Q.30. On the whole are you very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied or not at all satisfied with the life you lead.

1. very satisfied
2. fairly satisfied
3. not very satisfied
4. not at all satisfied
5. don't know

Q.31. In general would you say that people should obey the law without exception, or are there exceptional on which people should follow their consciences even if it means breaking the law?

Obey the law without exception 1
Follow conscience on occasion 2
Can’t choose 8
Q.32. There are many ways people or organizations can protest against a government action they strongly oppose. Please show which you think should be allowed and which should not be allowed by circling a number after each question.

1. Definitely allowed
2. Probably allowed
3. Probably not allowed
4. Definitely not allowed
8. Can't choose

A. Organizing public meetings to protest against the government

B. Publish pamphlets to protest against the government

C. Organizing protest marches and demonstrations

D. Occupying a government office and stopping work there for several days

E. Seriously damaging government buildings

F. Organizing a nationwide strike of all workers against the government
Q.33. There are some people whose views are considered extreme by the majority. First, consider people who want to overthrow the government by revolution.

1. Definitely allowed
2. Probably allowed
3. Probably not allowed
4. Definitely not allowed
5. Can't choose

Please circle a number after each question to show if (Do) you think such people should be allowed to...

A. Holding public meeting to express their views
B. Publish books expressing their views

Q.34. Second consider people who believe that whites are racially superior to all other races.

1. Definitely allowed
2. Probably allowed
3. Probably not allowed
4. Definitely not allowed
5. Can't choose

Please circle a number after each question to show if (Do) you think such people should be allowed to...

A. Holding public meeting to express their views
B. Publish books expressing their views
Q.35. Suppose the police get an anonymous tip that a man with a long criminal record is planning to break into a warehouse.

1. Definitely allowed  
2. Probably allowed  
3. Probably not allowed  
4. Definitely not allowed  
5. Can't choose

Please circle a number for each question to show if (Do) you think police should be allowed without a court order to . . .

A. Keep the man under surveillance

B. Tap his telephone

C. Open his mail

D. Detain the man overnight

for questioning

Q. 36. All system of justice make mistakes, but which do you think is worse?

To convict an innocent person  

or

To let a guilty person go free

Can't choose
Q.37. What are your personal feelings about...

A. People who organize protests against a government action they strongly oppose.

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B. People who want to overthrow the government by revolution

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C. People who believe whites are racially superior to all other race.

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Q.38. Some people think those with high incomes should pay a larger proportion (percentages) of their earnings in taxes than those who earn low incomes. Other peoples think that those with high incomes and those with low incomes should pay the same proportion (percentage) of their earnings in taxes.

Do you think those with high incomes should

Pay a much larger proportion 1
Pay a larger proportion 2
Pay the same proportions as those who earn low incomes 3
Pay a smaller proportion 4
Pay a much smaller proportion 5
Can’t choose 8

Q.39. Here are some things the government might do for economy. Circle one number for each action to show whether you are in favour of it or against it.

1. Strongly favour of
2. In favour of
3. Neither in favour of nor against
4. Against
5. Strongly disagree

A. Control wages by legislation (law) 1 2 3 4 5
B. Control of prices by legislation (law) 1 2 3 4 5
C. Cuts in government spending 1 2 3 4 5
D. Government financing of projects to create new jobs 1 2 3 4 5
E. Less government regulation of business 1 2 3 4 5
F. Supports for industry to develop new products and technology 1 2 3 4 5
G. Supporting (support for) declining industries to protect jobs 1 2 3 4 5
H. Reducing the work week to create more jobs 1 2 3 4 5

Q. 40. Listed below are various areas of government spending. Please indicate whether you would like to see more or less government spending in each area. Remember that if you say "much more", it might require a tax increase to pay for it.

1. Spend much more
2. Spend more
3. Spend the same as now
4. Spend less
5. Spend much less
6. Can't choose

A. The environment 1 2 3 4 5 8
B. Health 1 2 3 4 5 8
C. The police and law enforcement 1 2 3 4 5 8
D. Education 1 2 3 4 5 8
E. The military and defense 1 2 3 4 5 8
F. Retirement benefits (Old-age pensions) 1 2 3 4 5 8
G. Unemployment benefits 1 2 3 4 5 8
H. Culture and arts 1 2 3 4 5 8

Q. 41. If the government had to choose between keeping down inflation and lowering unemployment to which do you think it should give highest priority.

Keeping down inflation 1
Keeping down unemployment 2
Can't choose 8

Q. 42. Do you think that labour (trade) unions in this country have too much little power?

Far too much power 1
Too much power 2
About the right amount power 3
Too little power 4
Far too little power 5
Can't choose 8

How much about business and industry, do they have too much power or too little power?

Far too much power 1
Too much power 2
About the right amount power 3
Too little power 4
Far too little power 5
Can't choose 8

And what about the federal (BLANK) government, does it have too much power or too little power?

Far too much power 1
Too much power 2
About the right amount power 3
Too little power 4
Far too little power 5
Can't choose 8
Q.43. In general, how good would you say labour (trade) unions are for country as a whole?

Excellent 1
Very good 2
Fairly good 3
Not very good 4
Not good at all 5
CAN'T CHOOSE 8

Q.44. On the whole do you think it should or should not to be the government's responsibility to ...

1. Definitely should be
2. Probably should be
3. Probably should not be
4. Definitely should not be
8. Can't choose

A. Provide job for everyone who

wants   1 2 3 4 8

B. Keep prices under control 1 2 3 4 8

C. Provide health care for the sick 1 2 3 4 8

D. Provide a decent standard of living

for the old 1 2 3 4 8

E. Provide industry with the help it

needs to grow 1 2 3 4 8

F. Provide a decent standard of living

for the unemployed 1 2 3 4 8
G. Reduce income differences between the rich and poor

H. Give financial help to college (university) students from low-income families

I. Provide decent housing for those can't afford it

Q.47. Please compare the current and the former government. Would you say that government being formed after the election...

5. Definitely true
4. True
3. no difference
2. Not
1. Definitely not

A. shows greater expertise then the former one

B. is politically better than the former one

C. consists of ethically much more acceptable members than the former one

D. represents in a better way the interests the nation than the former one
Q. 48. Which do you think is better...

1. - If the Parliament would make decision on fundamental questions concerning to all the country after long debate
   OR

2. - The government would act quickly instead of long time debates.

Q. 49. Did you vote on 25th of March

2 - yes
1 - no

Q. 50. Would you tell which party nominated the candidate for whom you voted on 25th of March at the election.

.................

Q. 51. On what base did you decide that which candidate you voted for.

1 - The personality of candidate was attractive.
2 - Rather the party nominating the candidate was attractive.

Q. 52. For what party did you vote on 25th of March at the election.

.................
Q. 53. What is your opinion on the privatisation of state enterprises, state-owned companies? There are many
talks about the misuses concerning to it. What about you it.

1 - The state enterprises have not to be privatized.
2 - The state enterprises have to be privatized, however the misuses need to be controlled even the process of
privatisation would be slower.
3 - The state enterprises have to be privatized as quickly as possible, even there would occur misuses.

Q. 54. Would you agree the privatisation of that company where you are working now.

2 - yes
1 - no

Q. 55. What is your opinion on that foreigner enterprises or private persons would buy Hungarian enterprises
? Do you think whether right is that...

1 - Foreigner must not buy Hungarian enterprises...
2 - It is allowed for foreigner to buy only enterprises being loss maker.
3 - Foreigners may buy any Hungarian enterprises if they give the highest purchase price for them.

Q. 56. What is your opinion about the reprivatization of lands?

1 - The lands have to be given back the peasants from whom they had been taken away.
2 - The members of Agricultural cooperatives would make decision about the lands.
3 - The Agricultural Cooperatives sell the lands for one who would pay the highest purchase price.
4 - The Agricultural Cooperatives continue the possessing of lands.
Q. 57. What sort of social system do you welcome in Hungary?

1 - A real democratic socialism.
2 - Pure capitalist system like the American one.
3 - A market economy system in which the state is caring for the poor, like the Austrian.
4 - A social system which specifically a Hungarian one and differs from any other system.

Q. 59. What do you think the government’s role in each of industries should be.

1. Own it.
2. Control prices and profits but not own it
3. Neither own it nor control its prices and profits
8. Can’t choose

A. Electric power 1 2 3 8
B. The steel industry 1 2 3 8
C. Banking and insurance 1 2 3 8

Q. 60. Here are some statements. Please tell if you agree any of them or not.

A. The trouble with the world today is that most people really don’t believe in anything.
B. People were better off in the old days when everyone knew just how he was expected to act.
C. I often feel that my things our parents stood for are just going to ruin before our eyes.
D. What is lacking in the world today is the old kind of friendship that lasted for lifetime.
E. I often feel awkward and out of place.
F. With everything in a such a state of disorder, it’s hard for a person to know where he stands from one day to the next.
G. Everything changes so quickly these days that I often have trouble deciding which are the right rules to follow.
H. With everything so uncertain so days, it almost seems as though anything could happen.
I. It seems to me that other people find it easier to decide what is right than I do.

Q. 62. How are you interested in politics?

5 - Strongly
4 - Fairly
3 - Not too much
2 - A little bit
1 - Not at all
Q.63. Has ever happened with you that you have managed to convince your friend of something about you having had definite opinion.

- yes
- no

4 - frequently
3 - sometimes
2 - seldom
BACKGROUND VARIABLES

1. Sex
2. Age
3. Educational degree
4. Employment status
5. Working place
6. Occupation
7. Position (in job)
8. Supervised ones
9. Work time a week
10. Planning of daily work
11. Quality of job
12. Last year income before tax
13. Average monthly income
14. Marital status
15. Average monthly income of spouse after taxes
16. Number of household member
17. Average monthly family income
18. Number of children in the household
19. Religious commitment
20. Frequency of church attendance
21. Settlement type
Long labels for variables FOGL, MPRE, CSALAL, HMPRE, ERETT, IPKER and MGAR of the postelection survey:

Variable: FOGL Label: position/occupation (current or last) 1988
The respondents in the TARKI-A survey were asked to report their current or last occupation and position. These answers were then coded by using the FEOR (Standard Classification Scheme of Occupations) scheme which was developed and is permanently updated by the Central Statistical Office. Then they were asked a series of questions to ascertain their precise occupational category. The questions in this series were whether the respondent was a self-employed or an employee; whether his/her job was manual or non-manual, whether he/she had employees or subordinates. Employees were also asked to tell whether they worked in a managerial position or not, non-manuals were asked whether they graduated or not, manual workers were asked whether they were skilled or unskilled workers, and self-employed manual workers and managerial employees were also asked about their branch of industry. On the basis of this information the interviewers had to classify the respondents into 14 categories which were identical to the categories of the FOGL variable:
1 farmer (i.e. self-employed in agriculture)
2 craftsman, shopkeeper (i.e. other self-employed manual workers)
3 self-employed professional (i.e. graduated non-manual)
4 self-employed white-collar (i.e. non-graduate non-manual)
5 foreman (manual employee with supervisory tasks)
6 skilled (manual employee who has no subordinates and has a guild certificate from the kind of work he/she does)
7 semi-skilled worker (manual employee, no supervision, has no guild certificate but performs the work of a skilled or specially trained worker)
8 unskilled worker (unskilled manual employee, labourer)
9 top level managerial position (managerial employee)
10 middle level supervisor (managerial employee)
11 lower supervisor (managerial employee)
12 professional employee (graduate, works as a non-managerial employee in his/her profession)
13 routine non-manual, with maturity (other non-manual employee without subordinates and with a maturity)
14 routine non-manual, no maturity (other non-manual employee without subordinates and with a maturity)

Variable: MPRE Label: occupation: Hungarian prestige score 1988
Variable: HMPRE Label: spouse occupation: Hungarian prestige score 1988
These variables were constructed on the basis of detailed information about the current or last occupation of the respondents and their spouses in 1988. These detailed information were stored in the form of FEOR-codes (see below) in the original Hungarian language data-file. The recoding procedure assigned prestige scores to the occupational categories. The resulting variables MPRE and HPMPRE are measured on the interval level.
The source of the Hungarian prestige scale:
In 1983, the Central Statistical Office carried out a major social mobility study in the framework of which they asked some of their subsamples to rate various occupations according to certain criteria (power, prestige, money, etc.). On the bases of that data, a new prestige scale was developed for all occupational categories which were present in the FEOR classification scheme. The results of this study and the prestige scale were reported by Kulcsár, Rózsa, 1986. Társadalmi mobilitás és presztízs (Social Mobility and Prestige). Budapest: KSH (Central Statistical Office).

Variable: MNELK2 Label: R thinks he/she or sy in family may lose
Question 158 of the TARKI-A questionnaire read: "Do you think that you or some member of your family may become unemployed in the next one or two years?" The responses were coded as 2: yes, 1: no, 0: do not know.
Value labels of MNELK2 variable:
- system missing value: no answer, not applicable
- 0 do not know
Variable: CSALAL Label: marital status 1988
Question 92 of the TARKI-A questionnaire read: "What is your marital status?" The interviewers had to code the answers using the nine categories that were identical to the nine categories of the CSALAL variable:
1 single, lives alone
2 married, but lives alone
3 divorced, lives alone
4 widowed, lives alone
5 single, lives with a steady life partner
6 married, lives with spouse
7 married, but lives with a steady life partner instead of husband/wife
8 divorced, lives with a steady life partner
9 widowed, lives with a steady life partner

ERETT, IPKER, MGAR
These variables contain information about the respondents place of residence. Using the 1980 census it was determined what was 1. the percentage of residents with a completed secondary education in the total adult residential population; 2. the percentage of employees in industry, mining and commerce among all employees; and 3. the percentage of agricultural employees among all employees in the respondents' place of residence:
Labels:
Variable: ERETT Label: comp. secondary educ. in % of adult population
Variable: IPKER Label: works in industry or commerce in % of employees
Variable: MGAR Label: works in agriculture in % of employees

Other problematic variables
Variable: CONAL Label: q.13. How much autonomy in planning daily work
3 mostly autonomous
2 partly autonomous
1 not at all

Variable: CUTIG Label: q.14. How often R asks supervisors for advice
5 several times a day
4 every day
3 several times a week
2 less often
1 never

Variable: CPOFA Label: q.15. Does R has a saying in decisions at work
2 yes
1 no
3 in some respects

Questions 13, 14 and 15 of the TÅRKI-C survey (May 1990) were only asked from gainfully employed respondents (i.e. those who currently had a job). Their phrasing was:
"q.13: Which of the following statements apply best for your work:
3. I plan most of my daily work by myself
2. I plan a part of my daily work by myself
1. It is not me who plans my daily work."
q.14 (NOT ASKED FROM THE SELF-EMPLOYED): How often do you have to ask your supervisors for advice or instructions during your daily work?
- 5. several times a day
- 4. every day
- 3. several times a week
- 2. less often
- 1. never (VOLUNTEERED)

q.15 (NOT ASKED FROM THE SELF-EMPLOYED): At your place of work, do you have a saying on how tasks or extra payments are allocated to the employees?
- 2. yes
- 1. no
- 3. has a saying on certain things but not on others

Variable: CCSALA Label: q.19 marital status
Value labels:
1. married lives alone
2. married lives with spouse
3. single lives alone
4. single lives with partner
5. divorced lives alone
6. divorced lives with partner
7. widowed lives alone
8. widowed lives with partner

Note: for the phrasing of the question about marital status see below.

Income data in the post-election survey: unit of measure and label problems
The income data come from the TARKI-C (May 1990) survey. For the constructed variables INCOME, FAMINC1 and FAMINC2 the unit of measure is 1 Hungarian Forint; for variable CSZJA it is 1000 HUF, and it is 100HUF on CJOV, CHJOG and CCSJOV. At the time of the survey, the official exchange rate was approximately 1DM=48 HUF, and 1DM was 54-58 HUF on the black market. The appropriate 60 character labels were not supplied as (at least certain parts of) the data file were labelled with SPSS-PC 3.0. At any rate, they should look similar like this:

Variable label
CBEVALL 'q.16: which way was income calculated?'/
CSZJA 'q.17: last year gross personal income (1000HUF)'/
CJOV 'q.18: last year average net monthly income (100HUF)'/
CHJOG 'q.20: spouse: average net monthly income in 1989 (100 HUF)'/
CCSJOV 'q.22: monthly net income of others in household (100 HUF)'/
INCOME 'Average net monthly income in 1989 (from q.17-18, in HUF)'/
FAMINC1 'Monthly net family income in 1989 (from q.17-22, in HUF)'/
FAMINC2 'Monthly net family income per capita in 1989 (in HUF)'.

Value labels
CBEVALL
1 'company reported'
2 'R reported'
9 'refused to answer'/
CSZJA
9 'refused'
999 'more than 1 million'/
CJOV
9 'refused'/
CHJOG
Notes to the income data:
Below you can find the phrasing of the original questions (the name and coding the variables are shown after the respective question). Normally, Hungarians think in terms of monthly net income; that is what the majority tends to know more or less precisely. But the original data collectors of the TARKI-C survey assumed that the monthly income of a significant minority (e.g. the self-employed, or employees heavily involved in the second economy) may widely fluctuate over time and therefore they may not be able to tell what was their monthly income in the last year or last month. Since, however, the main reason for this inability must be that they had more than one job, the vast majority of them presumably filled their 1989 tax report just a few weeks before the interview (the deadline for sending the 1989 tax report forms to the tax office was March 25). Thus, they can tell their total 1989 annual income. It was also assumed, that other respondents, who did not fill their tax report themselves, would know their average net monthly income in 1989 much better than their annual income. Therefore, income was asked in different ways from these two groups of respondents, and Question 16 (see below) was introduced to serve as a filter question before the question about the respondents' own income. This cumbersome procedure was, however, not repeated in the case of the questions about the income of other members of the household (q.20 and 22).

Note to question 16:
Under Hungarian law, employees are responsible to inform their employers whether they want to fill in and send their tax report form to the Tax Office themselves or should the employer do this instead. If the employees had some other income than what they were paid in their main job, then they are obliged to do it themselves. In this context, the "employer" of pensioners and the unemployed is the Social Security Office. Family allowance and child care benefit are administered by the employers. Therefore, you are obliged to take responsibility for your tax report only if you had capital income (e.g. from shares) or you had more than one job at any one time during the year, or you are a self-employed who pays personal income tax. If you merely changed your workplace during the year, then your present employer can take responsibility for your tax report.

Note to q.17-21:
Because of an unfortunate error in the printed instructions to the interviewers on the questionnaire, quite a few respondents who, according to the oral instructions given to the interviewers, should have been asked questions 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 were, in fact, not asked q. 17-21. The error occurred during a last minute renumbering of the question, which left a printed instruction right after q.16 unchanged.

"q.16: Now I would like to ask you about your income. Did you fill a tax report form about your last year income?"

Variable name: CBEVALL
Coding:
1: no (i.e. the respondent's employer filled it or the respondent had no taxable income)
2: yes
9: refusal
0: do not know
system missing: no answer
"q.17 (TO BE ASKED ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT FILLED HIS/HER TAX FORM PERSONALLY): What was your taxable income?"

Variable name: CSZJA
Coding:
0: do not know
1: 1000 HUF
2: 2000 HUF
...9: refusal
10: 10000 HUF
11: 11000 HUF
...999: 999 thousand HUF or more
system missing: no answer, inapplicable

Note: The above phrasing of the question must have been absolutely clear to the respondents concerned and it meant that they were asked to report their gross annual personal taxable income, i.e. also including that part of their income which they had in the zero percent income tax band, but not the incomes exempted from taxation. Tax exemptions were, however, negligible in 1989.

"q.18 (TO BE ASKED ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT DID NOT FILL A TAX REPORT FORM PERSONALLY OR COULD NOT ANSWER QUESTION 17): What was your average monthly income that you actually received in cash in the last year [also including family allowance, child care benefit, and pension]?

Variable name: CJOV
Coding:
0: do not know
1: no income
2: 200 HUF
3: 300 HUF
...9: refusal
10: 1000 HUF
...9999: 999,900 HUF or more
system missing: no answer, inapplicable

Note: Unmistakenly for Hungarian ears, the question is about monthly net income, i.e. after the deduction of personal income tax and the compulsory social security contribution (10%).

"q.19: What is your marital status?

Variable name: CCSALA
Coding:
0: do not know
1: married but lives alone (i.e. separated from husband/wife and has no steady life partner either)
2: married and lives with spouse
3: single, lives without steady life partner
4: single, lives with steady life partne
5: divorced, lives without steady life partner
6: divorced, lives with steady life partne
7: widowed, lives without steady life partner
8: widowed, lives with steady life partner
9: refusal
system missing: no answer

"q.20: (TO BE ASKED ONLY IF THE RESPONDENT LIVES WITH HUSBAND/WIFE OR A STEADY LIFE PARTNER): What was the average monthly income that your spouse actually received in cash in the last year [also including family allowance, child care benefit, and pension]?

Variable name: CHJOG
Coding:
-1: has no spouse
0: do not know
1: no income
2: 200 HUF
3: 300 HUF
...
9: refusal
10: 1000 HUF
...
9999: 999,900 HUF or more
system missing: no answer, inapplicable

Note 1: Unmistakably for Hungarian ears, the question is about monthly net income, i.e. after the deduction of personal income tax and the compulsory social security contribution (10%).
Note 2: Because of an unfortunate error in the printed instructions to the interviewers on the questionnaire, quite a few respondents who, according to the oral instructions given to the interviewers, should have been asked questions 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 were, in fact, not asked q. 17-21. The error occurred during a last minute renumbering of the question, which left a printed instruction right after q.16 unchanged.

"q.21: How many more adults other than you (and your spouse) live in your household?
Variable name: CHTST
Coding:
0: none
1: one more
...
9: nine or more
system missing: no answer

"q.22: (TO BE ASKED ONLY IF THE ANSWER FOR Q.21 WAS 1 OR MORE): What was their combined average monthly income that they actually received in cash in the last year [also including family allowance, child care benefit, and pension]?

Variable name: CCSJ0V
Coding:
0: do not know
1: no income
2: 200 HUF
3: 300 HUF
...
9: refusal
10: 1000 HUF
...
9999: 999,900 HUF or more
Note: Unmistakenly for Hungarian ears, the question is about monthly net income, i.e. after the deduction of personal income tax and the compulsory social security contribution (10%).

Note 2: Because of an unfortunate error in the printed instructions to the interviewers on the questionnaire, quite a few respondents who, according to the oral instructions given to the interviewers, should have been asked questions 17, 18, 19, 20 and 21 were, in fact, not asked q. 17-21. The error occurred during a last minute renumbering of the question, which left a printed instruction right after q.16 unchanged.

"q.23: And how many children under 18 years of age live in your household?

Variable name: CGYER
Coding:
0: none
1: one
...
9: nine or more
system missing: no answer