

Macro-Data Questionnaire - **HUNGARY 1998**
 Macro-Level Data Questionnaire

Part I: Data Pertinent to the Election at which the Module was Administered

1. Variable number/name in the dataset that identifies the primary electoral district for each respondent.

V114

2. Names and party affiliation of cabinet-level ministers serving at the time of the dissolution of the most recent government.

Name of Cabinet Member -----	Name of the Office Held -----	Political Party -----
Gyula Horn	Prime Minister	MSZP
Ferenc Baja	Min. of Environment	MSZP
Judit Csiha	Min. without portfolio supervising privatization	MSZP
Szabolcs Fazakas	Min. of Industry	MSZP
Gyorgy Keleti	Min. of Defence	MSZP
Peter Kiss	Min. of Labour	MSZP
Mihaly Kokeny	Min. of Health and Social Welfare	MSZP
Laszlo Kovacs	Min. of Foreign Affairs	MSZP
Gabor Kuncze	Min. of Interior	SZDSZ
Laszlo Lakos	Min. of Agriculture	MSZP
Karoly Lotz	Min. of Transportation and Communication	SZDSZ
Balint Magyar	Min. of Education and Culture	SZDSZ
Peter Megyessy	Min. of Finance	MSZP
Istvan Nikolits	Min. without portfolio supervising secret services	MSZP
Pal Vastagh	Min. of Justice	MSZP

3. Political Parties (active during the election at which the module was administered).

Organization Name of Political Party to (if any) -----	Year Founded -----	Ideological Family Party is Closest to -----	International Party Belongs -----
Fidesz-MPP International until moved to European	1988	Christian Dem.	Liberal 2000, then
FKGP People's P.	1930*	Agrarian	People's P. the European

			suspended the
FKGP's			membership in
1992			The European
KDNP	1988	Christian Dem.	suspended the
People's P.			membership in
KDNP's			European
1997			none
MDF	1988	Christian Dem.	Socialist
People's P.			
MIEP	1993	Natioanalist	
MSZP	1989	Socialist	
International			
SZDSZ	1988	Liberal	Liberal
International			

... and many more that had no representation in parliament either right before or right after the 1998 election.

*: All activities of the party had to be suspended under the communist regime.

Ideological Party Families:

Ecology Parties	Liberal Parties	Agrarian Parties
Communist Parties	Right Liberal Parties	Ethnic Parties
Socialist Parties	Christian Democratic	Regional Parties
Social Democratic	Parties	Other Parties
Parties	Conservative Parties	Independents
Left Liberal Parties	National Parties	

International Party Organizations:

Socialist International	Liberal International
Confederation of Socialist	Federation of European Liberal,
Parties of the European	Democrat, and Reform Parties
Community	
Asia-Pacific Socialist	International Democrat Union
Organization	Caribbean Democrat Union
Socialist Inter-African	European Democrat Union
	Pacific Democrat Union
Christian Democratic International	
European Christian Democratic	
Union	The Greens
European People's Party	

4. (a) Parties position in left-right scale (in the expert judgment of the CSES Collaborator):

Party Name	LEFT		RIGHT
1. Fidesz-MPP		7	
2. FKGP			8
3. KDNP			8

4. MDF		6	
5. MIEP			9
6. MSZP	4		
7. SZDSZ		5	

4. (b) If you have asked respondents to rank political parties on a dimension other than the left-right dimension, please also provide your own rankings on this other dimension.

Name of dimension: _____

Label for left position: _____
Label for right position: _____

Party Name	LEFT										RIGHT
1.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
2.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
4.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
5.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
6.	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

5. In your view, what are the five most salient factors that affected the outcome of the election (e.g. major scandals; economic events; the presence of an independent actor; specific issues)?

1. Economic conditions. The government introduced an austerity package in March 1995, which led to a 20 percent drop in real wages in the next two years. The economy started to pick up about 18 months before the election, and the government tried to claim credit for its austerity program for the surge.

2. Concern about crime, especially organized crime and numerous bomb explosions in the capital city in the years before the election and during the campaign itself.

3. A money scandal (the "Tocsik-scandal") that made headline news between October 1996 and the 1998 election hurt the two government parties, and particularly SZDSZ

4. The legacy and memories of the 1990-94 MDF-led government continued to hurt MDF in 1998.

5. Fidesz-MPP probably benefited from a pledge to restore some welfare entitlements abolished by the government and expanding entitlements for families with several children. More generally, Fidesz-MPP moved to take the position of the Christian-national parties on several socio-economic issues, foreign policy, church-state relations, mass media, and a variety of social issues, and could credibly present itself as the major centre-right alternative to the socialist-liberal coalition.

6. The FKGP and its leader remained an essentially unacceptable coalition partner in the eyes of a probably large majority of the public. This factor was a liability for the Fidesz-MPP campaign too, but the Fidesz-MPP remained consistent and relatively successful in denying that they might enter a governmental coalition with FKGP.

6. Electoral Alliances

Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the constituency level as, for example, in Finland. Documenting who is allied with whom, and how, in each constituency is a large task and we do not expect you to do more than make some general reference to the existence of constituency-level alliances. Sometimes, electoral alliances are made at the national level -- these are the alliances that we would like you will identify.

Information is sought on who is allied with whom and on the nature of the electoral alliance.

a) Were electoral alliances permitted during the election campaign?

Yes

b) (If yes) Did any electoral alliances form?

Yes

c) (If yes to b) List the party alliances that formed:

Name of Alliance	Parties in the Alliance
Alliance 1: Fidesz-MDF	Fidesz-MPP, MDF
Alliance 2: _____	
Alliance 3: _____	
Alliance 4: _____	
Alliance 5: _____	

7. (If a presidential election was held concurrently with the legislative elections) List presidential candidates

Name of Presidential Candidate -----	Party of Candidate* -----

*or parties, if multiple endorsements are allowed.

8. If the national team plans to collect aggregate election returns (or constituency-level returns) please include these returns with the study materials provided when the data are archived.

Part II: Data on Electoral Institutions

A central theme in the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems concerns the impact of electoral institutions on voting behavior and election outcomes. In order to assess the impact of institutions properly, a necessary preliminary step is to obtain accurate information on those institutional arrangements. The purpose of this document is to describe the kind of information we are asking you to provide.

Overview of Information Needed

In most countries, the best source of the needed information is the electoral statute or code that currently governs lower house elections. If the text of

the law is available in a variety of different languages, please send a version in the most accessible language available. In any event, please also provide full bibliographic information on the source of the information sent.

In a few countries, such as the U.K., there may not be a single statute that governs elections. In such cases, our hope is that you will do your best to provide an accurate description of the electoral system in response to the detailed questions described below.

For those countries in which there is an electoral statute, there may also be other sources of information on the electoral procedure that you know of: perhaps the constitution specifies part of the electoral system, or perhaps a local scholar has written a description of the electoral system, or perhaps there is a map of the electoral districts available. It would be helpful if these materials could be sent as well.

Details of Information Needed

The kinds of details that are needed are indicated by the following list of questions. If you are sending a copy of the electoral code, then there is no need to answer these questions separately. If you are not sending the electoral code, then these questions may help in deciding what to send.

I. QUESTIONS ABOUT ELECTORAL DISTRICTS.

Definitions: An electoral district is defined as a geographic area within which votes are counted and seats allocated. If a district cannot be partitioned into smaller districts within which votes are counted and seats allocated, it is called primary. If it can be partitioned into primary districts, and there is some transfer of votes and/or seats from the primary districts to the larger district, then the larger district is called secondary.

If a district can be partitioned into secondary districts (again with some transfer of votes and/or seats), it is called tertiary.

In some electoral systems, there are electoral districts that are geographically nested but not otherwise related for purposes of seat allocation. In Lithuania, for example, there are 71 single-member districts that operate under a majority runoff system, and also a single nationwide district that operates under proportional representation (the largest remainders method with the Hare quota). Neither votes nor seats from the single-member districts transfer to the nationwide district, however. The two processes are entirely independent (with voters having one vote in each district). In this case, the nationwide district, although it contains the 71 single-member districts, is not considered to be secondary. It is primary. One might say that there are two segments to the electoral system in such cases.

- 1) How many segments (as just defined) are there in the electoral system?
1 segment _____
2 segments x

For the first segment, please answer the following questions (questions 2 through 11):

2) How many primary electoral districts are there? **176 single-member districts, and twenty multimember districts, which are all primary electoral districts and constitute the two segments of the electoral system. Variable V114 assigns a separate code to each of the single-member districts covered by the sampling frame.**

3) For each primary electoral district, how many members are elected from in that district? **The 176 single-member districts elect one member each. The multimember districts elect 4 to 28 members depending on the size of their voting-age population in 1989, when the election law was adopted:**

Region	Number of single-member districts	Number of mandates in regional multimember district
Budapest	32	28
Baranya county	7	6
Bács-Kiskun county	10	8
Békés county	7	6
Borsod-Abaúj-Zemplén county	13	11
Csongrád county	7	6
Fejér county	7	6
Győr-Sopron-Moson county	7	6
Hajdú-Bihar county	9	8
Heves county	6	5
Jász-Nagykun-Szolnok county	8	6
Komárom-Esztergom county	5	5
Nógrád county	4	4
Pest county	16	14
Somogy county	6	5
Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county	10	9
Tolna county	5	4
Vas county	5	4
Veszprém county	7	6
Zala county	5	5
Total	176	152

4) How many secondary electoral districts are there? **One nationwide district.**

5) How many tertiary electoral districts are there? **None.**

II. QUESTIONS ABOUT VOTING.

6) Exactly how are votes cast by voters? _____

6a) How many votes do they or can they cast? **Two in the first round of the elections, and usually one more in the runoff. If a fifty percent turnout was not reached, or no candidate received an absolute majority in the respective citizens' single-member district, then a runoff election is held in that district. A second round of voting has to be held in multimember districts too if the 50 percent turnout requirement was not satisfied in the first round. In the 1998 election two of the twenty**

multimember districts, and dozens of single-members had insufficient turnout in the first round.

6b) Do they vote for candidates, for lists, or for both? (Explain) In the first round, citizens can cast one vote for a closed party list in their multimember district, and another one for a candidate in their single-member district. Whether they can (have to) vote in the second round either for a candidate or a list (or both) depends on results of the first round (see above).

7) Are the votes transferable? The voter can in no way indicate a desired direction of vote transfer. However, votes cast for a particular candidate in a single-member district, or a particular list of candidates in a multimember district often turn into 'remainder votes' that do not earn mandate in the primary district, but are cumulated at the national level where they benefit candidates who stand for election on the national list of their party.

8) If more than one vote can be cast, can they be cumulated? No, the voters cannot cumulate votes themselves. However, as described at the previous point, their two votes (one for a regional party list and one for a candidate standing for election in a single-member district) may both turn into remainder votes and thus end up cumulated at the national level.

9) Are there any other features of voting that should be noted? No.

III. QUESTIONS ABOUT CONVERTING VOTES INTO SEATS.

10) Exactly how are votes converted into seats? In the single-member districts, an absolute majority is required in the first round. If there is no such candidate, but the 50 percent turnout requirement was satisfied, then a runoff is called between the candidates who received at least 15 percent of all valid votes, but at least the top three candidates. If the turnout requirement was not met in the first round, then all candidates who stood for election in the first round may run again in the second round. Candidates can withdraw from the race between the two rounds. In the second round the candidate with the greatest number of votes is elected - provided that the turnout was 25 percent or more. It may happen (but has never happened yet) that insufficient turnout in both rounds of the election leaves a single-member district without a representative in parliament. In this case, a by-election is called in the district.

In the twenty multimember districts, the Hagenbach-Bischoff quota is used to allocate seats between those parties that received at least 5 percent of all votes cast for regional party lists nationally. If there are more seats to be allocated than as many full quotas were obtained by these parties in the multimember-district in question, then less than a full quota - but at least 2/3 of the full quota - is also enough to earn a seat.

Votes that do not earn mandates at the regional level, and seats that remain unallocated at the regional level are transferred to a second round of seat allocation that occurs at the national level. Votes cast for non-winning candidates in the single-member districts in the first round of voting (or in the runoff, if the turnout requirement was not met in the first round, but was satisfied in the second round of voting) are also added to these remainder votes that are cumulated by party at the national level. Only those parties can participate in this second round of seat allocation that (1) have a national party list - which presumes that they had a list in at least eight counties or in six counties and the capital city -; and (2) received at least

5 percent of all votes cast for regional party lists nationally. The d'Hondt highest average method is used to allocate seats between national party lists.

The number of seats allocated at the national level is 58 plus the number of seats that remained unallocated in the regional multimember districts.

10a) Are there legally mandated thresholds that a party must exceed before it is eligible to receive seats? **Not in the single-member districts, but there is a threshold in the multimember districts** If so, what is the threshold? **To win seats in the regional multimember districts or at the national level, a party must have received at least 5 percent of all votes cast for regional party lists nationally.**

10b) What electoral formula or formulas are used? **Majority-runoff in the single-members, a modified version of largest remainder at the regional level, and d'Hondt at the national level. For details see the answer to question 10 above.**

11) If there are lists, are they closed, open, or flexible?

closed	<u> x </u>
flexible, but in practice virtually closed	<u> </u>
flexible	<u> </u>
flexible, but in practice virtually open	<u> </u>
open	<u> </u>

Definitions: A list is closed if the seats that are awarded to that list are always occupied by the candidates in order of their appearance on the list (i.e., if the list gets x seats then necessarily the top x names on the list get the seats). A list is open if the question of which candidates on the list get the seats that are awarded to the list is determined solely by the votes that each candidate receives. A list is flexible if it is neither closed nor open.

IV. QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POSSIBILITIES OF ELECTORAL ALLIANCE.

12) What are the possibilities of alliance in the system? **Multiple options, see below.**

12a) Can parties run joint lists? **Yes, but no other information can be printed on the ballot paper than the names of the candidates, their rank order on the list, and the name of the list. The ballot paper will not show if they come from different parties/organizations.**

12b) Is there apparentement or linking of lists? **Yes, but this option has never been used.**

12c) Can candidates run with the endorsement of more than one party? **Yes. This was the form that Fidesz-MDF electoral alliance took in the 1998 election.**

12d) Do parties withdraw their lists or candidates in some constituencies, urging their supporters there to vote for an ally's list or candidate? **Yes. For instance, in the 1998 election the FKGP and the Fidesz-MPP mutually withdrew their candidates from the second round of voting in the**

single-member districts if the candidate of the other party obtained more votes in the first round.

12e) Other? Some smaller parties some times agree not to run their own list/candidates in the election in exchange for having some of their potential candidates nominated by a bigger party. In 1998, this arrangement was the basis of an agreement between Fidesz-MPP and MKDSZ (=Hungarian Christian Democratic Alliance).

Definitions: A joint list refers to one on which candidates of different parties run together. Apparentement refers to a legal agreement between two or more lists to pool their votes for the purposes of an initial seat allocation, with seats initially allocated to the alliance then reallocated to the lists in the alliance.

13) If joint lists are possible, are they subject to different regulations than single-party lists? For example, higher thresholds, different numbers of candidates that may appear on the list, etc. **No**

14) If apparentement is possible, what lists can participate in such agreements

lists of the same party in the same constituency? _____
lists of the same party from different constituencies? _____
lists of different parties in the same constituency? x

15) If candidates can run with the endorsement of more than one party, is this reflected on the ballot?

Yes, candidate's name appears once, together with the names of all supporting parties x

Yes, candidate's name appears as many times as there are different parties endorsing

him or her, each time with the name of the endorsing party

Yes, other (please explain) _____

No party endorsements are indicated on the ballot paper

Part III: Data on Regime Type

Below are various questions about the type of regime--presidential, parliamentary, semi-presidential--in your country. There are two potential problems with these questions that should be noted at the outset. First, in some countries there may be a discrepancy between the de jure (or legal) situation and the de facto (or practical) situation. For example, in Great Britain the Queen still possesses a legal right to veto legislation, but this right has not been exercised since 1707. In the case of such obviously obsolete powers, please answer according to the de facto situation. Otherwise, describe the de jure situation. A second potential problem is that the questions may not be phrased optimally for the situation in your particular country. In such cases, please answer as best you can, providing some indication of the difficulties as you see them.

I.) Questions regarding the Head of State.

1) Who is the Head of State?

- President
 Monarch
 Prime Minister serves as ceremonial head of state
 Other (please specify) _____

2) How is the head of state selected?

- Direct election
 Indirect election
 Birth right
 Divine right
 Other (Explain) _____

a) If by direct election, by what process?

- Plurality election
 Run-off or two-ballot system
 Other (Explain) The parliament can make up to three attempts to elect president. In the first and second rounds, the threshold of victory is a two-thirds majority; in the third round an absolute majority is required. There is a new round of nomination for each round of voting.

If by run-off system, what is the

Threshold for first-round victory? _____
Threshold to advance to second round? _____
Threshold for victory in second round? _____

b) If by indirect election, by what process?

- Electoral college
 Selection by the legislature
 Other (Explain) _____

(i) If by electoral college,

How are electors chosen?

Does the electoral college deliberate? _____ Yes _____

No

What is the voting procedure used by the electoral college?

(ii) If by the legislature,

By which chamber(s) of the legislature? **There is one chamber only.**

What is the voting procedure used? **See above.**

3) If there is a Head of State, does the Head of State have the following powers? [Check all that apply.]

a) Introduce legislation? **Yes** _____ No

b) Require expedited action on specific legislation?
 Yes No

If yes, what is the default if the legislature takes no action?

Parliament is obliged to treat presidential bills like any others - except that it is obliged to deliberate on it.

Definitions: A Head of State possesses a partial veto when he or she can target specific clauses of a piece of legislation for veto, while promulgating the rest. In the U.S., such vetoes are sometimes called line item vetoes. A Head of State possesses a package veto when he or she can veto the entire piece of legislation submitted by the legislature, but cannot veto some parts and accept others.

c) Package veto? Yes No

If yes, what is the requirement to override the veto?

Repeated deliberation in Parliament with the same majority as in any other case.

d) Partial veto? Yes No

If yes, what is the requirement to override the partial veto?

e) Legislate by decree? Yes No

If yes, does this require that the legislature must first specifically delegate decree authority to the head of state by statute?

Yes No

If yes, are there restrictions on the policy areas in which the head of state can legislate by decree? Yes No

If yes, are there other restrictions on the head of state's authority to legislate by decree? Yes No

f) Emergency powers? Yes No

If yes, what actions can the head of state take under emergency authority?

The President of the Republic is the chairman of the National Defence Council that exercises all the powers of government and a large part of parliament under emergency rule.

If yes, under what conditions can the head of state invoke emergency authority?

Armed attack, internal disorder, or state of necessity when parliament is unable to exercise its competence due to cause of the state of emergency.

If yes, what restrictions are there on the head of state's authority to invoke and exercise emergency authority?

1. To establish the existence the President must act in concert with the Speaker of Parliament, the President of the Constitutional Court and the Prime Minister, subject to control by parliament later.

2. In exercising the emergency powers the President acts as the head of the National Defence Council, composed of the Speaker of Parliament, the leaders of the party fractions is parliament, the Prime Minister, the ministers, the commander of the armed forces and the chief-of-staff of the armed forces.

g) Negotiate treaties and international agreements?
 Yes No

Note: Formally, the president has the power to negotiate treaties (or to conclude them), but the president is bound by the countersignature of a minister of that of the Prime Minister. De facto, the president is expected to follow the government's advice.

If yes, what other requirements are there for approval of treaties and international agreements negotiated by the head of state?

Parliament must authorize the conclusion of important treaties and those within the wide competence of the legislature.

h) Commander of the armed forces? Yes No

If yes, does the head of state control promotions of high-ranking officers?

Yes No

If yes, can the head of state dismiss or demote high-ranking officers?

Yes No

If yes, can the head of state mobilize and demobilize troops? Yes No

j) Introduce referenda? Yes No

Note: The President has the power to *propose* a referendum, but the right to call it remains with the legislature.

If yes, under what conditions?

k) Refer legislation to the judicial branch for review of constitutionality?

Yes No

m) Convene special legislative sessions? Yes No

If yes, is this the head of state's power exclusively, or can any other (s) do this as well? Yes, other power

No other powers

(If yes, explain):

One fifth of the members of Parliament or the Government can also initiate legislative sessions, and these initiatives are binding for the Speaker of the Parliament

II.) Questions about the Head of Government.

1) Who is the Head of Government?

- President
 Prime Minister (or equivalent)
 Other (please specify)
-

2) If the Head of Government is a prime minister, how is the prime minister selected?

- Appointed by the head of state alone
 Appointed by the legislature alone
 Nominated by the head of state, and approved by the legislature
 Nominated by the legislature, and approved by the head of state
 Other (Explain):

3) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the composition of the cabinet? [Check all that apply.]

- Names ministers and assigns portfolios alone
 Nominates ministers for approval by the president
 Reviews and approves ministerial nominations made by the president
 Dismisses ministers and reassigns portfolios at own discretion
 Other (Explain):

Note: Formally the President appoints and dismisses the ministers, but the substantive decision is that of the Prime Minister. The President is strongly expected to act as a rubber stamp.

4) If there is a prime minister, what authorities does the prime minister have over the policy making process? [Check all that apply.]

- Chairs cabinet meetings
 Determines schedule of issues to be considered by the Legislature **(de facto)**
 Determines which alternatives will be voted on by the legislature, and in which order **(de facto)**
 Refers legislative proposals to party or legislative committees **(de facto)**
 Calls votes of confidence in government
 Other (Explain)

III.) By what method(s) can cabinet members, or the entire cabinet, be dismissed?

[Check all that apply.]

By the head of state alone
 By the prime minister alone
 By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of all legislators is required
 By majority vote of the legislature where a majority of those legislators voting is required

By some combination of the above, acting in concert
(Explain)

Other (Explain)

'Constructive vote of non-confidence': The dismissal by of the government (actually of the Prime Minister, since that is the only way Parliament can dismiss ministers) is valid only if at the same time a new Prime Minister is elected by parliament.

IV.) Can the legislature be dissolved prior to regularly scheduled elections? Yes No

1) If yes, by what method?

By the head of state alone
 By the prime minister alone
 By majority vote of the legislature
 By some combination of the above, acting in concert. (Explain)

Other (Explain)

2) If yes, are there restrictions on when and how the legislature can be dissolved?

[Check all that apply.]

On the timing of dissolution (e.g. not within one year after a legislative election)
(Explain)

As a response to action/inaction by the legislature (e.g. only when the legislature has censured the cabinet; e.g. only if the legislature fails to pass the budget) (Explain)

Other (Explain)

The President can dissolve Parliament if ...

1. parliament passes a vote of (constructive) non-confidence in the government four times within a 12-month period.

2. in case of the end of mandate of the government (e.g. in case of the death of the Prime Minister), if the person proposed by the President is not elected by Parliament within forty days.