

Appendix 2

Questionnaire (English version)

Questions about policy-initiation and formulation

The bureaucracy

1. Which of the following descriptions would best fit the role of your ministry?

This indicator tries to capture the strength of the particular ministry in terms of determining its own policy.

	Agree	Disagree
(1) The ministry commands initiative and the political proposals to be put forward for public debate and the cabinet originate from within the ministry	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If disagree: Who formulates policies?

(1) President / President's office	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) Prime Minister / Prime Minister's office	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3) The Cabinet:	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3a) Internal cabinet (specify which)	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4) Political Parties	<input type="checkbox"/>
(5) Interest organizations	<input type="checkbox"/>
(6) International organizations	<input type="checkbox"/>
(7) Other – please specify	<input type="checkbox"/>

2. How would you characterize the legislation initiated by your ministry?

- (1) Mostly general and open statements/frameworks with wide margins for bureaucratic discretion
- (2) More general and open statements/frameworks than precise formulation
- (3) More precise formulations than general open statements/frameworks
- (4) Mostly precise formulations on individual rights and obligations

Please comment on these options, especially in relation to the international context (e.g. harmonization with the EU, etc.).

3. In most cases could/can you trust your ministerial officials to provide reliable and intelligent information?

This indicator is to capture the nature of the work of ministerial officials and the extent to which ministers use their ministerial officials for political advice.

- (1) Yes, mostly
- (2) Yes, sometimes
- (3) Rarely
- (4) No, not at all

Does this also apply to political advice? (Open answer)

4. If you needed external advice, whom would you prefer to rely on, or have you relied on, to get the information you need?

Which type and how prevalent is the use of external advisors in ministries.

- (1) Political advisors (from the government)
- (2) Political Parties:
 - a) PPG
 - b) party leaders
 - c) external party-organization
- (3) Academic specialists
- (4) NGO specialists (employed by NGO)
- (5) Others: (specify)

4a. To what extent are these advisors used in the policymaking process?

- (1) Always
- (2) Often
- (3) Sometimes, concerning important issues
- (4) Rarely

Comments:

5. Concerning ministries, would you say that the quality of civil servants has improved or declined since 1989 regarding ability to provide advice?

By quality we refer to education, but also to the independent problem solving ability, the attitude to responsibility and efficiency.

- (1) Significant improvement
- (2) Some Improvement
- (3) No change
- (4) Declined

6. If declined, what are the main reasons?

- (1) They are not qualified to handle new tasks
- (2) They have second jobs for economic reasons
- (3) The best have left for jobs in the private sector
- (4) The best have left for jobs in international organizations or are working abroad
- (5) They are not motivated to perform a good job
- (6) Other:

7. In your own ministry, is/was it common practice that ministerial officials have close working relationships with significant organizations (business, NGO, or state) within the field of the ministry?

- (1) Yes:
- (2) No:

If the answer is no, then why?

8. Is/was this a common practice in other ministries?

- (1) Yes:
- (2) No:
- Do not know:

9. In your time as minister, how many of your top officials (Political State Secretary and Deputy, Administrative State Secretary and Deputy, Press Secretary) were members of a governing coalition party?

- (1) More than two-thirds
- (2) About half
- (3) Less than a third
- (4) None
- (5) Do not know

10. In general how many of the civil servants are (were) replaced when a new minister from another party appears /-ed in the ministry?

- (1) Most
- (2) About half
- (3) Less than half
- (4) None
- (5) Do not Know

What are the main reasons for replacements:

10a. Besides replacements of civil servants due to political considerations and changes in government, is there a considerable turn-over of staff in your ministry?

- (1) Yes:
- (2) No:
- Do not know:

If yes, what are the main reasons?

11. Do you agree that it is good that civil servants are members of a governing coalition party?

(pause before you mention the last category)

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Of no significance
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

11a. Is political loyalty from the higher level civil servants to you as minister more important than from lower ranked civil servants?

- (1) Yes:
- (2) No:
- Do not know:

If yes, from which level in the civil servants' hierarchy is political loyalty of determining importance?

12. Civil servants should advise:

- On technical matters? (1) Agree (2) Disagree
- On political strategy? (1) Agree (2) Disagree

13. What do you think of the following statement: ministers should be able to personally appoint their own civil servants?

(pause before you mention the last category)

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

14. In your opinion should civil servants in one ministry be allowed to share information with colleagues in other ministries without prior permission?

(pause before you mention the last category)

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

15. If you agree, was/is this a common occurrence between yours and other ministries?

- (1) Yes:
- (2) No:

The influence of outside actors

16. Name the three most influential domestic political players (organizations and/or persons) in Hungary before and after the change of regime (for example: legislature, executive power field, political parties, "Grey Cardinals", private business etc.).

Before regime change:

After regime change:

(1)

(1)

(2)

(2)

(3)

(3)

17. Name the three most influential political actors within your area of responsibility as minister during your term (current or latest ministerial post).

(1)

(2)

(3)

18. Which ministry do you consider to be the core ministry in terms of influence on decision-making in other ministries?

19. If other ministries tried/try to influence proposals in your own ministry, causing you to lose competence or resources, how would you perceive it?

(1) Generally acceptable:

(2) Generally not acceptable:

20. In the cases where other ministries or the parliamentary fractions of other parties tried to influence proposals in your own ministry, who did it most frequently?

(1) Which ministry?

(2) Which party?

21. From your point of view, when other ministries or parties interfered in the business of your ministry, could it be that a third party outside the realm of politics has interfered in the decision-making?

(1) Agree

(2) Disagree:

(3) Do not know:

If you agree, give an example of who this third party may be:

22. During your time in government, did foreign actors (governments, international organizations) try to influence policy and regulations in your ministry?

(1) Yes:

(2) No:

Name the three most important international actors.

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

23. In general, in those cases when foreign actors did have influence, would you say that their influence on the decisions to be made had a positive or negative effect on the solutions of domestic problems?

	(1) Always	(2) Most cases	(3) Rarely	(4) Never
(A) Positive effect	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(B) Negative effect	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
(C) No effect	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comments:

24. Have you ever felt under pressure from outside actors (NGOs, non-state organizations, peak level business, etc.) to initiate new legislation?

- (1) Often
- (2) Often, but not concerning really important issues
- (3) Sometimes
- (4) Rarely
- (5) Never

If 1-3, proceed to question 25.

If 4-5, proceed to question 26.

25. If often, did you feel that this pressure was positive or negative for the country?

- | | | | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Always
Positive | (2) Mostly
Positive | (3) 50/50 | (4) Mostly
Negative | (5) Always
Negative |
| <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments: (from the perspective of the society, economy, government, international position etc.)

26. In your time as minister did your civil servants have close working relationships with major interest organizations within the ministry's resort?

Working relationship understood as cases in which organizations are invited to comment on policy proposals or when they assist by contributing information on the specific policy area.

- (1) Yes, most of the time:
- (2) Yes, but only concerning important issues:
- (3) No:

27. Concerning lobbying, that is when outside interests attempt to influence the political process, how would you in most cases agree to the following statements?

- | | (1) Agree | (2) Disagree |
|--|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| (A) Lobbying is positive because it provides the information you need to make the right decision | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (B) Lobbying is negative because the information you receive is biased | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (C) Lobbying is positive because you get support from the concerned groupings | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (D) Lobbying is negative because it erodes the impartiality of the ministry | <input type="checkbox"/> | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments:

28. Do you believe that decisions are improved when concerned interests are incorporated or consulted in the process of formulation?

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Yes, mostly | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Yes, sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) No, only rarely | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) No, worse | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Comments:

28a. How are/were concerned interests incorporated or consulted in the process?

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| (1) We have an Institutional forum for discussion and corporation. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Institutional forums are formed at an ad hoc basis. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) There can be informal forums depending on the character of the case. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Decision-making process

29. Please rank the most important formal decision-makers that influence decisions in your ministry: For example, yourself, the Prime Minister, State Secretaries, Deputy State Secretaries, Formal ministerial advisers, Departmental Directors, Chairmen of parliamentary committees, individual members of parliament.

These are just examples. The respondent should be encouraged to reflect upon his/her own experience.

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

30. Please rank the following fora with regard to decision-making relevant to your ministry, the cabinet, internal cabinets, parliamentary committees, courts.

(1)

(2)

(3)

(4)

(5)

(6)

31. Name the most important informal decision-making forum affecting your ministry.

32. During your term of office, how important was your party (for example party leader meetings, party organizations, party donors) for government decision-making?

- (1) Very important
- (2) Important
- (3) Of little importance
- (4) Of no importance

32a. If very important or important, how would you rank the following categories in your party for decision-making?

(Assign a number for each category according to the ranking by the respondent)

- Party leaders
- Party organization
- Rank and file members
- PPG
- Financial donors

33. What is the most common financial source for your party, or if you are a non-member, then for parties in general?

(Mark and rank answers)

- (1) Membership fees
- (2) Donations by organization
- (3) Donations by private individuals
- (4) Income from business activities
- (5) State support
- (6) Other

34. In your opinion, ought parties receive financial support from the state?

- (1) Yes:
- (2) No:

35. Based on your experience, what are the three most important reasons that decision-making in your ministry becomes complicated?

(1) _____

(2) _____

(3) _____

36. If solutions to problems are hindered or problems cannot be solved by current legislation, what do you believe to have been the general response in various ministries?

- (1) To solve the problems by administrative measures, regardless current legislation (that is, whether laws are disregarded or circumvented)
- (2) To solve the problem by administrative measures, and at the same time initiate revision of the relevant legislation
- (3) To initiate a change of legislation before addressing the problem
- (4) Other. Please comment:

Implementation

37. Were you generally confident that decisions made in your ministry would be implemented as are/were intended by your staff?

(1) Yes:

(2) No:

Have you often had to control the work of your ministerial staff in order to ensure that decisions were implemented in accordance with the original political intentions?

(open answer; please give examples)

38. Some people claim that there are many obstacles to implementing policy effectively and efficiently. I am now going to read out some of these obstacles. Have you experienced such obstacles in your ministry:

(1) Inadequate resources (Time and Finances)

(2) Lack of understanding of and agreement on objectives by the involve officials, interests, clients etc.

(3) Poor policy design (no or wrong relation between cause and effect)

(4) Lack of co-ordination and information

(5) Lack of monitoring and evaluation activity

(6) Tasks were insufficiently specified

(7) Interference in the program from outside, please specify

(8) Insufficient staff motivation

39. When implementation or a policy-program ran into difficulties, did you personally take political responsibility?

(1) Yes

(2) No

40. To what extent do you agree with the following proposition?

Compliance in the process of implementation is improved when private business organizations or other concerned interests participate as undertakers in the process.

This question should be interpreted both as direct sub-contracting and in more general terms when relevant business or other interests are invited to assist in the formulation of an implementation design

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you strongly agree or disagree, please provide examples:

If you disagree, please explain why:

41. To what extent do you agree with the following proposition?

Powerful non-state actors can escape regulatory measures.

Please evaluate the above statement in the case of the following actors:

a) individuals

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

b) interest organizations

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

c) business actors

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

d) other; please specify

If strongly agree or disagree (for each of the categories), please provide some examples:

42. In your opinion, did the civil servants implement political decisions more efficiently under the communist system than they do now?

The question should be understood very strictly, in that we ask the respondent to evaluate only whether the bureaucracy was more efficient in a non-democratic context, the effect on society notwithstanding.

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Difficult to say
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

If you disagree, please explain why:

Questions about state – society relations

We are now going to ask you a number of questions about state-society relations. Please bear in mind that this survey is comparative and applied in a number of countries. Some question may therefore seem less relevant in the Hungarian context, but this is exactly the purpose of comparative surveys – to demonstrate the uniqueness of each individual country and to find common characteristics for some countries or a group of countries.

43. What is your preferred degree of state involvement in the economy and society?

(1) Much more state involvement and/or social provisions	(2) Some more state involvement and/or social provisions	(3) Current balance	(4) More individual initiative	(5) Much more individual initiative	(6) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

44. What role should the public primarily play in politics and government?
(One mark only).

- (1) The public should elect representatives and let these run the country.
- (2) The public should take an interest in politics and communicate their views to the representatives.
- (3) The public should become actively engaged in parties, associations, local government, etc. in order to gain greater influence on politics.

45. During your time as minister, did you experience attempts to bribe you into favoring specific groups or individuals?

- (1) Often
- (2) Sometimes
- (3) A few times
- (4) Never
- (5) No answer

45a. During your time as minister, have you heard of such attempts in other ministries?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

46. During your time as minister, did you receive threats from non-state actors (peak level business, interest groups, etc.)?

- (1) Often
- (2) Sometimes
- (3) A few times
- (4) Never
- (5) No answer

If yes, in which cases? (give examples)

If yes, please specify which type of threat:

- (1) Threats from party donors to cut finances
- (2) Political sanctions
- (3) Other, please specify

47. If such pressure were applied in any ministry, would it, in your opinion, affect decisions or implementation?

(Open answer)

48. Do you agree that misuse of status positions is common in Hungarian politics?
(pause before you mention the last category)

(1) Strongly agree	(2) Agree	(3) Disagree	(4) Strongly disagree	(5) Do not know
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

49. At which level of government do you think that the phenomenon of misuse is most common?
(Multiple marks allowed)

- (1) Top level (ministers and their deputies, Vice Ministers)
- (2) State secretaries and their deputies
- (3) Medium level (departmental directors)
- (4) Lower level officials
- (5) Parliament
- (6) Do not know

50. In your time as minister, did you obtain knowledge about persons engaged in irregular (unlawful) activities on the governmental level?

This question tries to establish a picture of the prevalence of this phenomenon.

- (1) Yes, in my own ministry
- (2) Yes, in other ministries
- (3) No, but I assume so
- (4) No, not at all

Comments:

51. In your opinion, are current laws sufficient for combating corruption?
(Open answer)

52. In your opinion, what are the main cause(s) of corruption in the state administration?
(please rank these options, if possible)

- (1) Salaries too low
- (2) Low moral quality of civil servants
- (3) Legacy of the soviet system (nomenclature networking)
- (4) Illegal organizations (Mafia)
- (5) Other: please comment.

53. Which other country in the world do you think Hungary resembles most?

Now: _____ In 10 years: _____

Background Questions: To be filled by the interviewer

Ask these questions only if you could not get reliable information from other sources in advance.

54. Have you ever been elected to a political post (parliament member, local government)? Please specify.

55. Were/are you a party member while being minister? If so, which party.

56. What was/is your position in this party?

57. What was your occupation during communism?

58. What is your education?

- (1) Primary
- (2) Secondary
- (3) Secondary, special
- (4) College or other higher education
- (5) University Degree: (specify)

- (1) Bachelor
- (2) Master
- (3) Doctoral
- (4) PhD
- (5) Candidate
- (6) Academic merits or position

59. In which field were you educated?

60. Have you supplemented your education after the regime change, e.g. courses or master's degree?

Yes:

No:

If yes, then which type?

61. Where were you educated, before and after the regime change?

Before		After	
(1) Hungary	<input type="checkbox"/>	(1) Hungary	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) Other communist country	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2) Other previous communist country	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3) Western Europe	<input type="checkbox"/>	(3) Western Europe	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4) USA	<input type="checkbox"/>	(4) USA	<input type="checkbox"/>
(5) Other: (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>	(5) Other: (specify)	<input type="checkbox"/>
_____		_____	

62. Were you member of a party before the regime change?

(1) Yes, the Communist Party	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) Yes, the Young Communist League	<input type="checkbox"/>
(3) Yes, other party/movement Which one _____	<input type="checkbox"/>
(4) Non-member	<input type="checkbox"/>

Interviewer's remarks

63. Age (presently):

64. Age (when first appointed minister):

65. Sex: Male Female

66. Ethnicity:

67. Has the respondent been charged with or sentenced in matters of corruption while minister?

68. Did you generally consider his/her answers reliable?

69. If not, which answers in particular do you think were unreliable?

70. Which questions did you perceive to be the most difficult for the respondent to understand?

71. Which questions did you perceive to be the most difficult for the respondent to answer?

72. Did you feel that some of the questions went too far terms of violating the discretion of the respondent (if yes, please specify).