

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"/> |
| (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 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) More general and open statements/frameworks than precise formulation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) More precise formulations than general open statements/frameworks | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Mostly precise formulations on individual rights and obligations | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Please comment on these options, especially in relation to the international context (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) Parliamentary Party group
- 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 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Some Improvement | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) No change | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Declined | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. If declined, what are the main reasons?

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

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 : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) No : | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If the answer is no, then why?

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

- | | |
|---------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Yes : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) No : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Do not know : | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) About half | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Less than a third | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) None | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Do not know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) About half | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Less than half | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) None | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Do not Know | <input type="checkbox"/> |

What are the main reasons for replacements:

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

- | | | |
|-------------|---|--------------------------|
| (1) Yes | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) No | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| Do not know | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |

If yes, what are the main reasons.

11. Do you agree that it is better if 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 to you as minister more important for the higher level civil than for lower ranked servants?

(1) Yes	:	<input type="checkbox"/>
(2) No	:	<input type="checkbox"/>
Do not know	:	<input type="checkbox"/>

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	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2) Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>
On political strategy?	(1) Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	(2) Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>

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

(Interviewer: 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 permitted to provide information to other ministries without prior permission?

(Interviewer: 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 Estonia 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 in your field of responsibility as minister during your term (reflect upon 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/tries 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 your business, could it be that a third party outside the realm of politics has interfered in the decision-making?

(1) Agree : _____ If you agree, give an example of who this third party may be:

(2) Disagree :

(3) Do not know :

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 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Often, but not concerning really important issues | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Sometimes | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Rarely | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Never | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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 | (4) 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?

By working relationship we refer to cases in which organizations are invited to comment on policy proposals or when they assist by contributing with information on the specific policy area.

- | | | |
|---|---|--------------------------|
| (1) Yes, most of the time | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Yes, but only concerning important issues | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) No | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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
- (2) Yes, sometimes
- (3) No, only rarely
- (4) No, worse

Comments:

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

- (1) We have an Institutional forum for discussion and corporation.
- (2) Institutional forums are formed at an ad hoc basis.
- (3) There can be informal forums depending on the character of the case.

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 list contains only suggestions. The respondent should be encouraged to reflect upon his/her own experience.

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____
- (4) _____
- (5) _____
- (6) _____

30. Try to rank the following fora with regard to decision-making of relevance for 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. In your time as minister, 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

33. 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)

(1) Party leaders

(2) Party organization

(3) Rank and file members

(4) PPG

(5) Financial donors

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

(Mark and rank answers)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Membership fees | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Donations by organization | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Donations by private individuals | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Income from business activities | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) State support | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (6) Other | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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

- | | | |
|---------|---|--------------------------|
| (1) Yes | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) No | : | <input type="checkbox"/> |

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

- (1) _____
- (2) _____
- (3) _____

37. If solutions to problems are hindered or 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) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) To solve the problem by administrative measures, and at the same time initiate revision of the relevant legislation | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) To initiate a change of legislation before addressing the problem | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Other. Please comment: | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Implementation

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

(1) Yes :

(2) No :

Please evaluate whether you were often in a situation in which you had to control the work of your ministerial staff so as to ensure that decisions were implemented in accordance with the political intentions.

(open answer; please give examples)

39. 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:

(1) Inadequate resources (Time and Finances)

(2) Lack of understanding of and agreement on objectives by the involved 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

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

(1) Yes

(2) No

41. 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.

This question should be interpreted both as direct sub-contracting and on a more general level, when the 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 agree, please provide examples:

If you disagree, please explain why:

42. 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 agree (for each of the categories), please provide some examples:

43. 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 in a very strict manner, meaning that we ask the respondent to evaluate only whether the bureaucracy was more efficient in a non-democratic context, regardless of the effect on society.

(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. 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.

44. 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"/>

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

(Only one mark)

- (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.

46. 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

46a. During you time as minister, have you heard of such attempts in other ministries?

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

47. 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

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

(Open answer)

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

Questionnaire to the survey of the State of the State in Estonia

(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"/>

50. 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

51. In your time as minister did you obtain any 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: _____

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

(Open answer)

53. 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 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (2) Low moral quality of civil servants | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (3) Legacy of the soviet system
(nomenclature networking) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (4) Illegal organizations (Mafia) | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| (5) Other: please comment. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

54. Which other country in the world do you think Estonia resembles most?

Now: _____ In 10 years: _____

Background Questions: To be filled by the interviewer???

55. Have you ever been elected to a political post (parliament member, local government), please specify.

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

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

58. What was your occupation during communism?

59. What is your education?

Questionnaire to the survey of the State of the State in Estonia

- (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

60. In which field were you educated?

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

Yes:

No:

If yes, then which type?

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

- | Before | | After | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Estonia | <input type="checkbox"/> | (1) Estonia | <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"/> |
- _____

Questionnaire to the survey of the State of the State in Estonia

63. Were you member of a party before regime change?

- (1) Yes, the Communist Party
- (2) Yes, the Young Communist League
- (3) Yes, other party/movement
Which one _____
- (4) Non-member

64. Age (presently)

65. Age (when first appointed minister)

66. Sex: ___ Male ___ Female

67. Ethnicity _____

Interviewers remarks

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

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

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

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

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

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