2. KRE-DOK online tudományos folyóirata

http://epa.oszk.hu/03500/03515/00002/pdf/EPA03515_kre-dIt_2018_02_05.pdf

12.) Renáta Garai: *Halmazati kérdések a kiskorú veszélyeztetésével (és a kapcsolati erőszakkal) összefüggésben*. Legfőbb Ügyészség XXIX. Ügyészségi Szakmai-Tudományos Konferencia - a szekcióelnök (Görög Julianna, Legfőbb Ügyészség Nyomozás-felügyeleti és Vádelőkészítési Főosztály) által kiemelt előadás írásos anyaga (2019)

Magyarország Ügyészsége - Intranet. Belső hálózat, a tanulmány kizárólag az ügyészségi szolgálati jogviszonnyal rendelkezők számára érhető el.

13.) Renáta Garai: *Családon belüli - kapcsolati erőszak az elméletben és a gyakorlatban*. In: Miskolczi Bodnár Péter (szerk.): *Jog és Állam 2018/22. XII. Jogász Doktoranduszok Országos Szakmai Találkozója*. Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar, Budapest, 2017. 88-101. o.

https://ajk.kre.hu/images/doc4/dokumentumok/Allam_es_Jog_22_XII_Doktorandusz_konferencia.pdf

14.) Renáta Garai: *Családi erőszak, és ami mögötte van...* In: Miskolczi Bodnár Péter (szerk.): *Jog és Állam 2018/23. XIII. Jogász Doktoranduszok Országos Szakmai Találkozója*. Károli Gáspár Református Egyetem Állam- és Jogtudományi Kar, Budapest, 2018. 63-70. o.

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15.) Renáta Garai: *A jogágak összefonódása és egymásra utaltsága a családi erőszak tükrében - a jog és az erkölcs „házassága”* In: KRE-DIt 2018/1. KRE-DOK online tudományos folyóirata

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16.) Renáta Garai: *A kapcsolati erőszak dilemmái - Tények és tévhitek a gyakorlatban*. In: Vókó György (szerk.) *Kriminológiai Tanulmányok OKRI*, Budapest, 2017. 54. szám 181-196. o.

17-18-19.)

Renáta Garai: *„Vétkesek közt cinkos aki néma”* (2016.02.24.)

Renáta Garai: *Az első pofon... Tényleg tabu a monokli?* (2016.02.19.)

Renáta Garai: *„Az ember nem tulajdon!” A láthatatlan, ám tudható családon belüli erőszak* (2016.02.11.)

<https://www.ckr.hu/keres?q=garai>

20.) Renáta Garai - Renáta Gulyás: *Közhirré tétetik: ki segít a bajban?*

Magyarország Civil Körözési Rendszere: <https://www.ckr.hu/blog?bid=2>

4.2. Other publications

1.) Renáta Garai: *Vagyon elleni és erőszakos bűncselekmények a trafikokban.*

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(a Magyar Dohány Kiskereskedők Szövetségének zárt terjesztésű, kéthavonta megjelenő szakmai kiadványa)

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7.) Renáta Garai: „*Hulladék vagy szemét? A hulladékgazdálkodás rendjének megsértése - egy kicsit másként*”

Magyarország Ügyészsége - Intranet. Legfőbb Ügyészség XXVIII. Ügyészségi Szakmai-Tudományos Konferencia - a szekcióelnök (Sódor István) által kiemelt előadás írásos anyaga (2018) A tanulmány kizárólag az ügyészségi szolgálati jogviszonnyal rendelkezők részére érhető el.