

Appendix 3

Questionnaire Frequencies

Appendix 3

Questionnaire frequencies

Questions about policy-initiation and formulation

The bureaucracy

1. Which of the following descriptions would best fit the role of your ministry? The ministry commands initiative and the political proposals to be put forward for public debate and the cabinet originate from within the ministry.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	27	77.1	84.4	84.4
Disagree	5	14.3	15.6	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
System	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

If disagree: Who formulates policies?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The President	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No Answer	35	100.0		
Total	35	100.0		
Prime Minister/ Minister's Office	3	8.6	100.0	100.0
No Answer	32	91.4		
Total	35	100.0		
The Cabinet	4	11.4	100.0	100.0
No Answer	31	88.6		
Total	35	100.0		
The Political Parties	2	5.7	100.0	100.0
No Answer	33	94.3		
Total	35	100.0		
Interest Organizations	1	2.9	100.0	100.0
No Answer	34	97.1		
Total	35	100.0		
The International Organizations	0	0.0	0.0	0.0
No Answer	35	100.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Mostly general and open statements/ frameworks with wide margins for bureaucratic discretion	2	5.7	7.4	7.4
More general and open statements/ frameworks than precise formulation	8	22.9	29.6	37.0
More precise formulations than general open statements/ frameworks	10	28.6	37.0	74.1
Mostly precise formulations on individual rights and obligations	7	20.0	25.9	100.0
Total	27	77.1	100.0	
No Answer	8	22.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, mostly	28	80.0	82.4	82.4
Yes, sometimes	5	14.3	14.7	97.1
Rarely	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Political Advisors (from the government)				
Not this actor	24	68.6	72.7	72.7
This actor	9	25.7	27.3	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		
Political Parties				
Not this actor	17	48.6	50.0	50.0
This actor	17	48.6	50.0	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Academic Specialists				
Not this actor	7	20.0	20.6	20.6
This actor	27	77.1	79.4	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		
NGO specialists (employed by NGOs)				
Not this actor	17	48.6	51.5	51.5
This actor	16	45.7	48.5	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		
Others				
Not this actor	13	37.1	100.0	100.0
This actor	13	37.1	100.0	
Total	26	74.2		
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Always	6	17.1	18.8	18.8
Often	14	40.0	43.8	62.5
Sometimes	8	22.9	25.0	87.5
Rarely	4	11.4	12.5	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Significant improvement	8	22.9	24.2	24.2
Some Improvement	9	25.7	27.3	51.5
No change	4	11.4	12.1	63.6
Declined	12	34.3	36.4	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

6. If declined, what are the main reasons?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
They are not qualified to handle new tasks				
Not mentioned	13	37.1	100.0	100.0
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		
They have second jobs for economic reasons				
Not mentioned	11	31.4	84.6	84.6
Mentioned	2	5.7	15.4	100.0
Total	13	37.1	100.0	
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		
The best have left for jobs in the private sector				
Not mentioned	5	14.3	38.5	38.5
Mentioned	8	22.9	61.5	100.0
Total	13	37.1	100.0	
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		
The best have left for jobs in international organizations or are working abroad				
Not mentioned	9	25.7	69.2	69.2
Mentioned	4	11.4	30.8	100.0
Total	13	37.1	100.0	
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		
They are not motivated to perform a good job				
Not mentioned	13	37.1	100.0	100.0
Total	13	37.1	100.0	
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		
Other				
Not mentioned	7	20.0	53.8	53.8
Other	6	17.1	46.2	100.0
Total	13	37.1	100.0	
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	27	77.1	81.8	81.8
No	6	17.1	18.2	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	20	57.1	58.8	58.8
No	3	8.6	8.8	67.6
Do not know	11	31.4	32.4	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
More than two-thirds	1	2.9	3.0	3.0
About half	2	5.7	6.1	9.1
Less than a third	25	71.4	75.8	84.8
None	2	5.7	6.1	90.9
Do not know	3	8.6	9.1	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Most	2	5.7	6.5	6.5
About half	2	5.7	6.5	12.9
Less than half	19	54.3	61.3	74.2
None	5	14.3	16.1	90.3
Do not know	3	8.6	9.7	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

10a. Besides replacements of civil servants due to political considerations and changes in government are replacements considerable in your ministry?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	10	28.6	28.6	28.6
No	25	71.4	71.4	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Disagree	8	22.9	22.9	22.9
Strongly disagree	23	65.7	65.7	88.6
Of no significance	4	11.4	11.4	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	11	31.4	34.4	34.4
No	21	60.0	65.6	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

12. Civil servants should advise:

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
On technical matters?				
Agree	33	94.3	94.3	94.3
Disagree	2	5.7	5.7	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	
On political strategy?				
Agree	8	22.9	24.2	24.2
Disagree	25	71.4	75.8	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

13. In your opinion, is it better when ministers themselves can appoint their civil servants?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	5	14.3	15.2	15.2
Agree	19	54.3	57.6	72.7
Disagree	4	11.4	12.1	84.8
Strongly disagree	5	14.3	15.2	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

14. In your opinion should civil servants in one ministry be permitted to provide information to other ministries without prior permission?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	6	17.1	18.8	18.8
Agree	12	34.3	37.5	56.3
Disagree	8	22.9	25.0	81.3
Strongly disagree	6	17.1	18.8	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	28	80.0	82.4	82.4
No	6	17.1	17.6	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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.)

1. Before regime change

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Grey Cardinals	1	2.9	2.9	2.9
Communist Party	8	22.9	23.5	26.5
Kádár János (1st secr, later pres. of Communist party)	6	17.1	17.6	44.1
Government	1	2.9	2.9	47.1
Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSzMP)	5	14.3	14.7	61.8
The Executive Controlled by Moscow	1	2.9	2.9	64.7
MSzMP KB	3	8.6	8.8	73.5
János Fekete	1	2.9	2.9	76.5
Related secretary of Central Committee	1	2.9	2.9	79.4
Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Worker's Party	3	8.6	8.8	88.2
Central party organization	1	2.9	2.9	91.2
First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party	3	8.6	8.8	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

2. Before regime change

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Grey Cardinals	1	2.9	3.4	3.4
State Administration	1	2.9	3.4	6.9
Fehér Lajos (Prime Minister's first deputy until 1974)	1	2.9	3.4	10.3
Professional lobbies	1	2.9	3.4	13.8
The Soviet Union	1	2.9	3.4	17.2
Government	2	5.7	6.9	24.1
Trade Unions	2	5.7	6.9	31.0
Miklos Nemeth	2	5.7	6.9	37.9
Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSzMP)	1	2.9	3.4	41.4
Opposition Round Table	1	2.9	3.4	44.8
Cabinet	1	2.9	3.4	48.3
Prime Minister	2	5.7	6.9	55.2
Party Centre	1	2.9	3.4	58.6
Hungarian Democratic Forum	1	2.9	3.4	62.1
MSzMP KB	2	5.7	6.9	69.0
Miklòs Nèmeth	1	2.9	3.4	72.4
National Council of Agricultural Co-operatives	1	2.9	3.4	75.9
Related secretary of Central Committee	1	2.9	3.4	79.3
Related Deputy Prime Minister	1	2.9	3.4	82.8
Economic Aspects	1	2.9	3.4	86.2
Ministry of the Interior	1	2.9	3.4	89.7
First Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party	1	2.9	3.4	93.1
National Council of Trade Unions SZOT	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
Politbureau MSzMP	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
Total	29	82.9	100.0	
No Answer	6	17.1		
Total	35	100.0		

3. Before regime change

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Grey Cardinals	1	2.9	4.0	4.0
Communist Party	2	5.7	8.0	12.0
Kádár János (1st secr, later pres. of Communist party)	1	2.9	4.0	16.0
Co-ministries	1	2.9	4.0	20.0
Parliament	1	2.9	4.0	24.0
The Soviet Union	1	2.9	4.0	28.0
Trade Unions	1	2.9	4.0	32.0

continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Károly Grósz	1	2.9	4.0	36.0
The Churches	1	2.9	4.0	40.0
Prime Minister	1	2.9	4.0	44.0
Economic Policy Committee	1	2.9	4.0	48.0
Important International Players	1	2.9	4.0	52.0
Alliance of Free Democrats	1	2.9	4.0	56.0
MSzMP KB	1	2.9	4.0	60.0
József Marjai	1	2.9	4.0	64.0
Head of Political Committee	1	2.9	4.0	68.0
Imre Pozsgai	2	5.7	8.0	76.0
Chamber	1	2.9	4.0	80.0
Committees of the party at the regional level	1	2.9	4.0	84.0
Actual trusted men of János Kadar	1	2.9	4.0	88.0
Democratic Opposition	1	2.9	4.0	92.0
MSZMP KB PB (Pol Comm of Hung Socialist Labor Party)	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
MSzMP Propaganda Office	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
Total	25	71.4	100.0	
No Answer	10	28.6		
Total	35	100.0		

After regime change

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Political Parties	5	14.3	14.7	14.7
Professional lobbies	1	2.9	2.9	17.6
Antall József (first PM after the regime change)	4	11.4	11.8	29.4
Government	3	8.6	8.8	38.2
Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSzMP)	1	2.9	2.9	41.2
Legislation	1	2.9	2.9	44.1
Executive	1	2.9	2.9	47.1
Cabinet	1	2.9	2.9	50.0
Prime Minister	12	34.3	35.3	85.3
Strongest governing party	1	2.9	2.9	88.2
Coalition Partners	1	2.9	2.9	91.2
Hungarian Democratic Forum	1	2.9	2.9	94.1
Inner Cabinet	1	2.9	2.9	97.1
Péter Tölgyessy	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

2. After regime change

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
State Administration	1	2.9	3.2	3.2
Political Parties	1	2.9	3.2	6.5
Antall József (first PM after the regime change)	1	2.9	3.2	9.7
Horn Gyula (third Prime Minister)	3	8.6	9.7	19.4
Parliament	8	22.9	25.8	45.2
Government	1	2.9	3.2	48.4
Trade Unions	1	2.9	3.2	51.6
Viktor Orban	1	2.9	3.2	54.8
The Churches	1	2.9	3.2	58.1
Legislation	1	2.9	3.2	61.3
Executive	1	2.9	3.2	64.5
Prime Minister	1	2.9	3.2	67.7
Coalition Partners	3	8.6	9.7	77.4
Hungarian Democratic Forum	1	2.9	3.2	80.6
PPG	1	2.9	3.2	83.9
Pèter Boross	1	2.9	3.2	87.1
President of the Republic	1	2.9	3.2	90.3
Leader of the leading coalition party	2	5.7	6.5	96.8
Circle of the executive power	1	2.9	3.2	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

3. After regime change

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Grey Cardinals	2	5.7	7.4	7.4
Political Parties	2	5.7	7.4	14.8
Legislature	1	2.9	3.7	18.5
Horn Gyula (third Prime Minister)	1	2.9	3.7	22.2
Torgyán József (pres of FKgP (Party))	1	2.9	3.7	25.9
Parliament	2	5.7	7.4	33.3
Government	1	2.9	3.7	37.0
Viktor Orban	2	5.7	7.4	44.4
The Churches	1	2.9	3.7	48.1
Constitutional Court	1	2.9	3.7	51.9
Executive	1	2.9	3.7	55.6
Media (Papers and television)	1	2.9	3.7	59.3
Strongest governing party	1	2.9	3.7	63.0
Prime Minister's Office	1	2.9	3.7	66.7

continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Multinational Firms	1	2.9	3.7	70.4
Young Democrats	1	2.9	3.7	74.1
Bèla Kàdàv	1	2.9	3.7	77.8
Business Spheres	1	2.9	3.7	81.5
Ministry of the Interior	1	2.9	3.7	85.2
President of the Republic	1	2.9	3.7	88.9
Speaker of the Parliament	1	2.9	3.7	92.6
Parliamentary Lobby	1	2.9	3.7	96.3
Opposition Parties	1	2.9	3.7	100.0
Total	27	77.1	100.0	
No Answer	8	22.9		
Total	35	100.0		

17. Name the three most influential political actors in your field of responsibility as minister during your term (reflect upon current or latest ministerial post)

Most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Prime Minister	9	25.7	31.0	31.0
PPG of MSzP	1	2.9	3.4	34.5
Public Bodies	1	2.9	3.4	37.9
Government	3	8.6	10.3	48.3
Local government	1	2.9	3.4	51.7
The Minister himself	2	5.7	6.9	58.6
Cabinet	2	5.7	6.9	65.5
Office of the Prime Minister	2	5.7	6.9	72.4
PPG	1	2.9	3.4	75.9
Group of Foreign Investors	1	2.9	3.4	79.3
Deputy Secretaries	1	2.9	3.4	82.8
József Antall (Prime Minister)	1	2.9	3.4	86.2
President of the Smallholder's Party	1	2.9	3.4	89.7
Standpoint of the parties	1	2.9	3.4	93.1
Secretary of State	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
SzilveszterVizie (professionals of the field)	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
Total	29	82.9	100.0	
No Answer	6	17.1		
Total	35	100.0		

Second most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Minister Mates	2	5.7	8.0	8.0
Chamber of Agriculture	1	2.9	4.0	12.0
Party factions	1	2.9	4.0	16.0
Government	1	2.9	4.0	20.0
Local government	1	2.9	4.0	24.0
The Ministry itself	1	2.9	4.0	28.0
The Minister himself	1	2.9	4.0	32.0
Minister of Finance	2	5.7	8.0	40.0
Chief of the Cabinet	1	2.9	4.0	44.0
PPG of the largest coalition party	1	2.9	4.0	48.0
Coalition parties	1	2.9	4.0	52.0
Parliament	2	5.7	8.0	60.0
Churches	1	2.9	4.0	64.0
Trade unions	1	2.9	4.0	68.0
PPG	1	2.9	4.0	72.0
Economical Press	1	2.9	4.0	76.0
Deputy Secretaries	1	2.9	4.0	80.0
Police Chiefs	1	2.9	4.0	84.0
Economic Cabinet	1	2.9	4.0	88.0
President of the Party Faction	1	2.9	4.0	92.0
Leader of the leading coalition party	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
Expert Group of the Education Program	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
Total	25	71.4	100.0	
No Answer	10	28.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Third most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
PPG of MSzP	1	2.9	4.3	4.3
MOSz (National Trade Union of Employees)	1	2.9	4.3	8.7
Leader of PPG	1	2.9	4.3	13.0
Self-governments	1	2.9	4.3	17.4
The Ministry itself	2	5.7	8.7	26.1
Minister of Finance	1	2.9	4.3	30.4
Political State Secretary	1	2.9	4.3	34.8
PPG of the largest coalition party	1	2.9	4.3	39.1
Coalition parties	2	5.7	8.7	47.8
Chamber	1	2.9	4.3	52.2
Trade unions	3	8.6	13.0	65.2
PPG	1	2.9	4.3	69.6

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
MPs	1	2.9	4.3	73.9
NGOs	1	2.9	4.3	78.3
President of the Party Faction	1	2.9	4.3	82.6
Vice-president of the Party Faction	1	2.9	4.3	87.0
Parliamentary Lobby	1	2.9	4.3	91.3
The profession	1	2.9	4.3	95.7
Leaders of higher education (Rectors etc)	1	2.9	4.3	100.0
Total	23	65.7	100.0	
No Answer	12	34.3		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Prime Ministry	1	2.9	3.2	3.2
Ministry of Finance	26	74.3	83.9	87.1
Ministry of Justice	1	2.9	3.2	90.3
Ministry of Interior Affairs	3	8.6	9.7	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Generally acceptable	9	25.7	32.1	32.1
Generally not acceptable	19	54.3	67.9	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

Which ministry?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Prime Minister's Office	1	2.9	3.6	3.6
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1	2.9	3.6	7.1
Ministry of Economic Affairs	1	2.9	3.6	10.7
Ministry of Finance	18	51.4	64.3	75.0

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ministry of Transport, Communications and Water	1	2.9	3.6	78.6
Ministry of Justice	1	2.9	3.6	82.1
Ministry of Environmental Protection	2	5.7	7.1	89.3
Ministry of International Economic Cooperation	2	5.7	7.1	96.4
Ministry responsible for the PHARE-program	1	2.9	3.6	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Which party?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Magyar Szocialista Párt (Hungarian Socialist Party) MSzP	9	25.7	37.5	37.5
Független Kisgazda, Földmunkás és Polgári Párt	1	2.9	4.2	41.7
Szabad Demokraták Szövetsége (Alliance of Free Democrats)	2	5.7	8.3	50.0
Magyar Demokrata Fórum (Hungarian Democratic Forum)	9	25.7	37.5	87.5
The largest party and the smaller coalition party	1	2.9	4.2	91.7
Governing Parties	2	5.7	8.3	100.0
Total	24	68.6	100.0	
No Answer	11	31.4		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	22	62.9	66.7	66.7
Disagree	10	28.6	30.3	97.0
Do not know	1	2.9	3.0	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	26	74.3	74.3	74.3
No	9	25.7	25.7	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

Name the three most important international actors.

The most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
European Union	2	5.7	8.0	8.0
IMF	4	11.4	16.0	24.0
US Government	2	5.7	8.0	32.0
World Bank	2	5.7	8.0	40.0
Governments of certain foreign countries	1	2.9	4.0	44.0
Fraunhofer Institute, Germany	1	2.9	4.0	48.0
States via embassies (USA, GBR, FRA)	1	2.9	4.0	52.0
Foreign Multinational Companies	1	2.9	4.0	56.0
Jewish World Congress on Compensation Matters	1	2.9	4.0	60.0
EU Members through their ambassadors	1	2.9	4.0	64.0
Soviet Union	1	2.9	4.0	68.0
Ambassadors	2	5.7	8.0	76.0
Interests of Hungarians from abroad	1	2.9	4.0	80.0
WWF	1	2.9	4.0	84.0
Swedish Ambassador	1	2.9	4.0	88.0
Michael Lake	1	2.9	4.0	92.0
Schengen Memberstates	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
Companies	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
Total	25	71.4	100.0	
No Answer	10	28.6		
Total	35	100.0		

The second most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Amnesty International	1	2.9	4.5	4.5
European Union	3	8.6	13.6	18.2
Germany	2	5.7	9.1	27.3
IMF	1	2.9	4.5	31.8
Neighbouring countries	1	2.9	4.5	36.4
World Bank	3	8.6	13.6	50.0

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Research centre in Nice, France	1	2.9	4.5	54.5
Foreign Multinational Companies	1	2.9	4.5	59.1
Representatives of Hungarian multinational firms	1	2.9	4.5	63.6
International Financial Institutions	1	2.9	4.5	68.2
The Netherlands	1	2.9	4.5	72.7
Mrs Wallström	1	2.9	4.5	77.3
International Agreements	1	2.9	4.5	81.8
EU Commission	1	2.9	4.5	86.4
Supranational Organizations	1	2.9	4.5	90.9
Special UN instruments	1	2.9	4.5	95.5
Medicine Lobby	1	2.9	4.5	100.0
Total	22	62.9	100.0	
No Answer	13	37.1		
Total	35	100.0		

The third most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
EBRD	2	5.7	14.3	14.3
European Union	1	2.9	7.1	21.4
PHARE	1	2.9	7.1	28.6
US Government	1	2.9	7.1	35.7
World Bank	1	2.9	7.1	42.9
Universities in Northern Italy	1	2.9	7.1	50.0
Helsinki Committee	1	2.9	7.1	57.1
Visegrad countries	1	2.9	7.1	64.3
Ambassadors	1	2.9	7.1	71.4
Norway	1	2.9	7.1	78.6
P Tuffo	1	2.9	7.1	85.7
Governing forces of other countries	1	2.9	7.1	92.9
Advisors to Ministries of the Environment ex-socialist ctry	1	2.9	7.1	100.0
Total	14	40.0	100.0	
No Answer	21	60.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

Positive effect

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Always	2	5.7	8.3	8.3
Most cases	11	31.4	45.8	54.2
Rarely	7	20.0	29.2	83.3
Never	4	11.4	16.7	100.0
Total	24	68.6	100.0	
No Answer	11	31.4		
Total	35	100.0		

Negative effect

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Always	2	5.7	10.5	10.5
Most cases	3	8.6	15.8	26.3
Rarely	11	31.4	57.9	84.2
Never	3	8.6	15.8	100.0
Total	19	54.3	100.0	
No Answer	16	45.7		
Total	35	100.0		

No effect

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Always	4	11.4	28.6	28.6
Most cases	4	11.4	28.6	57.1
Rarely	5	14.3	35.7	92.9
Never	1	2.9	7.1	100.0
Total	14	40.0	100.0	
No Answer	21	60.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Often	11	31.4	31.4	31.4
Often, but not concerning really important issues	2	5.7	5.7	37.1
Sometimes	17	48.6	48.6	85.7
Rarely	2	5.7	5.7	91.4
Never	3	8.6	8.6	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Always positive	3	8.6	11.5	11.5
Mostly positive	9	25.7	34.6	46.2
50/50	12	34.3	46.2	92.3
Always negative	2	5.7	7.7	100.0
Total	26	74.3	100.0	
No Answer	9	25.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, most of the time	23	65.7	67.6	67.6
Yes, but only concerning important issues	10	28.6	29.4	97.1
No	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

Lobbying is positive because it provides the information you need to make the right decision

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	18	51.4	60.0	60.0
Disagree	12	34.3	40.0	100.0
Total	30	85.7	100.0	
No Answer	5	14.3		
Total	35	100.0		

Lobbying is negative because the information you receive is biased

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	7	20.0	25.0	25.0
Disagree	21	60.0	75.0	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Lobbying is positive because you get support form the concerned groupings

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	18	51.4	60.0	60.0
Disagree	12	34.3	40.0	100.0
Total	30	85.7	100.0	
No Answer	5	14.3		
Total	35	100.0		

Lobbying is negative because it erodes the impartiality of the ministry

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Agree	3	8.6	10.7	10.7
Disagree	25	71.4	89.3	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, mostly	31	88.6	93.9	93.9
Yes, sometimes	2	5.7	6.1	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

28a. *In which form is/was the concerned interests incorporated or consulted in the process?*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
We have an institutional forum for discussion & cooperation.	25	71.4	89.3	89.3
Institutional forums are formed at an ad hoc basis.	2	5.7	7.1	96.4
Informal forums depending on the character of the case.	1	2.9	3.6	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Decision-making process

29. *Try to rank the most important formal decision-makers affecting decisions in your ministry: For example, your self, the Prime Minister, State Secretaries, Deputy State Secretaries, Formal ministerial advisers, Departmental Directors, Chairmen of parliamentary committees, individual members of parliament.*

The most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Minister himself	17	48.6	54.8	54.8
Prime Minister	10	28.6	32.3	87.1
Minister and his board	1	2.9	3.2	90.3
Government	1	2.9	3.2	93.5
The Apparatus in the Ministry	1	2.9	3.2	96.8
József Antall	1	2.9	3.2	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

The second most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Minister himself	6	17.1	20.7	20.7
Prime Minister	6	17.1	20.7	41.4
State Secretaries	6	17.1	20.7	62.1
Inner Cabinet	1	2.9	3.4	65.5
Administrative State Secretary	4	11.4	13.8	79.3
Ministerial Advisors	1	2.9	3.4	82.8
Prime minister and the government	1	2.9	3.4	86.2
Government	1	2.9	3.4	89.7

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Under-Secretary	1	2.9	3.4	93.1
Managment	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
Minister of Foreign Affairs	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
Total	29	82.9	100.0	
No Answer	6	17.1		
Total	35	100.0		

The third most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Minister himself	3	8.6	10.3	10.3
Prime Minister	2	5.7	6.9	17.2
State Secretaries	2	5.7	6.9	24.1
Administrative State Secretary	1	2.9	3.4	27.6
Deputy State Secretaries	1	2.9	3.4	31.0
MPs	2	5.7	6.9	37.9
Public administration	1	2.9	3.4	41.4
Departmental Directors	2	5.7	6.9	48.3
Advisors	1	2.9	3.4	51.7
Minister of Finance	3	8.6	10.3	62.1
Under-Secretary	1	2.9	3.4	65.5
Leader of the largest PPG	1	2.9	3.4	69.0
Largest PPG	1	2.9	3.4	72.4
Presidents of Committees of Parliament	1	2.9	3.4	75.9
Managing Directors	1	2.9	3.4	79.3
Political State Secretary	3	8.6	10.3	89.7
Secretary of state in public administration	1	2.9	3.4	93.1
Deputy Prime Minister (Minister of the Interior)	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
Deputy Secretary of State for Finance	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
Total	29	82.9	100.0	
No Answer	6	17.1		
Total	35	100.0		

The fourth most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Prime Minister	1	2.9	4.0	4.0
Chairman of Committee	2	5.7	8.0	12.0
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	4.0	16.0
Administrative State Secretary	1	2.9	4.0	20.0
Deputy State Secretaries	1	2.9	4.0	24.0

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Ministerial Advisors	3	8.6	12.0	36.0
MPs	2	5.7	8.0	44.0
Representatives of interests	1	2.9	4.0	48.0
Departmental Directors	4	11.4	16.0	64.0
Chairman of the Faction	1	2.9	4.0	68.0
Social organizations	1	2.9	4.0	72.0
The Apparatus in the Ministry	1	2.9	4.0	76.0
Deputy Minister	1	2.9	4.0	80.0
Leaders of Managements	1	2.9	4.0	84.0
State Department	1	2.9	4.0	88.0
Secretary of state deputy	1	2.9	4.0	92.0
Party Leaders	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
Deputy Secretary of State for Economical Matters	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
Total	25	71.4	100.0	
No Answer	10	28.6		
Total	35	100.0		

The fifth most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Chairman of Committee	1	2.9	5.9	5.9
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	5.9	11.8
MPs	1	2.9	5.9	17.6
Parliament	1	2.9	5.9	23.5
Departmental Directors	1	2.9	5.9	29.4
Advisors	1	2.9	5.9	35.3
Faction	1	2.9	5.9	41.2
Trade organizations	1	2.9	5.9	47.1
Presidents of Committees of Parliament	1	2.9	5.9	52.9
Secretary	1	2.9	5.9	58.8
Executives	1	2.9	5.9	64.7
Political State Secretary	1	2.9	5.9	70.6
Committee of parliament on Foreign Affairs	1	2.9	5.9	76.5
Leaders of Professional Organizatoms	1	2.9	5.9	82.4
Head of Cabinet	1	2.9	5.9	88.2
Civil Servants	1	2.9	5.9	94.1
Ministerial Commissioner	1	2.9	5.9	100.0
Total	17	48.6	100.0	
No Answer	18	51.4		
Total	35	100.0		

The sixth most important actor

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
MPs	3	8.6	33.3	33.3
Parliament	1	2.9	11.1	44.4
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	11.1	55.6
Departmental Directors	1	2.9	11.1	66.7
Head of National Environmental Committee	1	2.9	11.1	77.8
Under-Secretary	1	2.9	11.1	88.9
Co-ministries	1	2.9	11.1	100.0
Total	9	25.7	100.0	
No Answer	26	74.3		
Total	35	100.0		

30. Try to rank the following fora with regard to decision-making of relevance for your ministry, the cabinet, internal cabinets, parliamentary committees, courts.

The most important forum

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Prime Minister	2	5.7	6.9	6.9
Cabinet	10	28.6	34.5	41.4
Inner Cabinet	2	5.7	6.9	48.3
Certain trade organizations	1	2.9	3.4	51.7
Government	12	34.3	41.4	93.1
Government meetings	1	2.9	3.4	96.6
Prime Minister's Office	1	2.9	3.4	100.0
Total	29	82.9	100.0	
No Answer	6	17.1		
Total	35	100.0		

The second most important forum

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Cabinet	8	22.9	29.6	29.6
Inner Cabinet	5	14.3	18.5	48.1
Parliament	1	2.9	3.7	51.9
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	3.7	55.6
Government	4	11.4	14.8	70.4
Economic Cabinet	1	2.9	3.7	74.1
National Environmental Committee	1	2.9	3.7	77.8
Largest PPG	1	2.9	3.7	81.5
Economic Committee	1	2.9	3.7	85.2
Meetings of Ministers	2	5.7	7.4	92.6

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Governmental Cabinets	1	2.9	3.7	96.3
Professional Committee inside the faction	1	2.9	3.7	100.0
Total	27	77.1	100.0	
No Answer	8	22.9		
Total	35	100.0		

The third most important forum

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The Minister himself	1	2.9	4.3	4.3
Parliamentary Committees	8	22.9	34.8	39.1
Committee of Agriculture	1	2.9	4.3	43.5
Parliament	1	2.9	4.3	47.8
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	4.3	52.2
Government	1	2.9	4.3	56.5
Faction	2	5.7	8.7	65.2
Conference of Ministers	1	2.9	4.3	69.6
Constitutional Court	1	2.9	4.3	73.9
Supreme Court	1	2.9	4.3	78.3
Faction of FKGP	1	2.9	4.3	82.6
Committee of parliament on Foreign Affairs	1	2.9	4.3	87.0
Political Parties	1	2.9	4.3	91.3
állig egyeztetés	1	2.9	4.3	95.7
Internal meeting on given problems	1	2.9	4.3	100.0
Total	23	65.7	100.0	
No Answer	12	34.3		
Total	35	100.0		

The fourth most important forum

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Cabinet	2	5.7	15.4	15.4
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	7.7	23.1
Committee of European Integration	1	2.9	7.7	30.8
Parliamentary Committees	1	2.9	7.7	38.5
National Environmental Committee	1	2.9	7.7	46.2
Constitutional Court	1	2.9	7.7	53.8
Courts	1	2.9	7.7	61.5
High Prosecution	1	2.9	7.7	69.2
Deputy Minister	1	2.9	7.7	76.9
Local Governments	1	2.9	7.7	84.6

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Reconciliation Forum of the Administrative State Secretaries	1	2.9	7.7	92.3
Consultations with professionals	1	2.9	7.7	100.0
Total	13	37.1	100.0	
No Answer	22	62.9		
Total	35	100.0		

The fifth most important forum

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
National Committee of Civil Organizations	1	2.9	20.0	20.0
Secretary	1	2.9	20.0	40.0
Meeting (permanent or occasional) of advisors	1	2.9	20.0	60.0
Professional Organizations	1	2.9	20.0	80.0
NGOs	1	2.9	20.0	100.0
Total	5	14.3	100.0	
No Answer	30	85.7		
Total	35	100.0		

The sixth most important forum

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Advisors	1	2.9	25.0	25.0
Associations of self- and local governments	1	2.9	25.0	50.0
Under-Secretary	1	2.9	25.0	75.0
Trade unions	1	2.9	25.0	100.0
Total	4	11.4	100.0	
No Answer	31	88.6		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Organizations under the control of the ministry	1	2.9	3.3	3.3
Asking the advisory committees	1	2.9	3.3	6.7
Cabinet of the Ministry	2	5.7	6.7	13.3
Informal in touch with international economic and financial experts	1	2.9	3.3	16.7
In a ministry only a minister can make a formal decision, all other ones are informal	1	2.9	3.3	20.0
Informal advisory board, organized by the ministerial cabinet	1	2.9	3.3	23.3
Informal talks with the Prime Minister and the Minister of Finance	1	2.9	3.3	26.7
Meeting of the board	3	8.6	10.0	36.7
Meeting of the Minister, Meeting of the State Secretary	1	2.9	3.3	40.0
Meeting of the secretaries of state	2	5.7	6.7	46.7
Meetings leaders of ministry	1	2.9	3.3	50.0
Ministerial-meeting	4	11.4	13.3	63.3
Small circle of leaders of the Ministry	1	2.9	3.3	66.7
Tennis Club and Monday-morning-negotiation between the employees	1	2.9	3.3	70.0
The formal was the cabinet, but it did not work by regularity	1	2.9	3.3	73.3
The ministerial cabinet is formal	1	2.9	3.3	76.7
There is no such forum	7	20.0	23.3	100.0
Total	30	85.7	100.0	
No Answer	5	14.3		
Total	35	100.0		

32. In your time as minister, how important was your party (for example party leader meetings, party organizations, party donors) for government decision-making?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Very important	13	37.1	39.4	39.4
Important	9	25.7	27.3	66.7
Of little importance	8	22.9	24.2	90.9
Of no importance	3	8.6	9.1	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

Party leaders

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	1	2.9	4.8	4.8
Important	20	57.1	95.2	100.0
Total	21	60.0	100.0	
No Answer	14	40.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Party organization

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	7	20.0	33.3	33.3
Important	14	40.0	66.7	100.0
Total	21	60.0	100.0	
No Answer	14	40.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Rank and file members

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	11	31.4	52.4	52.4
Important	10	28.6	47.6	100.0
Total	21	60.0	100.0	
No Answer	14	40.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Important	21	60.0	100.0	100.0
Total	21	60.0	100.0	
No Answer	14	40.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Financial donors

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	13	37.1	65.0	65.0
Important	7	20.0	35.0	100.0
Total	20	57.1	100.0	
No Answer	15	42.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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

Membership fees

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	6	17.1	19.4	19.4
Important	25	71.4	80.6	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

Donations by organizations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	20	57.1	64.5	64.5
Important	11	31.4	35.5	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

Donations by private individuals

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	19	54.3	61.3	61.3
Important	12	34.3	38.7	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

Income from business activities

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	22	62.9	71.0	71.0
Important	9	25.7	29.0	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

State support

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	1	2.9	3.2	3.2
State support	30	85.7	96.8	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

Other

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Not important	26	74.3	92.9	92.9
Other	2	5.7	7.1	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	34	97.1	100.0	100.0
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

35. Based on your experience what are the three most important causes that complicate decision-making in your ministry?

Most important causes

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Bad lobbies	1	2.9	3.6	3.6
Conclusion that was not foregone	1	2.9	3.6	7.1
Conflicts between ministries	1	2.9	3.6	10.7
Department harmonization	1	2.9	3.6	14.3
Dispute with other ministers	1	2.9	3.6	17.9
Environmental interests harmonizing with economical interests	1	2.9	3.6	21.4
Filtering information to the media, negative campaign	1	2.9	3.6	25.0
Incompetence of the ministerial apparatus	1	2.9	3.6	28.6
Ineffective decision making hierarchy	1	2.9	3.6	32.1
Information	1	2.9	3.6	35.7
Interest of parties	1	2.9	3.6	39.3
International economic situation	1	2.9	3.6	42.9
József Antall (Prime Minister)	1	2.9	3.6	46.4
Lack of resources	7	20.0	25.0	71.4
Low bage, so boc of export ???	1	2.9	3.6	75.0
Low professional level because of the fluctuation	1	2.9	3.6	78.6
Political resistance outside of the ministry	1	2.9	3.6	82.1
Short term political interests (votes)	1	2.9	3.6	85.7
Slowness of internal administrative reconciliation	1	2.9	3.6	89.3
The effects of the environmental questions	1	2.9	3.6	92.9

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The procedures in the ministry got less effective	1	2.9	3.6	96.4
The psychological state of public servants	1	2.9	25.0	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Second most important causes

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Activity of the opposite side	1	2.9	4.0	4.0
Bad preparatory work before decision making	1	2.9	4.0	8.0
Battle of interest groups	1	2.9	4.0	12.0
Bureaucratic structure	1	2.9	4.0	16.0
Controversial interests inside the government	1	2.9	4.0	20.0
Deficiency of laws	1	2.9	4.0	24.0
Differences of coalition parties	1	2.9	4.0	28.0
In ministries people don't know enough about EU rules	1	2.9	4.0	32.0
Internal procedures were slow	1	2.9	4.0	36.0
Lack of concept in the bureaucracy	1	2.9	4.0	40.0
Lack of information	1	2.9	4.0	44.0
Law	1	2.9	4.0	48.0
Low harmonising ability of other ministries because of even lower professional level of those ministries	1	2.9	4.0	52.0
Money	2	5.7	8.0	56.0
Other works	1	2.9	4.0	60.0
Political attitude	1	2.9	4.0	64.0
Quickly changing of law	1	2.9	4.0	68.0
Regional and professional lobbies to represent interests	1	2.9	4.0	72.0
Resistance of trade unions	1	2.9	4.0	76.0
Respecting personal rights	1	2.9	4.0	84.0
The ministerial apparatus is afraid of making decisions	1	2.9	4.0	88.0
The needs of the society are not articulated	1	2.9	4.0	92.0
Too low salaries in the public segment	1	2.9	4.0	96.0
Trade organisations	1	2.9	4.0	100.0
Total	25	71.4	100.0	
No Answer	10	28.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Third most important causes

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Contradictions in the governing structure	1	2.9	6.7	6.7
Difficult access to certain documents, materials	1	2.9	6.7	13.3
Dilettantism of political actors	1	2.9	6.7	20.0
Division of professional organizations	1	2.9	6.7	26.7
Effect of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (party leaders)	1	2.9	6.7	33.3
Exaggerated expectations	1	2.9	6.7	40.0
Low environmental awareness of the society	1	2.9	6.7	46.7
Low level of information	1	2.9	6.7	53.3
Moral problems	1	2.9	6.7	60.0
Pressure groups	1	2.9	6.7	66.7
The form of legal procedures changes quickly	1	2.9	6.7	73.3
The interests of other ministries	1	2.9	6.7	80.0
The lobby of representatives	1	2.9	6.7	86.7
The other party of the coalition	1	2.9	6.7	93.3
The willingness to come to consensus	1	2.9	6.7	100.0
Total	15	42.9	100.0	
No Answer	20	57.1		
Total	35	100.0		

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?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
To solve the problems by administrative measures, regardless current legislation	1	2.9	2.9	2.9
To solve the problem by administrative measures, and initiate revision of the relevant legislation	18	51.4	52.9	55.9
To initiate a change of legislation before addressing the problem	15	42.9	44.1	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

Implementation

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	22	62.9	66.7	66.7
No	11	31.4	33.3	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

38. Some people claim that there are many obstacles to have a policy implemented effectively and efficiently. I am now going to read out some of these obstacles. Please specify whether you have experienced these in your ministry:

Inadequate resources (Time and Finances)

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	29	82.9	90.6	90.6
Not experienced	3	8.6	9.4	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Lack of understanding of and agreement on objectives by the involved officials, interests, clients etc.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	9	25.7	28.1	28.1
Not experienced	23	65.7	71.9	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	11	31.4	34.4	34.4
Not experienced	21	60.0	65.6	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Lack of co-ordination and information

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	18	51.4	56.3	56.3
Not experienced	14	40.0	43.8	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Lack of monitoring and evaluation activity

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	16	45.7	50.0	50.0
Not experienced	16	45.7	50.0	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Tasks were insufficiently specified

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	5	14.3	15.6	15.6
Not experienced	27	77.1	84.4	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Interference in the program from outside

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	13	37.1	40.6	40.6
Not experienced	19	54.3	59.4	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

Insufficient staff motivation

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Experienced	16	45.7	50.0	50.0
Not experienced	16	45.7	50.0	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

39. In the cases where the implementation of a policy-program faced difficulties, did you take personal political responsibility?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	34	97.1	97.1	97.1
No	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

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

To ensure compliance in the process of implementation, it is better when private business organizations or other concerned interests participate as undertakers in the process.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	3	8.6	9.4	9.4
Agree	13	37.1	40.6	50.0
Disagree	6	17.1	18.8	68.8
Strongly disagree	7	20.0	21.9	90.6
Do not know	3	8.6	9.4	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

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:

Individuals

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	2	5.7	5.9	5.9
Agree	17	48.6	50.0	55.9
Disagree	10	28.6	29.4	85.3
Strongly disagree	4	11.4	11.8	97.1
Do not know	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

Interest organizations

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	2	5.7	5.9	5.9
Agree	16	45.7	47.1	52.9
Disagree	11	31.4	32.4	85.3
Strongly disagree	3	8.6	8.8	94.1
Do not know	2	5.7	5.9	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

Business actors

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	1	2.9	3.0	3.0
Agree	18	51.4	54.5	57.6
Disagree	10	28.6	30.3	87.9
Strongly disagree	3	8.6	9.1	97.0
Do not know	1	2.9	3.0	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Strongly agree	8	22.9	22.9	22.9
Agree	12	34.3	34.3	57.1
Disagree	10	28.6	28.6	85.7
Strongly disagree	2	5.7	5.7	91.4
Difficult to say	3	8.6	8.6	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

Questions about state – society relations

We are now going to ask you a number of questions about state-society relations. We would like you to keep in mind that this survey is comparative and applied in a number of countries. Therefore some question may seem less relevant in the Hungarian context, but this is exactly the purpose of comparative surveys – to demonstrate the uniqueness of the individual countries and where some countries or a group of countries share certain characteristics.

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Much more state involvement and/or social provisions	2	5.7	5.9	5.9
Some more state involvement and/or social provisions	10	28.6	29.4	35.3
Current balance	6	17.1	17.6	52.9
More individual initiative	13	37.1	38.2	91.2
Much more individual initiative	2	5.7	5.9	97.1
Do not know	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

44. What role should the public primarily play in politics and government?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
The public should elect representatives and let them run the country	7	20.0	21.2	21.2
The public should take interest in politics and communicate their views	2	5.7	6.1	27.3
The public should become engaged in organisation to gain influence	24	68.6	72.7	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Often	2	5.7	5.7	5.7
Sometimes	1	2.9	2.9	8.6
A few times	9	25.7	25.7	34.3
Never	23	65.7	65.7	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	22	62.9	64.7	64.7
No	12	34.3	35.3	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Often	2	5.7	5.9	5.9
Sometimes	7	20.0	20.6	26.5
A few times	11	31.4	32.4	58.8
Never	14	40.0	41.2	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

If yes, please specify which type of threat:

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Political sanctions	3	8.6	20.0	20.0
Other	12	34.3	80.0	100.0
Total	15	42.9	100.0	
No Answer	20	57.1		
Total	35	100.0		

47. *If such pressure was applied in any ministry, did it, in your opinion, affect decisions or implementation?*

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	5	14.3	18.5	18.5
No	10	28.6	37.0	55.6
Do not know	12	34.3	44.4	100.0
Total	27	77.1	100.0	
No Answer	8	22.9		
Total	35	100.0		

48. Do you agree that misuse of status positions is common in Hungarian politics?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	7	20.0	25.9	25.9
No	10	28.6	37.0	63.0
Don't know	10	28.6	37.0	100.0
Total	27	77.1	100.0	
No Answer	8	22.9		
Total	35	100.0		

49. At which level of government do you think that the phenomenon of misuse is most common?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Top level				
Common	7	20.0	25.0	25.0
Not common	21	60.0	75.0	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		
State secretaries and their deputies				
Common	9	25.7	32.1	32.1
Not common	19	54.3	67.9	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		
Medium level (departmental directors)				
Common	16	45.7	57.1	57.1
Not common	12	34.3	42.9	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		
Lower level officials				
Common	7	20.0	25.0	25.0
Not common	21	60.0	75.0	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Parliament				
Common	2	5.7	7.1	7.1
Not common	26	74.3	92.9	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		
Do not know				
Do not know	5	14.3	100.0	100.0
Total	5	14.3	100.0	
No Answer	30	85.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, in my own ministry	9	25.7	28.1	28.1
Yes, in other ministries	4	11.4	12.5	40.6
No, but I assume so	6	17.1	18.8	59.4
No, not at all	13	37.1	40.6	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

51. In your opinion, are current laws sufficient for combating corruption?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	10	28.6	31.3	31.3
No	22	62.9	68.8	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

52. In your opinion, what are the main cause(s) of corruption in the state administration?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Salaries are too low				
Not important	10	28.6	29.4	29.4
Important	24	68.6	70.6	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Low moral quality of the civil servants				
Not important	12	34.3	35.3	35.3
Important	22	62.9	64.7	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		
Legacy of the Soviet system (Nomenclatura)				
Not important	18	51.4	52.9	52.9
Important	16	45.7	47.1	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		
Illegal organizations				
Not important	25	71.4	73.5	73.5
Important	9	25.7	26.59	100.0
Total	34	97.1	100.0	
No Answer	1	2.9		
Total	35	100.0		
Other				
Not important	24	68.6	72.7	72.7
Important	9	25.7	27.3	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

Now

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portugal	7	20.0	25.0	25.0
France	1	2.9	3.6	28.6
Slovakia	2	5.7	7.1	35.7
Slovenia	4	11.4	14.3	50.0
Poland	2	5.7	7.1	57.1
Italy	2	5.7	7.1	64.3
Austria	1	2.9	3.6	67.9
Ireland	1	2.9	3.6	71.4
Czech Republic	2	5.7	7.1	78.6
Romania	1	2.9	3.6	82.1
Spain	1	2.9	3.6	85.7
Central European Country	3	8.6	10.7	96.4

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Greece	1	2.9	3.6	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

In 10 years

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Portugal	4	11.4	14.3	14.3
France	1	2.9	3.6	17.9
The Netherlands	2	5.7	7.1	25.0
Slovenia	1	2.9	3.6	28.6
The average country of the EU	1	2.9	3.6	32.1
Austria	8	22.9	28.6	60.7
Ireland	2	5.7	7.1	67.9
Finland	1	2.9	3.6	71.4
Scandinavian Countries	1	2.9	3.6	75.0
Belgium	2	5.7	7.1	82.1
Spain	1	2.9	3.6	85.7
Central European Country	2	5.7	7.1	92.9
Denmark	2	5.7	7.1	100.0
Total	28	80.0	100.0	
No Answer	7	20.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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)?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	17	48.6	77.3	77.3
No	5	14.3	22.7	100.0
Total	22	62.9	100.0	
No Answer	13	37.1		
Total	35	100.0		

55. Were/are you a party member while being minister?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	18	51.4	78.3	78.3
No	5	14.3	21.7	100.0
Total	23	65.7	100.0	
No Answer	12	34.3		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Charge d'Affaires	1	2.9	4.5	4.5
Deputy Secretary-general	1	2.9	4.5	9.1
County representative to the party	1	2.9	4.5	13.6
Manager	1	2.9	4.5	18.2
Member	1	2.9	4.5	22.7
Chairman of Committee,	1	2.9	4.5	27.3
Member of party leadership	1	2.9	4.5	31.8
Member of presidency	2	5.7	9.1	40.9
Member of the Executive Board	2	5.7	9.1	50.0
Member of the governing body of the party	1	2.9	4.5	54.5
Member of the National Presidency	2	5.7	9.1	63.6
No position in the party	3	8.6	13.6	77.3
One of the Deputy Presidents	1	2.9	4.5	81.8
Political state-secretary of justice	1	2.9	4.5	86.4
President of MSZP	1	2.9	4.5	90.9
Vice-president	2	5.7	9.1	100.0
Total	22	62.9	100.0	
No Answer	13	37.1		
Total	35	100.0		

57. What was your occupation during communism?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Head of the Tax Reform Secretariat and head of the Budget Reform Committee Secretariat	1	2.9	3.2	3.2
Agricultural Engineer	1	2.9	3.2	6.5
Assistant professor	1	2.9	3.2	9.7
Businessman	2	5.7	6.5	16.1
Catering controller	1	2.9	3.2	19.4
Chairman of the Local Association of Engineers and Construction Mechanics	1	2.9	3.2	22.6

Continues

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Civil servant	1	2.9	3.2	25.8
Deputy "manager" of county council, deputy major, college teacher	1	2.9	3.2	29.0
Director of a cooperative farm	1	2.9	3.2	32.3
Doctor	3	8.6	9.7	41.9
Economic Director, 'Épgépterv' company	1	2.9	3.2	45.2
Electrical engineer, state secretary	1	2.9	3.2	48.4
Economic director.	1	2.9	3.2	51.6
Lawyer	1	2.9	3.2	54.8
Leader of a country council & president of a bank	1	2.9	3.2	58.1
Minister, vice-minister, economist	1	2.9	3.2	61.3
Owner of a k/t / businessman	1	2.9	3.2	64.5
Police officer.	1	2.9	3.2	67.7
Professor	1	2.9	3.2	71.0
Professor at University	1	2.9	3.2	74.2
Public prosecutor	1	2.9	3.2	77.4
Researcher, Sociologist, Institute for Financial Research	1	2.9	3.2	80.6
Researcher	1	2.9	3.2	83.9
Teacher at the university	1	2.9	3.2	87.1
University lecturer	1	2.9	3.2	90.3
University professor, docent	1	2.9	3.2	93.5
Urbanist.	1	2.9	3.2	96.8
Veterinary	1	2.9	3.2	100.0
Total	31	88.6	100.0	
No Answer	4	11.4		
Total	35	100.0		

58. What is your education?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
College or other higher education	2	5.7	6.3	6.3
University degree	22	62.9	68.8	75.0
Scientific Title	8	22.9	25.0	100.0
Total	32	91.4	100.0	
No Answer	3	8.6		
Total	35	100.0		

59. In which field were you educated?

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Economics	9	25.7	42.9	42.9
Natural Sciences	3	8.6	14.3	57.1
Social Sciences (incl Humanities, Arts and Law)	9	25.7	42.9	100.0
Total	21	60.0	100.0	
No Answer	14	40.0		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes	9	25.7	27.3	27.3
No	24	68.6	72.7	100.0
Total	33	94.3	100.0	
No Answer	2	5.7		
Total	35	100.0		

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

Before

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Hungary	32	91.4	91.4	91.4
Other communist country	1	2.9	2.9	94.3
Western Europe	1	2.9	2.9	97.1
USA	1	2.9	2.9	100.0
Total	35	100.0	100.0	

After

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Hungary	5	14.3	83.3	83.3
USA	1	2.9	16.7	100.0
Total	6	17.1	100.0	
No Answer	29	82.9		
Total	35	100.0		

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

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Yes, the Communist Party	11	31.4	36.7	36.7
Yes, the Young Communist League	2	5.7	6.7	43.3
Yes, other party/movement	7	20.0	23.3	66.7
Non-member	10	28.6	33.3	100.0
Total	30	85.7	100.0	
No Answer	5	14.3		
Total	35	100.0		