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DEPRIVATION EXPERIENCES IN HUNGARY 1945-1956
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DEPRIVATION EXPERIENCES IN HUNGARY 1945-1956

1. Scope of This Report

This Report is based on material collected in the Interview Program of the Columbia University Research Project on Hungary. It is concerned with examining the consistencies and inconsistencies of the deprivation experiences of the Hungarian refugees who were interviewed, and with an attempt to determine whether certain patterns of attitudes, values, and expectations can be associated or correlated with specific social groups.¹

2. Results

The results to be presented relate the main facets of life in which deprivations are likely to be suffered, namely in relation to social and occupational status, in relation to living conditions, in relation to religious deprivation, and in relation to direct experiences of conflict with the regime. Broadly the method used is to treat the interview protocols as case history material, but in addition to make certain quantitative tests to confirm as far as possible the impressions gained in the process of handling the material.

¹ Introduction to "A" Interview Guide

The characteristics of the interview material are described in Appendix A, and the methods of analysis are described in Appendix B.

A. Social Status

The relation of the individual to the social hierarchy in Hungary was in many respects confused and even contradictory. In its simplest form, the doctrine seemed to be that those of worker and peasant origin, being the 'good kaders,' should be favored in educational and in job opportunities. At the other end those of the most despised merchant and kulak strata should be labeled 'class aliens' and be admitted, if at all, only to those positions not wanted by the good kaders. Anyone of middle-class origin or who had completed higher education or held a middle-class job was in an unfavorable position.

It seems that this logical, if inhumane and inefficient, system had failed to work in various respects. First, the 'class alien' label had been extended to cover individuals, irrespective of social origin, who themselves or whose parents had offended the authorities, for example by staying voluntarily in Germany for a while after the German army collapsed in 1945. For example, A-238, a young man of 24, reports (p. 26), "After I finished the 8th Grade I hoped to go to a high school. But unfortunately I was not admitted because of my class alien

background. By the latter I mean that my father escaped to Germany at the end of the war and returned in 1945 from Germany to Hungary and he was considered as a reactionary rightist and a fascist." It transpires that his father was a smallholder (4 acres) and a small-shopkeeper, and it is unlikely that the class alien label would have been attached to him unless he had been politically undesirable.

On the other hand, some respondents had clearly been actively trying to conceal or to misrepresent their class origin to make it more acceptable to the authorities. For example, an opera singer (A-237) reports (p.21) that "she said that her father was a locksmith, nobody ever checked it. Actually, he was an actor."

Sometimes concealment was not necessary. One young veterinary student (A-226) whose parents were independent farmers was able to 'pass' as a peasant because of the support of his gymnasium teacher (p. 42). Actually the parents' holding extended to 11 holds in Hungary; an additional area of forest which was across the Austrian frontier was cut off in 1949. All this must have been known to the local rural authorities, but they did not prevent his entering the university in Budapest.

There were other inconsistencies in the treatment of the children of bad kader families. As has been said, it was officially very difficult for such young men and women to go on

to higher education and there are many examples of respondents being refused admission to universities on grounds of bad kader, or at best being penalized financially because of their class origin. On the other hand, there are many cases of persistent students who by dint of repeated applications finally become accepted. A-229 reports (p. 25) "I was not admitted to the University when I first graduated from gymnasium, but eventually they did admit me. Anyone in Hungary who deserved it could get into a university sooner or later regardless of his family. Of course it sometimes took years, but eventually the deserving people managed to get in."

One apparently common method for a student who had been refused admission to a university was to enter a factory and to work so well there that the factory itself sponsored the student's admission. There are several cases of this kind in the protocols. One man of 29 (A-129, p. 30) "couldn't enter the University, only until later from the factory as a working man." Another young man of 30 (A-133) reports (p. 22), "When I finished gymnasium, I applied for admission to the Technical University of Budapest in 1946, but my application was rejected because of my social background. [His father was a college instructor, his mother a kulak] In order to become eligible for admission, I went to work in a textile

factory I applied every year for admission to the same university. I was three times rejected and then in 1952 I was finally admitted, probably due to the good record I had in the factory."

It seems that this factory experience was regarded as expunging the unfavorable social origin and was not due to the inefficient compiling of kader sheets. Both the above respondents report that once admitted to their universities they were forgiven the shame of their parentage. Of A-129, the interviewer reports (p. 32) "His social origin handicapped him in part; it delayed his university education to a later date, but later this proved no problem once his talents were recognized." A-133 states (p. 47), "When I was finally admitted to the Technological University, I had the same opportunities as everyone else.... There were no further handicaps, first of all because my education meant an advantage for the factory, too... I think I had as much schooling as I wanted."

Another respondent (A-109) described this issue as follows (p. 62): "To conceal unfavorable origin is a difficult task. I think it is possible only through outright fraud. (I know of a case where such a person was adopted by a high ranking Communist, and after that his origin was never investigated by the authorities.) But ... such origin might be excused, if not entirely obliterated, by working in the lowest level, as in

mines, at farms, etc. After a few years of castigation, such individuals might embark on a new career as equals of the new ruling class."

It is also clear that if individuals had some particular attainment or, still favored by the regime, they were not only tolerated but were indeed very highly rewarded. One or two of the particularly favored respondents were top engineers or administrators, but even more were sportsmen or artists.

One case is that of A-136, a man 36 years old, himself an army officer until 1946 and the son of an army officer, who had been in American and French prisoner-of-war camps. One would expect him to be severely penalized by this background, and so he was in 1946 for five months. After that he was dramatically promoted to be chief accountant of a state-owned Russian-directed textile factory, and later moved on as a high executive in a heavy industrial works. After a spell there he joined the blue AVH, and finally after a spell of illness became the buyer for a jam factory. His explanation for this apparently inconsequential career was (pp. 33-5), "My main profession was sportsman actually I was classified as a first class sportsman. I held the title for diving in Hungary for about three years until I became sick.... we sportsmen had special privileges.... In 1955 I received as a sportsman 2000 fts. I was officially no professional sportsman. If I would have been I

could not have been a member of the Olympic team; actually, however, I was professional.... a full-time sports trainer or coach received 3000 frt. a month."

Another respondent (A-473) was an instructor and lecturer for the Pest County Committee for Physical Education or sports. His earnings were only 1100 frt. a month, so the full-time coach referred to be the previous respondent must have been rather exceptional, perhaps of Olympic Games standard. This county instructor in any event was comfortably off, however, as his wife was a manicurist and earned 1100 frt. salary plus an additional 900 frt. in tips.

It was in the literary and artistic world, according to this sample, that the rewards were highest and the tolerance of the regime at its height. A-102, a popular songwriter, made an easy switch in 1948 from managing his family business -- a wholesale colonial goods agency -- to full-time employment as a composer. The family business was nationalized, but he clearly preferred the musician's life. By 1955 his income had risen to 4000 frt. from royalties. If he had composed patriotic songs he would probably have won in addition one of the large Communist prizes, which amounted to as much as 30,000 frt. even for a single composition. Even without such prizes he was comparatively wealthy. "Music composers, musical text-writers and singers were rated relatively highly by the regime and earned more than people on the average. Yet it depended mainly on

their attitude to politics how they were treated." (p. 20).

Another case is that of the author (A-500), a few years a Communist party member, who had been singled out for honors by the regime, a bon vivant and an excellent raconteur, earning up to 6000 frt. a month. He was the son of a bank executive, but this did not inconvenience him. "They badgered me to some extent, but since I was an intellectual, a writer, I only received minor exhortations about being a petit bourgeois, at the Party Academy." Nor does he appear to have been at all discreet in his political agitation aimed at replacing Rákosi by Nagy. He appears to have felt protected not only by his Stalin prize but also by the general immunity claimed by writers. "There are more workers in prison than intellectuals." Rákosi once said to B----, who was scared stiff, "Don't be afraid, we don't like to put artists in prison." (p. 63)

Finally, the pretest sample brought in the wife of an opera singer (A-122) with an income of 8-10,000 frt. and named as one of the ten best-dressed women of Hungary. Although her father was a self-employed tailor and her mother was a farmer's daughter, she was considered as the child of a working man, and her social origin was no embarrassment to her husband's career. According to the protocol, her whole life was only very slightly affected by the political and economic changes

that had surrounded her.

It has to be recognized that the social upheaval, as it affected both education and subsequent careers, was partly a direct consequence of the political changes and partly the result of the rapid industrialization of the country that was being attempted between 1945 and 1955. While it is true that many young students were being penalized for their social origin, many other young students before the war had been penalized by the poverty of their parents, who were unable to send them to a university, or had apparently been penalized by their ethnic origin; the song-writer (A-102) already mentioned reports (p. 36) "Jews could attend university classes only in a restricted number during the Horthy regime. This is one reason why I could not attend university studies. The other reason was material difficulties." Although the restrictions were differently distributed under the post-war governments, the actual number of students attending universities had been becoming substantially larger.

It is clear too that, particularly in the short run, one of the biggest problems of the regime was to find enough competent administrators and technicians to satisfy the increasing demands which resulted from industrial expansion and bureaucratization. In the somewhat longer run, the output of the new ruling kaders would provide the trained manpower for the

posts of authority that every society contains. By that time, according to the plan, a new technocracy with middle-class educational standards but without the flaw of bourgeois ideology would have been created. Before that time, various makeshift arrangements had to be maintained. A-203 reports (pp. 27-28) "In theory the good kaders were those who came from the lowest strata. A bad kader ... may have been used as an expert in his field but his son could not attend the university. Persecuted races or minorities were also good kaders in some cases. Gypsies were used in supervisory posts in various cultural fields. As for some of the peasant boys and cowherds and similar so-called good kaders, they attended technical courses specializing in some narrow field so that they could manage to run some sort of factory with the help of older experts under them. Very often these newly trained people just could not manage their jobs. In that case they fell back to the level from which they rose, that is, went back to the village or became workers again.

"In many cases, however, the re-education of this new stratum was very successful. My own boss in the state farm knew Horace and Huxley.... In 1948-49 after he had been working as a longshoreman, he was admitted to the university when he was about 25 years old. He became a Communist party member and quickly rose under the new system. But his was an unusual case.

Of a hundred people of his background there were maybe four of his caliber. Under the Horthy regime a man like that would have been lost."

The extent to which the old middle-classes were reduced to manual working occupations is not easy to estimate, as the sample would naturally tend to contain more than its share of such cases. Furthermore, in semi-feudal pre-war Hungary, the middle class was in any case very small. There are certain cases given by respondents who found their way down to a manual job and discovered that the majority of their work mates were also *declassé bourgeoisie*. For example A-238, who had suffered because of his father's earlier escape to Germany, reports (pp. 19-20) "At the time when I worked in the wine cellar in Sopron, most of my fellow workers were old-time officers. They were very decent people... In the forestry most of those who worked with me were on the B-list (dismissed government employees, former *gendarmérie*). In the Cartographic Institute a lieutenant of the old Hungarian army was my superior. He must have been around 40 years of age but apparently did not advance beyond that rank because he was not considered politically reliable."

Mobility either upwards or downwards is customarily attended by revealing difficulties of assimilation. One complaint was that the Communists on ideological grounds preferred to

ignore the existence of such difficulties. One respondent (A-204) commented thus, (p. 66) "The Communists talk very much about an alliance of the working man, peasantry, and intellectuals. This is nonsense. The middle class person does not frequent working class families and vice versa. There is and always has been a great difference between them. Let's suppose that the son of a worker goes into higher schools and some of them get there a really good education. However, there is still a certain difference between the newcomer and the old middle class. He is not accepted by the old middle class, first of all because he is not polite, he does not know anything about the etiquette and there are many other small but still important differences. There is still an etiquette and every class of the society has its own culture. It is impossible to change from one class into another one during one generation. There is still a stigma on a working class origin. He might have many good qualities, but he has no real and good education."

The last statement as to the permanent stigma of working class origin may be slanted from a middle-class viewpoint, but there is plenty of evidence of an awkwardness between the classes. One middle-aged middle-class woman (A-108, p.22) describes how she tried and failed to make a rapprochement to the workers; "At our place of employment, we, the office personnel, very often tried to have our lunches together with the workers;

however, we found out soon enough that the workers did not want to associate with us. They had chosen to eat separately, at a different time. They did not feel that they were our equals."

A male respondent of middle-class origin (A-203, pp. 24-5) describes the ignorance and trepidation with which he made his first foray into the working class camp. "When I was a day laborer on the railway I was first very careful with regard to my fellow employees. It was my first job as a manual worker. I felt that all my fellowworkers represented and talked in the name of the working class. This was my first experience with such people.... They did not consider me as an enemy.... They were sorry for me and also they showed some respect for me because I was educated."

Even more active solidarity was offered to one respondent who had been imprisoned for five years when he was released in the thaw of 1953 (A-551, p. 32). "At the end of 1953, after release from jail, he found employment at one of the large machine industry factories.... Within a few days, word had spread that he was an ex-convict.... From that time on, there was hardly a single worker in the section who did not lend him a hand at every opportunity. One worker would adjust respondent's machine; another would share his mid-morning snack. A few days later, one of the foremen asked why he was doing that particular type of work since he could not earn very much at it.

Within an hour he received another work assignment with which already on the fourth day he was able to improve his output by 160 percent." These spontaneous gestures do not seem to have been directly a demonstration against the regime, for a few months later in a new job he had a similarly favorable experience (pp. 33-4), "When hired, he asked the party secretary and the director whether they were aware of the fact that he was an ex-convict. 'Of course, but don't think about it at all,' he was assured, 'your only thought now should be your work.'.... He was on good terms with the director, the party secretary and the deputy of the latter; in general with everyone. He did not endeavor to restrain the expression of his thoughts. The others were only cautious in their discussions with him when there were several together.... In August, 1956, respondent was recalled to the National Price Administration. This was learned in the factory and when he did not accept the offer, he was showered with such signs of sympathy that it made him quite uncomfortable."

So far this description has been mainly concerned with respondents of middle-class origin. We will now briefly examine the experiences of four respondents of working class origin or with long history in the working class movement.

The first case is that of the seamstress (A-134) whose

father had been a Communist during Bela Kun's regime in Hungary. She had been brought up to idealize the Communists. In 1944, however, she had been arrested and held for 8 months on the grounds of having been a pro-German propagandist. She was released without trial, but was strictly unpolitical thenceforward. Instead she devoted her energies to her career and became a highly successful self-employed circus seamstress, earning 2800-3000 frt. a month. Her two main grievances were that she had always wanted to study philosophy (A-134, p. 19), "I wanted to study philosophy but my mother became blind and my father was a drunkard, and we were six children at home so that I had to work very early," and that she had no 'trade permission' which would have made it easier for her to get the materials she required. (p. 29).

The next is the case of a skilled carpenter and cabinet maker (A-525), aged 47. He reports (p. 19) "My father was a simple laborer, but he wanted a better future for me. So he apprenticed me at the age of 13. Ever since that time I have been working, which means now 34 years, and the Communists called me a capitalist and an exploiter.... If anybody has a proletarian origin, I have it, and I was not good enough for the Communists." He goes on to describe how he was taxed out of his position as an independent tradesman and forced to join

with other tradesmen into a productive cooperative. This was the only alternative to leaving his home town and going to Budapest as a factory worker. A trade unionist and a member of the Social Democratic Party since 1931, the son of a laborer, he foresaw skilled workers jobs for his two sons. But he could foresee no future for his life aims under a Communist regime.

Also illuminating are two cases of respondents of working class origin whose outlook was strongly colored by their poverty in Hungary. h-155, aged 38, is described on the face sheet (p. 1) as "the father of five lovely and extremely well behaved children, a combination of factory worker and share crop farmer by profession. He is a man of the farmer-philosopher type, with well-defined opinions. He appears to be at least ten years older than his actual age." Before the war he was an unskilled worker and on his discharge in 1945 he operated a mining village tavern-restaurant. In 1948 this was nationalized and he again became an unskilled factory worker. He claims (pp. 41-2) that "Between 1948 and 1956 we were not able to secure even 50 percent of the minimum living standard. This was true even though my wife worked also at home and on the farm, together with the children. We also kept some livestock. Even that was to no avail." By working overtime he was able to hoist his monthly income to 800-900 frt., but this must have kept his family of seven pitifully poor. He concluded (p. 48) "Needless to say,

one could buy nothing else but food. The larger one's family, the bigger his distress and misery."

Finally, A-119, a young unmarried man, son of a locksmith and himself a handyman at the radio station, was earning 700 frt. a month. He had spent two years at the university as a medical student, but had withdrawn because he (p. 16) "could not cope with the requirements of the university. I couldn't study at home because I had no leisure. I had to think of the fact that my parents were working for me and that I needed a suit or I needed shoes and so on. Anyway, I couldn't study; and in Hungary the requirements are very high, so I had to give up the studies and I went to the radio." In the interviewer's judgment (p. 49) "His intelligence is above average, and in a normal society he would be an advanced medical student." Whether this judgment is correct or not, it must be repeated that higher educational opportunities are greater in Hungary than pre-1945 and there is no evidence that this boy was penalized for his class origin or on other grounds. It is not easy to ascertain why he couldn't find a better job. However that may be, and in spite of the fact that both his father and his mother went out to work, he definitely found life hard.

We can now return to the question whether there is any direct and regular connection between the total deprivation

suffered by an individual in the sample and the items which relate specifically to social and occupational status. For this purpose, a number of possible connections of this kind will be examined in turn.

The first question is the extent to which those of relatively high social origin suffered disproportionately from the deprivations attributable to the regime.

Social origin is here defined in terms of the occupational status of the respondent's father.

By a procedure which is described in Appendix B, the 96 respondents in the sample whose case histories provide sufficient data have been divided into three categories -- 33 respondents with High overall deprivation, 26 respondents with Medium overall deprivation, and 37 respondents with Low overall deprivation.

Table 1 shows how the respondents of upper and lower social origins are distributed between these three deprivation categories.

Table 1 -- Social Origin and Deprivation

Deprivation:	Social Origin		
	Landowner and Upper Middle Class	Lower Middle Class & Working Class	All respondents
High	44 %	19 %	34 %
Medium	31 %	22 %	27 %
Low	25 %	59 %	39 %
	100 % (59)	100 % (37)	100 % (96)

This Table is a reminder of how the sample of respondents is in respect of class origin. In the sample 59 (61 %) are of professional or higher social origin and actually only 4 (4 %) are of unskilled worker or peasant origin.

The Table also shows very clearly that the chances of High overall deprivation are considerably greater and the chances of Low overall deprivation are considerably less with respondents of upper social origin as compared with those of lower social origin. On the other hand it is of interest that quite a few respondents of upper social origin had been able to outgrow this handicap and also that a 'good' social origin was by no means a guarantee against deprivation.

As the working class population is underrepresented in the sample, it is reasonable to suppose that the ones that did get into the sample are drawn from a thinner layer of most deprived member of their social origin group. The effect of

this would be to reduce the apparent difference between the upper and lower social origin groups, and the comparative deprivation in Hungary may well be more differentiated than is shown in Table 1.

It might be supposed that Hungarian Communist society would also reverse the normal state of affairs by which those occupying higher status positions are most generally favored by circumstances. It is possible, for example, that those who had attained a high occupational status (not necessarily in a state-approved occupation) would be more vulnerable to deprivation than those in a respectable, low-status occupational group. Alternatively one might find the state of affairs characteristic in capitalist societies in which assignment to a low occupational status entails a variety of attendant deprivations.

To adjudicate between these two hypotheses an analysis has been made of the distribution between the three deprivation categories of respondents of different occupational status. For this the respondent's own occupation at the time of the revolution has been taken as the basis. Table 2 shows the result of this analysis.

Table 2 -- Own Occupational Status and Deprivation

		Own Occupational Status				
Deprivation:		Student	Upper & Lower Middle Cl.	Skilled Worker	Unskilled Worker & Peasant	All Respondents
High	-	-	35 %	36 %	62 %	34 %
Medium	50 %	16 %	16 %	36 %	23 %	27 %
Low	50 %	50 %	49 %	28 %	15 %	39 %
		100 % (12)	100 % (43)	100 % (28)	100 % (13)	100 % (96)

It will first be noted that the sample although still underweighted with working class and peasant families is less unrepresentative than that in Table 1. Of the sample, 43 (45 %) are of professional or upper middle class occupational status, while 13 (13 %) are of unskilled worker and peasant occupational status. This partial correction is, however, largely due to the demotion of certain formerly middle class respondents as part of their political penalization.

Table 2 shows that the main direct relationship is between low occupational status and high deprivation. In the spectrum, university students are shown to have been comparatively free from deprivation experiences. The distribution of deprivation experiences within the other three main occupational status groups is generally in accordance with the normal 'capitalist' principle that deprivation is a consequence of low status.

The only exception is that the group of upper status respondents with high deprivation experiences is greater than might be expected. These are the respondents to be discussed later, who had suffered severe victimization for a period, but had been reinstated because their skills were indispensable to the regime.

In some ways a clearer picture can be gained by examining the considerable amount of social mobility in both an upward and a downward direction that had taken place in the ten years of Communist rule. For this purpose a comparison has been made between each respondent's Social Origin and Own Occupational Status. The results of this comparison in relation to deprivation experiences are given in Table 3.

Table 3 -- Change in Social Status and Deprivation

		Change in Social Status			
		Seriously downward	Stationary or normally downw.	Upward	All respondents
Deprivation	High	55 %	27 %	21 %	34 %
	Medium	28 %	36 %	5 %	27 %
	Low	17 %	37 %	74 %	39 %
		100 % (29)	100 % (48)	100 % (19)	100 % (96)

In this Table the connection between deprivation and downward mobility is clearly marked. This result does not of course show whether the fall in social status should be regarded as one component of the individual's general victimization by the regime, or whether a fall in social status may be regarded as coloring an individual's view of the regime generally so that he experiences the feelings of deprivation on a wide front.

One incidental fact of some interest which is shown up in the analysis preceding Table 3 is that 8 of the 12 university students in the sample had suffered a fall of status. Normally this fall would be temporary, but it reminds us that these 8 university students in the sample were in fact of upper middle class social origin. Presumably this is another way in which the sample of respondents is atypical, as it would otherwise conflict with what is known about the operation of the kader system which was designed to give preference in university places to students of working class and peasant origin.

Very closely associated with the question of social and occupational status is the question of the job itself. There are two distinct -- if not always distinguishable -- respects in which the job may determine the respondent's sense of overall deprivation. The first is the nature of the job itself -- whether it is tiring, inadequately paid, or distasteful in some other respect. The second is that the respondent may

feel his actual job to be inappropriate to him in the light of his training qualifications or aspirations. It is clear that in this latter sense job dissatisfaction is very closely linked with the status dissatisfaction that has already been discussed.

The material makes it possible to examine two separate questions, one concerned with job conditions and the other with job frustration.

The first possibility to be examined is that there was a direct connection between unsatisfactory job conditions and general deprivation experiences. This point is studied by reference to the respondents' comments on working conditions and the results are given in Table 4.

Table 4 -- Job Conditions and Deprivation

Deprivation:	Job Conditions			All respondents
	Unfavorable	Normal	Favorable	
High	75 %	28 %	11 %	34 %
Medium	20 %	33 %	17 %	27 %
Low	5 %	39 %	72 %	39 %
	100 % (20)	100 % (58)	100 % (18)	100 % (96)

This Table very strongly supports the suggestion that those with bad job conditions are likely to find themselves in a generally deprived situation. On the other hand it should be

noted that, of the respondents, only 20 (21 %) considered their job conditions as unsatisfactory.

It is clear that the respondent's own assessment of job conditions is bound to be a highly subjective one. If a respondent was born in a merchant's house and ends up as an unskilled worker in a sugar factory (A-238), it is likely that he will be more critical of the physical hardship entailed than if he is a laborer in a family of laborers. Behind every respondent's judgment on job conditions there must inevitably lurk his evaluation of what sort of job is appropriate to one in his walk of life.

It is for this reason that a second item was included in the deprivation analysis. This is called job frustration and relates directly to the gap between the respondent's actual job and his idea of the job of which he feels capable.

Table 5 presents the connection between each respondent's experiences and his belief in the existence of a gap between his actual job and the job of which he is capable.

Table 5 -- Job Frustration and Deprivation

Deprivation:	Job Frustration				All resp's
	Intense	Considerable	Unimportant	Benefit	
High	100 %	59 %	12 %	-	34 %
Medium	-	27 %	28 %	50 %	27 %
Low	-	14 %	60 %	50 %	39 %
	100 % (5)	100 % (37)	100 % (50)	100 % (4)	100 % (96)

Here again there is a very clear connection between job frustration and overall deprivation experiences. Furthermore there is an interesting shift in the distribution of respondents. The figures show that whereas in respect of job conditions there was an approximate balance between the favorable and the unfavorable responses, this balance definitely does not exist in the case of job frustration. At least in their self image as workers, it seems that definitely more respondents are dissatisfied in terms of relative deprivation than they are in terms of absolute deprivation.

We can briefly summarize the results concerning deprivation in relation to social status and occupation. The results show that in the sample there had been a certain drift down in social status. It is also clear that those members of the sample who were worst placed in terms of social status and occupation are also those who suffered the worst overall deprivation experiences in Hungary. There would, however, appear to be very little support for the belief that the drastic changes in social status and in occupational fortune were a dominant consideration in impelling the respondents to seek refuge and a fresh start out of Hungary.

B. Living Conditions

Some examples have already been given to show how difficult it was for the underprivileged unskilled workers to make ends meet. Attention will now be given to the more widely distributed difficulties in living conditions during the ten years under review, and the extent to which they contributed to the respondents' feelings about life in Hungary.

There seems little doubt that a major determinant in the economic discontent of the respondents was the rapid industrialization of the country. With this was coupled the widespread belief that Hungary was being exploited by the Russians, who were extracting what they wanted from the country without adequate repayment.

It was also commonly believed that the agents of political control, particularly the AVH, drew extravagant salaries and were in receipt of preferential treatment in many ways. For example A-103, a woman teacher of physical education, reports (p. 64) "Yes, there are certain items which certain groups of people cannot get. For instance I haven't eaten or seen any lemons or oranges, but I have seen some of my pupils who were the children of the AVO come to school equipped with lemons, oranges, and chocolate candy bars."

Other respondents suspected that they had been directly

victimized because someone in authority coveted what they had. One boy of 19 (A-131) gives a long description (pp. 20-22) of the ways in which his father, a grain merchant, had been arrested in 1955 "and was accused of selling grain on a wholesale scale while his permission was only for retail business. The fact was that the police chief of our town wanted our apartment for himself and by staging a 'window trial' he achieved his purpose by imprisoning father.... To be sure, after taking our apartment, they gave us another apartment, but this was a horrible hole to live in.... When father was finally tried ... the judge couldn't do anything but acquit him.... Even though he was acquitted and found not guilty, father did not receive back whatever was taken away from him, including our apartment and belongings." The circus seamstress (A-134) had also believed that her arrest in 1945 had been engineered by someone who wanted her apartment.

Quite apart from the exploitation and victimization, times were hard. One young man, A-214, remarks nostalgically (p. 24) "As a five-year-old boy, I remember we had chocolate often." A middle-aged woman, A-108, found it necessary to simplify her catering (pp. 27-28). "We have gotten used to one course at dinners more often than not. There were always some items that one could not get in the regular store; at one time or another something would always be missing... so I would have to buy

direct from the farmer or on the black market. In either case the price would be much more expensive than the regular one. It happened very often that we did not have pies and very, very often that we did not have coffee."

There were many other complaints about shortages, particularly of veal and other meats (A-203), and of lard. Some respondents reported standing in line for hours and even days to get their share. A-229 reports (p. 20) that "there were some things that one could not get even for money, such as tropical fruits."

Clearly the food shortages varied directly with changes in government policy and with the size of 'forced deliveries' to the Soviet Union. A-442 replied (p. 42) that conditions varied greatly. "Sometimes we had to stand in line for rice, although Hungary's rice production was at least $1\frac{1}{2}$ times as much as the consumption; other times for toilet paper, for shoe polish, for cheese, for bread, and often for milk." According to this respondent, eggs were often scarce even though it had been announced already by 1947 that egg production had surpassed the 1938 figures.

It was reported by one young man (A-244, p. 25) that queuing was forbidden, "because the official attitude was that people forming a queue are the enemies of the working class.

But in spite of everything they had often to stand in line for 2 to 3 hours to get certain goods. We had to queue for articles which were rare in the stores, for instance, eggs, rice, lemons, cocoa, etc."

Several respondents tried to report favorably when prompted about the reemergence of the private sector (MAJESZEK) which had been initiated by Nagy in 1953, but the consensus appears to be that it did not make a very marked contribution to retail distribution, partly because individuals were afraid that they would be stamped on if they were too successful. But there is no doubt that in Hungary, as elsewhere, those with money were able at all times to manage quite comfortably. A-458, an economic administrator, (pp. 20-21) "always made good money because I knew the ropes better than the average person"... I never had to buy 'black.' We both (he and his wife) ate our midday meal in a restaurant. The restaurants were cheaper and food was better than in Vienna." Other respondents with middle-class occupations, such as A-128, an attorney-at-law, believed (p. 27) there to be "no serious food shortage. Occasionally we could not get certain things. There wasn't a general shortage."

Many of the complaints about the cost of living were centered on the difficulties of obtaining clothes and shoes. Even the circus seamstress (A-134) who with her sister earned

6000-8000 frt. a month stated that she found it quite a problem to buy shoes at 800 frt. a pair. Most respondents who were trying to make ends meet on less than 2000 frt. a month (a figure itself perhaps double the figure for Hungarian families as a whole) found it necessary to choose between food and clothing. In many households the purchase of a new suit seems to have been an event planned for a long time ahead. A-133 reports (pp. 35-7) "As far as clothing is concerned, we used to say that we are going to 'build up' a suit, an overcoat, etc. (About 1500-2000 frt. each.) By that we meant that we were saving every month a certain amount till we had the necessary sum. It took at least a year to build up a suit or overcoat." Other respondents mentioned two years, five years, or even seven years (A-233) as the interval between buying one suit and another. A-214, a student, mentioned that he and his brother made their own clothes to save money (pp. 22-23).

The question of clothing had an additional tragi-comic aspect. According to the circus seamstress (A-134), until the Nagy administration of 1953 women were not allowed to wear hats and theatre performers were not allowed to wear colorful silk costumes, and even nail polish was forbidden (pp. 2, 5). Drabness was ideologically promoted. A-202 reports (pp. 3-4) "The wearing of neckties was discouraged and labeled as a

bourgeois remnant... In 1954, when respondent was holding seminars in Marxism... he was told not to wear a corduroy jacket because, although the party member who voiced this opposition did not have anything to say against the tailoring of the coat, the material itself reminded him of cosmopolitan habits.... The wearing of berets was a movement in reverse; members of the middle-class wore them to appear as proletarians"and, he adds (p. 5), "In 1953... people started to pay more attention to their clothing, without being ostracized for it. As a matter of fact, in February 1955 a big ball took place, the so-called Journalists' Ball which was exclusively for party members, and there men appeared in smoking jackets and women in evening gowns." (dinner jackets)

Of all the material deprivations, the most often mentioned, though not perhaps the most serious, was the housing situation. As A-133 concedes (pp. 37-38), "Some shortage had to be expected, even after the amazing reconstruction of the severe war damage, on account of the increase in population which followed the enforced industrialization; but [as has already been mentioned] this situation was aggravated by the preferential treatment enjoyed by influential party officials and by the presence of Russian civilians who occupied large family homes in the best sections of the city."

The result of this pressure was an appalling amount of sharing. A-427 reports (pp. 20-21) "In Budapest there was only

multiple sharing of apartments. This led to so many legal actions and so many broken homes that about 3 years ago a law was passed to prevent any further splitting of apartments. Often a 3-person family had to live in one room and it was not exceptional for the hall also to be rented as a separate apartment. If, as often happened, the husband had to work away from home, they would not leave a two-room apartment for his wife, but she would have to share that with another family." (Free translation into English from the 'English' transcript.) Another respondent, (A-473, p. 24) reports "It was a sad situation. Many people lived in former business places, stores that were rented as living quarters, or laundry-stores. Many people shared apartments. In the last few years they started building more apartments, but there was still a great need." Even in our sample there were respondents living in converted garages, summer houses and the like.

Here again it would be wrong to imagine an equality of deprivation. Quite a number of the respondents seemed to be reasonably satisfied with their accommodation, and had safeguarded themselves by registering one room as a storeroom or by other devices such as are adopted in all societies in time of shortage. One or two respondents seemed exceptionally proud of their homes. A-616, for example, stated that (p. 41) "they had a beautiful apartment, in Budapest. Beautiful apartments existed, too."

One result of the material hardships and the general social disorganization was that various forms of cheating and stealing became very widespread. A number of respondents freely admitted that they stole and cheated, and several of these had a prepared justification for their behavior. A-208 (p. 39) states, "The salaries were not enough to make a living. Everybody tried to steal something. With cheating the norms, with stealing food or anything that came to hand, people were able to take care of their food and clothing." A-442, (p. 56) comments, "In a state where there is no private property, no security of life, where the regime considers the greatest guarantee of its own safety the creating of an atmosphere where nobody can trust anybody... there on the one hand will develop spontaneously a wonderful highwayman's code of honor, on the other hand complete amorality will rule." A-155 puts it thus (p. 57), "Stealing is one of 'democracy's' life saving institutions. The slogan is "He who does not steal, perishes".... The general attitude is that stealing is not stealing in the traditional sense of the word, but a nation-saving activity." Or A-217 (p. 19), "In 1952... I was working at a gas station and was stealing the gas. I sold it on the black market especially to my friends, from the army. In Hungary anybody who wanted to live has stolen. Stealing was not considered as a sin, because it was against the state." A-132 stated without comment (pp. 14, 16) "I had

no other job, but I increased my salary illegally by false accounting.... My salary was from 700-800 forints per month. My illegal income was one thousand and two hundred forints per month."

It is not possible to disentangle the political responsibility of the regime for this prevalent amorality from the influences that operate wherever an established order is undermined. Nearly forty years ago, Thomas and Zuanieski in "The Polish Peasant" wrote of the social disorganization that overwhelmed so many of the first generation Polish immigrants to the United States. Similar symptoms of disorganization have been observed with the successive waves of migration. Hungary has been subjected to very rapid economic changes which can be considered quite separately from the political changes. Many of the effects bear comparison with those which confront an immigrant family. In the words of "The Polish Peasant," the unassimilated families are "scattered and isolated within a practically unknown, usually indifferent, often contemptuous, sometimes even hostile society, in poor and insecure economic conditions, with very insufficient leadership, these small groups of people whose higher interests were indissolubly bound up with their old milieu and who, separated from this milieu, have lost the only real foundation of their cultural life."

Whatever the sources of the change, Hungary was being

expected to transform herself from a paternalistic, land-oriented economy to a modern adaptive society. It is little wonder that Hungarians observed and deplored the decline in sexual and public morality. But a second shock was awaiting those who found refuge in the West, and particularly perhaps in Germany.

A-222, a boy of 17, delivers his judgment (pp. 21-22), "Relatively speaking [morality] went down in Hungary, but it is still higher from my experience than what I see here in Germany. Discipline is still retained in Hungary among the young people. For example, in school we had to behave well. The discipline was strict and hard. In school you can't chew gum or walk down the hall with your hands in your pockets.... If a person overdresses, he or she is sent home... When I was in school in Hungary I did not like the discipline and felt it was strict, but now that I am here I see that it was good."

This section will close with an analysis of the deprivation in relation to economic status. We have here two sets of facts. The first is the respondents' Consumer Frustration score, that is the extent to which they felt deprived in their living conditions. Table 6 shows the relation between this consumer frustration and their overall deprivation experiences.

Table 6 -- Consumer Frustration and Deprivation

Deprivation:	Substantial frustration	Unimportant frustration	Some benefit	All respondents
High	55 %	25 %	22 %	34 %
Medium	39 %	34 %	22 %	27 %
Low	6 %	41 %	56 %	39 %
	100 % (31)	100 % (47)	100 % (18)	100 % (96)

It will be seen that more than two-thirds of the respondents, according to the writer's scoring, regard themselves as no worse off than average, but even so a large number regard themselves as deprived rather than advantaged in the context of the Hungarian situation. Almost certainly the respondents in this sample are better off than the Hungarian population as a whole; and it seems likely therefore that each respondent's evaluation of his living conditions is judged against two simultaneous criteria -- the statistically 'normal' standard in Hungary and the ideologically 'normal' standard based on earlier conditions or on what he regards as appropriate for his station in life.

The analysis shows, however, that a marked association does exist between overall deprivation experiences and Consumer Frustration.

The second question is whether on the more 'objective' criterion of earnings there is a relationship between income and deprivation. The difficulty about this test is a practical one,

in that only 66 of the 96 cases can be used in the analysis; the remaining cases concern students, released prisoners or respondents who did not give any details of their earnings. Even with the 66 cases there are certain recurring problems. In the first place, for consistency it would be best to use the criterion of family income, and it is not indicated with clarity in every instance whether, for example, the wife contributed to the family income. Furthermore, it is well known that respondents' statements on earnings are liable to distortion even under the most favorable conditions of investigation. With this caution, the question of the relationship between family income and overall deprivation experiences is of such interest and importance that the results are shown as Table 7.

Table 7 -- Family Income and Deprivation

		Family Income (forints a month)			
		Not more than 1500	1501 - 2000	2001 or more	All respondents
Deprivation	{ High	54 %	47 %	10 %	38 %
	{ Medium	23 %	20 %	29 %	24 %
	{ Low	23 %	33 %	61 %	38 %
		100 % (30)	100 % (15)	100 % (21)	100 % (66)

It is of interest that the median family income of the respondents is well above 1500 frt. a month. The mean income is considerably higher as it includes respondents with extremely high incomes

(e.g., A-122 whose operatic singer husband earned 800 - 10,000 frts., and A-500 who earned 5000-6000 frt. as an author).

The analysis shows a clear connection between the overall deprivation experiences and the family income, which shines through the imperfections in the information.

This leaves only one question on this issue, which is how close the relationship is between the family income and Consumer Frustration. To examine this question, a cross tabulation has been made of each available case for which family income and Frustration Score is available. Excluding students, apprentices, released prisoners and those who did not state their incomes, this leaves 73 cases. The results of this cross tabulation are shown in summary form in Table 8.

Table 8 -- Family Income and Consumer Frustration

		<u>Consumer Frustration</u>		
		Unimportant frustration or benefit	Substantial frustration	
<u>Family income</u>	1501 frt. or more	36	5	41
	1500 frt. or less	13	19	32
		49	24	73

It can be seen by inspection that the obvious result is confirmed, namely that the better off feel better off. Further-

more, detailed examination shows that no grosser exceptions are recorded. For example, no respondent giving a family income of more than 2000 frt. claimed to be more than normally deprived, and only one respondent with an income of less than 1500 frt. was scored as relatively favored as a consumer. This demonstrates that in a near-subsistence economy like that in Hungary, consumer frustration reflects real poverty rather than the inability to 'keep up with the Joneses.'

C. Religious Deprivation

One respondent in the present sample, A-227, was a high dignitary in the Greek Orthodox church. He had been imprisoned for 11 years and was released in July 1956 after suffering great hardships and tortures.

He had spent the three months since his release in traveling around Hungary, and perhaps particularly because of his isolation in the intervening years he was able to gain an impression of what the regime had done to religion in Hungary.

He reports (pp. 32-33) "Everywhere in Hungary there is a definite interest in religion.... People wanted to talk to me, to learn where I had been, what had happened to me.... People had great sympathy and great interest in clergy who have been persecuted and oppressed. The attempts to ridicule the clergy have backfired. People in general have consistently helped those monks and nuns who had been kicked out of their cloisters or convents.... Religious life is more intensive and people attend church as a demonstration.... Town after town which I visited I saw crosses on the outside of the church being illuminated and candles burning day and night at the shrines. This is a silent demonstration against the regime." In another place he describes a talk which he had with a high Communist official on his return to Budapest (p. 35) "we talked rather frankly about religion and communism and he said that the way communism looks at religion now, it would take at least 150 years to eradicate

religion completely from the minds of men. This the Communists are ready to do and they know they have a longer battle on their hands than they counted on previously."

This statement makes a number of interesting points. Some of these are regularly confirmed by other respondents. For example the idea that church attendance was used by many people as a silent protest against the regime is repeated many times. Thus, A-243 replies (pp. 59-60), "I went to church regularly and openly. Nowadays I do not go to church so often as in Hungary. There it was a matter of giving a backbone to a man, a matter of psychological resistance. A-212 (p. 19) explains churchgoing by the fact that "it represented a silent demonstration against the regime. Sundays there were regular mob scenes before churches taking on almost the aspect of demonstrations.... Much of churchgoing was of a political nature." According to A-558 (p. 28) "Fear of getting into trouble was a strong factor in keeping part of the Hungarians away from attending church services. But, at the same time, the majority of the people attended due to that 'in spite of' feature of the Hungarian character."

The evidence from this sample suggests that the Roman Catholics may have been more assiduous churchgoers than those of other faiths, but the material on this point does not bear close analysis. Certainly it was the majority belief among

respondents that Roman Catholics had been more persecuted by the regime than those of other faiths. A-201, one of the prisoners released in the Revolution, states (p. 39) "I saw more Roman Catholic priests in prison than Protestant ministers." Many believed that Roman Catholics were persecuted more because they were more firmly or more fanatically anti-regime, but one respondent (A-134, p. 26) accounted for it in terms of their "phoney ritual." In contrast it was felt by some that, as A-112 puts it (p. 60) "The Protestants definitely tried to warm themselves at the fire. Catholics and Jews were in an entirely different category."

Detailed examination shows, however, that relatively few were directly deprived of their right of religious observance. It seems to have been the policy of the regime to have concentrated its anti-religious attentions on children and students, who were either prevented from receiving religious instruction or given actively anti-religious instruction or both, and on Communist party members and officials who were required to keep away from religious observances. Other particularly deprived individuals were penalized in this additional way. A-119, another prisoner released by the revolution, reports (p. 30) "In the prisons, praying was not allowed even privately, though no official declaration to this effect was ever made. On the contrary, without the prison as well as within, they proclaimed

their religious liberalism. However in 1952 I was reprimanded because I was found sitting in solitary confinement with my hands folded in the gesture of prayer."

Some respondents described ways in which they tried to keep their religious observances secret, such as by attending churches in another section of the town, but the majority do not appear to have felt that this was necessary. The exceptions would mainly be state officials or those holding vulnerable executive jobs. In general, the regime appears to have followed the policy which, as one respondent points out (A-118, p. 31), was proposed by Engels in "The Dialectics of Nature" in which he minimizes the religious problem, proposing tolerance, because "all this will be solved eventually by itself." Thus, according to the church dignitary (A-227, p. 43b), "The Hungarian state does give separate aid for certain churches out of separate state funds if the church is considered an art memorial or a monument." Again much store is laid on re-education in the schools and in the development of more politically amenable churches by the appointment of 'peace priests.'

It has to be admitted that in general the policy of encouraging religion to wither away was proving highly successful. Certainly some older middle-class families, and those of their sons who enjoyed particularly close family relationships, struggled to maintain their religious observances. In the country

districts, religion was still possibly a major force, but the sample is too short of country people to be sure of this. There must have been some others like the villager (A-565, p. 26) who said, "I attended church every Sunday. I would have been ashamed not to go because the wife of the minister would have said something." But, another respondent (A-234, p. 26) reports, "apart from peasants, churchgoing ceased to be a social occasion, a matter of habit... I am sure that religion means much less to the present generation than it did to our parents. We operate on the help-yourself principle, not on help of God." A-112 answers (pp. 60-61) that religion 'means much, much less. This is so because the sciences are progressing also. The sciences have more and more popular results as time goes on. Everybody begins to look upon energy as the first cause, rather than upon God."

Time after time in the protocols we find respondents who, although they report their 'official' religion, proceed to explain that religion does not mean much to them. Like A-123 (p. 34), a Roman Catholic woman, they could not find the time to go to church. A-103, a Protestant woman, stated (p. 36) "If I happened to pass by a church I went in; otherwise I didn't have too much time." A-106, whose Jewish parents had been baptized Catholics in 1945, attempted to account for his loss of faith (p. 56) "It might be the Communist education or maybe the effect of the war, but neither I nor any member of my

family believed in God."

The religious condition of Hungary in 1956 appears to be well summarized by the released prisoner A-168 in the following words (p. 32) "According to the confidential estimation of fellow-prisoner monks and priests, not more than one-fourth or one-third of the total population is religious out of conviction. The rest, both Catholics and Protestants, are indifferent. Nevertheless, our culture has remained unchangedly Christian in spirit. The remaining two-thirds or three-fourths of the population are either indifferent, or 'Christians on paper,' or practice religion out of habit, or out of respect for general moral principles, or, finally, practice religion as a means to demonstrate their political opposition."

Taking into account the rather tenuous nature of the religious affiliation of some of the respondents, it is still possible to ascertain whether the overall Deprivation experiences of respondents affiliated to any particular religious group are more severe than those of other respondents. In particular it is possible to test whether, as various respondents suggest, it is true that Roman Catholics as a group were more penalized than others. Results are shown as Table 9.

Table 9 -- Religious Affiliation and Deprivation

		Religious Affiliation				
Deprivation:		Roman Catholic	Protestant (Inc. Lutheran, Reformed, etc.)	Mixed R.C. - Prot.	Other	All respondents
High		37 %	35 %	8 %	50 %	34 %
Medium		26 %	25 %	46 %	17 %	27 %
Low		37 %	40 %	46 %	35 %	39 %
		100 % (51)	100 % (20)	100 % (13)	100 % (12)	100 % (96)

It will first be noted that in over one-half of all usable cases the respondents were Roman Catholic in 'official' religion. The twelve in the 'other and none' category are divided between Jews, Greek Catholics, various other combinations and one avowed atheist.

It will however be seen that, contrary to the expectations expressed, the deprivation experiences for Protestants were no less than those for Roman Catholics. While this result is subject to the vagaries of the sample, the belief that Roman Catholics were singled out for persecution receives no support from the material here available. Curiously, if the small sub-sample permits the generalization, the respondents with one Roman Catholic and one Protestant parent appear to have suffered less overall deprivation experiences than any other group.

D. Conflict with the Regime

It is an astonishing fact that 43 of the 96 respondents (45 %) whose cases are here being analyzed had either been arrested and imprisoned themselves or had had at least one close relative who had been in prison with or without trial. In a very few cases the imprisonment was not of a directly political nature, being for example ostensibly the result of an offense against trading regulations, but in the great majority of cases the imprisonment was directly on political grounds. In most instances the respondent was aware of the nature of the charge, and few respondents in the Research Project interview denied the truth of the charges that had been preferred against them.

It is not within the province of this report to discuss the ideological considerations or even the actions that led these respondents and their families into conflict with the regime. Furthermore, a majority of those with a major arrest and imprisonment history are among the category of 'high scorers' in the sample and will be discussed as such in a later section. This leaves for discussion here the way in which conflict with the regime was built into the ordinary pattern of deprivation of the respondents.

The two aspects that are constantly arising are the universality of the machinery of political control and the arbitrary way in which victims of penalization appear to have been chosen.

Although obviously the system of kader sheets must have been less than completely efficient, every individual must have felt oppressed by their existence, by the uncertainty as to what they contained and by uncertainty as to whether any punishment was forthcoming. As A-123 comments (p. 42) "People were compelled to think in terms of the kader. The fact that the loyalty dossiers exist and that their function in the Communist society is of decisive importance, made people aware of the importance of the kader, and the Communists succeeded most effectively in keeping people in line through the kader."

Many respondents made similar comments, indicating that they had to operate on the assumption that their political misdeeds or ideological mistakes were on their kader sheets. Even if they committed no openly illegal act they had to be prepared for denunciation by false testimony. An apparently random sample of Hungarians were arrested or disappeared.

Out of this uncertainty and terror two rather general attitudes seemed to emerge. One result was that a number of quite ordinary citizens began to become increasingly interested in politics. Many respondents reported that their interest had been growing. On the other hand few believed that they could or should actively intervene in political matters. It was characteristic to state "I was very interested in politics"

but to proceed with the qualification "...but only as a bystander." They joined DISZ if they were not too old, joined their trade union "to get the benefits of the cheap holiday and travel benefits," even joined the Communist party if this should overcome a barrier to their career. But overriding all these was the desire not to be too prominent, not to do anything that might be envied by others, not to possess anything that might be coveted. Thus A-203 (p. 30) "In 1949 my family and I appraised the situation... we gave up our big apartment and took a smaller one.... This was a very good solution for two reasons. First of all we were not subject to political attacks because of having a big apartment and secondly it was easier to keep it clean without servants." A-106, a woman engineer, states (p. 35)

Until my 22nd year I was dreaming of a career and leading position, but somehow I changed later. My desire after that was to have a quiet life. I didn't want to have any leading position because somehow those people in leading positions were always with one foot in jail."

This becomes the main question of interest. What, if any, are the characteristics of these who came most emphatically into conflict with the regime? (See A-226, p. 84).

One item in the Deprivation analysis is concerned with arrest history. With this material it is possible to test various ideas about the types of people who were in conflict with the

authorities. The first idea to be tested is that those with a serious arrest history will be those with a high overall deprivation record. The results of an analysis on this point are given in Table 10.

Table 10 -- Arrest History and Deprivation

		Arrest History			
		Serious	Minor	None	All respondents
Deprivation	{ High	76 %	22 %	19 %	34 %
	{ Medium	-	50 %	32 %	27 %
	{ Low	24 %	28 %	49 %	39 %
		100 % (25)	100 % (18)	100 % (53)	100 % (96)

It thus seems clear, as might be expected, that those who were most deprived by the regime were those who were most severely victimized by the regime. What this analysis does not show is whether the victims were moved to punishable acts by their dislike of the regime or whether their dislike of the regime was fanned by their personal arrest experiences.

Close analysis of these cases is first concerned with whether any particular age group is particularly prone to a severe arrest history. It might be expected, for example, that the fiery and active youth who would be expected to take a prominent part in the revolution would be shown by this analysis to have

been particularly prone to arrest. Table 11 summarizes the connection between age and arrest history.

Table 11 -- Arrest History and Age

		Age Group			Total
		25 or less	26-40	41 and more	
Arrest history	Serious	9	7	9	25
	Minor & none	28	27	16	71
	Total	37	34	25	96

According to this Table it is the older and not younger members of the sample who had experienced the worst arrest history. This might be partly explained by the fact that the youngest members of the sample had not had as much time to accumulate an arrest history, but that does not seem to be a sufficient explanation.

Another consideration is the connection between social status and arrest history. The relationships are given in the following summary tables.

Table 12 -- Arrest History and Social Origin

		Social Origin		Total
		Working & lower middle	Upper middle & landowner	
Arrest history	Serious	10	15	25
	Minor & none	27	44	71
	Total	37	59	96

[N.B. 1 misplaced case in this]

Surprisingly, there is no obvious relationship between arrest history and social origin.

Table 13 -- Arrest History and Own Occupational Status

		Own Occupational Status		
		Working class	Middle class	Total
Arrest history	Serious	11	14	25
	Minor & none	30	41	71
	Total	41	55	96

Table 13 also shows no obvious connection between arrest history and the respondents' own occupational history. There is, however, one curious fact in the more detailed breakdown. This is that all respondents who had suffered extreme deprivation on arrest history ended up either in unskilled manual jobs or in upper middle and professional jobs. Thus of the 14 respondents involved, 3 were prisoners released by the revolutionaries, 4 were unskilled laborers at the time of the revolution and the remaining 7 were back in upper-middle class and professional jobs.

Part of this is a consequence of the vagaries of official policy in which the two thaws associated with the demotions of Rakosi led to certain reinstatements. For example, in the immediate pre-revolutionary relaxations respondent A-442, one of

the worst victims in the sample, reports (pp. 33-34), "From October 1954 to January 1955, I was hiding in total illegality. On August 10, 1956, I received a call for rehabilitation and on September 1 I was offered and accepted a contract as editor of Hétfői Hírlap." But apart from this exceptional case, it is clear that it was possible for at least some of those who had completed their term of imprisonment to regain their standing in society.

The next point is covered in Table 14 which examines the relationship between arrest history and the change in occupational status.

Table 14 -- Arrest History and Change in Occupational Status

		Change in Occupational Status			
		Downward	No change	Upward	Total
Arrest history	Serious	11	8	6	25
	Minor or none	35	23	13	71
	Total	46	31	19	96

This Table suggest, though it does not prove, one very interesting conclusion. It will be seen that those who had achieved upward occupational mibility have more than their share of respondents with a severe arrest history. This result, when taken with the fact previously mentioned that a high proportion

of ex-political prisoners retrieved their upper middle-class professional status does tend to support the belief of some respondents, already quoted, that 'somehow those people in leading positions were always with one foot in jail.'

We thus begin to obtain some dim outline of the respondents who were most likely to have suffered in a direct political way at the hands of the regime. They would be more likely to be over 40 years old and in a position of some importance in the structure of Hungarian life. Accustomed to authority, exposed by their very elevation, borne down by the restrictions and never absent terror of the political control, they had no great hopes for the future beyond the blessings of peace and freedom. For this important category of respondents, the Revolution provided the first feasible opportunity for escape.

One other aspect of conflict with the regime remains to be examined. This is the question of what action the respondents took in the revolution and in what ways their actions were related to their overall deprivation record.

For this purpose use is made of the information given by respondents on their personal contributions to and participation in the uprising.

It is to be expected that those who had been most severely deprived by the regime would be most actively committed to the revolutionary cause. The truth of this idea is tested in Table 15.

Table 15 -- Participation and Deprivation

		Participation			
		Very active	Normally active	Inactive	All respondents
Deprivation	High	59 %	26 %	19 %	34 %
	Medium	31 %	28 %	19 %	27 %
	Low	10 %	46 %	62 %	39 %
		100 % (29)	100 % (46)	100 % (21)	100 % (96)

It seems likely from these figures that the most deprived among the respondents were prepared to contribute more than their share to the revolution. This result has to be treated with caution, however, as it is possible that it is to some extent caused by the relatively influential positions held by the more deprived members of the sample. Analysis shows, however, that there is no significant connection between the age of respondents and the extent of their participation in the Revolution. Within the limits of the sample, somewhat less than one-third were very active and deeply committed at each age group.

E. Respondents' Evaluations of the Deprivations

In addition to their descriptions of how they fared in their different roles, respondents were asked (Interview Schedule, Section G, Q. 3) to choose the features in their life that had been most distasteful to them.

The question reads as follows:

"If you think back to day-to-day life in Hungary a few years ago, what were the main grievances you had?"

a) Here are some types of complaints we have heard about.

Can you tell which three of these were the most important for you?

SHOW RESPONDENT LIST

- i. Interference with family life
- ii. Interference with religious life
- iii. Inadequate housing
- iv. Disagreement with political ideas
- v. Inadequate food
- vi. Fear of arrest and terror
- vii. Violation of national dignity and traditions
- viii. Boredom and drabness
- ix. Interference with civil rights
- x. Inadequate opportunity to get ahead
- xi. Inadequate professional recognition
- xii. Presence of Soviet troops
- xiii. Distortion of facts by regime
- xiv. Overtaxation
- xv. Overwork

b) Which three of these were the least important for you?"

The whole list of 15 alternatives and the inclusion of the second "least important" question were only in the revised schedule, and the following analysis can only therefore be applied to the 72 respondents who were interviewed with this revised

schedule and who gave enough information for the calculation of a Deprivation Score. Of these, 7 gave no usable replies to these questions, either failing to answer or giving some such reply as "All equal." Many others failed to reply precisely as requested, but did mention one or more items in the most and/or least important categories. In some cases they mentioned more than 3 items. This leaves 65 cases on which the analysis can be based. The method of analysis used is given in Appendix B.

By this analysis there is an overwhelming vote given for the importance of the "political" grievances. The first three "most important" items are 'fear of arrest and terror,' 'presence of Soviet troops,' and 'disagreement with political ideas.' These three also rank near the bottom in the number of 'least important' mentions.

Those at the top of the 'least important' list are also at or near the bottom of the 'most important' list. These are, in rank order, 'boredom and drabness,' 'overtaxation,' and 'inadequate food.'

In terms of total mentions, 'fear of arrest and terror' was an easy winner. Some way behind that there was a bunch of seven almost equally mentioned items, including 'interference with family life,' 'inadequate housing,' 'inadequate food,' 'boredom and drabness,' and 'presence of Soviet troops.' In all these cases except the last cited, the number of 'least important'

mentions exceeded the number of 'most important' mentions.

A lowly member of this bunch which again, perhaps surprisingly, scored more 'least important' than 'most important' mentions was 'interference with religious life.' This result corroborates the conclusion already reached, namely that religious persecution was extremely important to a minority of the respondents, but was not a burning issue in the sample as a whole.

Within the total sample, an analysis has been made to discover whether those with above average and below average overall deprivation experiences differ from the total sample in their assessment of 'most important' and 'least important' grievances.

The results are unspectacular. Those in the upper quartile and in the lower quartile in terms of overall deprivation both select the same three 'most important' grievances as the general sample, i.e. 'fear of arrest and terror,' 'presence of Soviet troops,' 'disagreement with political ideas.' The only difference is that in the case of the 'low scorers' certain other personal grievances, i.e., 'interference with family life,' 'interference with civil rights,' and 'inadequate opportunity to get ahead' have caught up with the strictly political grievances.

It would be possible to compare the rankings of other subsamples, but these first results suggest a fair level of consensus on the most important and least important grievances.

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3. CHARACTERISTICS OF HIGH SCORERS AND LOW SCORERS

In conclusion, an attempt will be made to discern the main elements of deprivation by examining the two extreme groups, namely the 8 respondents with the least deprivation experiences and the 10 respondents with the severest deprivation experiences.

A. The Low Scorers

Of the 8 low scorers, one seems to share virtually no characteristics with the other seven. This is A-153, a young man of 22, the son of a farmer, he had a job as an electrician at a tractor station but wished that he could be a mechanic. At the time of the revolution he had been a soldier, and it seems that he was afraid of the consequences of his desertion. "As soon as I saw the revolution would not succeed, and that the Russians took over the power, I decided to leave Hungary. At that time the government started to search for escapee soldiers... I did not want to go back to the army. I could not bear this system which is there now" (p. 8). He does not seem to have had a very harrassing history; although his father was forced to join a collective farm in the fall of 1955, neither this nor his other experiences seem to have affected him noticeably. His equanimity

can probably be explained by his character, and his low deprivation score would follow from his low aspirations. He presumably found himself among the refugees because he was a deserter from the Hungarian army. He concludes, "Maybe I will be able to go back in two or three years. (p. 54).

The next two are students, each aged 24. One of these (A-210) was a musician whose main motive, according to the interviewer, was that he "wants to concertize everywhere" (p. 1). He was even careful not to participate in the revolution "because if his hands might be harmed, then he would never become a concert pianist." (p. 9). So, instead, "from October 28 to November 1 he practised his piano from early morning until midnight. It was a very creative period in his life.... On November 1 he left Budapest and on November 4 he crossed the border" (p. 10). As a student before the revolution he had lived comfortably because his father was the chief doctor in a clinic, earning 3,500-3,800 frt. He had no friends, no wife, no ties in Hungary. Although he had suffered little, his musical career would obviously benefit by emigration.

The other student (A-226) was another potentially high earner. "I chose my future profession freely. First of all, because I lived in a village until the age of 12 and was interested in animals. Secondly, I wanted to be a veterinarian because I saw it as a free profession, which was not bound to office hours,

or any special time or place, and did not depend on the instructions of higher authorities.... Veterinarians make a very good living in Hungary.... By Western standards they don't do so well, however; they have to make their rounds on a motor-cycle, instead of a car." (p. 33). The implication is obvious.

Meanwhile, in Hungary, "I myself lived very well, but the disadvantages of this were strongly felt by my parents. The reason for the fact that I was so well off was that my four older sisters and brothers helped to get me educated." During the revolution this respondent had been quite active but on October 29 he decided, with many others, that the revolution had been won and so he set off for his parents' home, which was in a village on the Austrian frontier. He left Hungary on November 13, being one of 500 from his village to leave the country.

The other five 'low scorers' have various characteristics in common. By a coincidence they were all aged between 36 and 38. (The one woman in the group (A-122) refused to give her age, but internal evidence suggests that she was 36 years old.) All were either upwardly mobile or had had upper-middle class parents. Only one (A-473) had still only a middle class job as a lecturer and administrator for sports training and he was blessed with a wife who was a very successful manicurist who earned, with tips, 2000 frt. a month, so that their joint monthly income was over 3000 frt. All the other respondents had higher incomes.

A-616, a journalist, averaged 3,500 frt., had 'a beautiful apartment' (p. 41); A-458, a chief accountant, earned together with his wife 4,600 frt. "I always made good money because I knew the ropes better than the average person.... To illustrate, I will say that I invested about 50,000 frt. in our home in 6 or 7 years (good furniture, radio, washing machine)." (p. 20). A-500, a writer and politician, earned 5-6,000 frt. "I lived in a villa and I could afford to buy myself everything I wanted." (p. 24). Finally, A-122, daughter of a tailor and wife of an operatic bass who earned 8-10,000 frt. a month, did not have a job outside the home, was known "one of the ten best-dressed women of Hungary" (p. 1). "Our conditions were relatively acceptable" (p.8).

Obviously these were drawn from the elite of the regime. But another fact also links them. Apart from the last-named wife of the opera singer, who with her husband had been a staunch Social Democrat, all the other four had had some Communist connections at some point of their career. A-458, the chief accountant, was a Social Democrat in the mid-40's, but did not reply to the question whether he had been a member of the Communist Party, but he was avowedly a Marxist and historical materialist. A-473 had gone over to the Communist Party with the Social Democrats. A-500 joined the CP in 1941. "By 1954 I had no illusions left, I was in a state of complete negation" (pp. 72-3), and he spent

the last two years before the revolution in a furious whirl of political intrigue. A-616 was also a party member up to the revolution, and his attitude to the revolution was highly equivocal, "Many things had tied him to the regime -- a great part of his life was associated with it, although, during the last years, he had been in opposition.... His opinion was that the revolution was invincible, from a moral viewpoint anyhow, and the only way to avoid a civil war was to fulfil the demands of the crowds.... During the next days -- October 29 and 30, he was not so active; up till that period he was not interested in his own individual fate, but suddenly it dawned on him: A new world is in the making, am I going to have a place in it? He felt that morally he was entitled to a place, he had given three years to bring this new world forth, but as an ex-Communist, nevertheless, he had reasons to be concerned; after all, he had been a publicist for five years for the regime the downfall of which he so ardently desired now" (A-616, pp. 28-30).

These examples show that it was possible to outsmart the regime, to live comfortably while you dabbled in the dominant political philosophy. Naturally not a single one of these eight low scorers had any arrest history. Apart from the one veterinary student, not one played a significant part in the revolution. One feels that each would make a satisfactory adjustment to Western conditions, because for each the only consistent conviction

is closely connected with self-preservation and self-furtherance.

B. The High Scorers

It will be remembered that earlier the curious fact was mentioned that all respondents who had suffered an extreme deprivation history ended up either in Occupational Class 2 or in Occupational Class 4, that is, they ended either in an unskilled working occupation or in an upper middle class occupation. Of the ten 'high scoring' cases next to be discussed there were two who had suffered this demotion from upper middle class to unskilled working and two others who had been forced down from the upper middle class to more skilled working class. As three others were prisoners released in the revolution, this leaves only three respondents in the group who had not suffered demotion. We will first examine their cases.

A-206 -- a Roman Catholic -- states twice in the protocol that he regards himself a priest by avocation. He persistently tried to prepare himself for the teaching order, but was prevented by the regime. He was arrested by the AVO in Miskolc, where he lived, four times between 1947 and 1955, for a short period on each occasion. While in the Miskolc AVO, he reports, "I was beaten up several times, 4 teeth knocked out, 2 broken ribs were the result. In the torture chamber they broke my finger and administered to me hormone injections. I received 12 such injections to stimulate sexual reactions. This was a favorite torture they used against priests. They recorded torture scenes,

hallucinations, and played them back in my cell." (p. 36).

For a period after release in 1955 he was working as an unskilled laborer, but it was because of his evident skill and drive that qualified him as an economist by a correspondence course and by 1956 was financial chief referent of the Mining Research Institute in Miskolc, but he could not reconcile himself to the regime. He took an active part in the revolution in Miskolc and a warrant for his arrest was issued on November 5.

The second respondent who had a professional job at the time of the revolution was A-442. He was qualified both as a forestry expert and as a journalist, but he was arrested in 1948 soon after having been dismissed from the assistant editorship of the Peasant Party newspaper. After that he was placed on the '3000' list which restricted him to 600 frt. manual job in a state enterprise. This victimization was retained until September 1, 1956, when, as had already been mentioned in another context, he was appointed assistant editor of Hetfői Hírlap. This respondent gives a very full description of the methods used by the AVO in eliciting confessions, at least some of which must have been based on his own experiences. This respondent suffered the ultimate tragedy on November 4. He was working in his editorial office that morning. "When he heard the cannonade of the attacking Russian tanks, he hurried home through the unguarded garden paths, only to find his house shattered and

parts of the bodies of his wife and child lying around, which he then buried on the spot with the help of his neighbors." (p.8).

Among those worst treated by the regime, it was generally agreed by respondents that ex-officers would be prominent. This is confirmed in the 'high scoring group' which includes two ex-officers and two other respondents who were sons of officers.

A-428 had been an officer in the Hungarian Air Force. He also wrote a successful novel that was made into a film. This social origin doomed him to demotion to a manual job. Although once or twice he rose to a skilled manual job, he was constantly being 'rationalized' out of these jobs because of his bad kader. It was only in the last two years before the revolution that the Communists did allow "a few so-called reactionary anti-people to be employed" (p. 29), and he got an executive job in charge of despatch at a machine repair works. Thus he was the third respondent in this 'high scoring' group who ended more or less in his original occupational status. But he was a complete misfit in the new regime.

The other high-scoring ex-officer was A-118, the most deprived of all respondents in the sample. He had been a career officer from 1924 to 1944 in Regent Horthy's entourage and was arrested by the Nazis at the same time as Horthy. He was freed by the Nazis on May 1, 1945, one day before the arrival of the U.S. troops.

After convalescence he returned to Hungary in November 1945 and became secretary of an anti-Communist underground movement. In December 1946 he was arrested and remained in prison until freed by the revolutionaries on November 1, 1956. He gives a vivid personal description of the physical, mental and spiritual tortures to which he had been subjected (p. 62). This is the first strictly political victim in the 'high scoring' group. Obviously his story is dominated by his prison experiences.

A-215 was penalized "because my father [an army officer] was since 1948 in the West and before that from 1945 to 1948 he was imprisoned. My mother was jailed between 1950 and 1954. According to the accusation she was spying for the West" (p.19). As a result he was only able to get into the Benedictine Gymnasium in Pannonhalma, and when he graduated he had to take a job that he hated and despised, that of statistician for the District Delivery Office, supervising ^fo~~o~~delivered deliveries of grain. "I wanted to become a doctor. In 1956 I was finally admitted to the University, but only to the Faculty of Law, and there also only to the Correspondence Section, and that was only because I was good at football." (p. 26) He was active in the revolution and left the country on November 20 because the AVH was looking for him.

A-244, whose father was a colonel and landowner, was similarly restricted in his career because of his social origin. Consequently he could only go to a technical school which had

many vacancies because of its bad reputation. His job was as a storeroom keeper. His uncle, his godfather, his brother and his father were among those whom he knew who had been arrested. He had been active in the revolution. "On November 10 I was captured, and then I made up my mind that if I ever succeeded in escaping I would leave the country. On the 11th I succeeded." (p. 16).

Both the last two officers' sons were young men of 20. The two 'high scoring' respondents who themselves had been officers were 45 and 48 years old.

The next two cases are of ex-civil servants. A-212, a graduate in economics, was an expert in foreign trade at the Ministry of Foreign Trade. In 1948 he was arrested for underground activities. He had no proper trial, but the charge was presumably justified "You know that I was a part of the greater student conspiracy, that is former university students, who were active politically and had a common background. I was arrested in the fall of 1948 under somewhat peculiar circumstances. It was a Saturday, I had picked up my pass and was ready to escape from the country that night. It was then that they arrested me." (pp. 25-26.) He was maltreated in prison. After 6 years he was released, but he had no hope of resuming his career. "His work after 1954 in no way corresponded to his talent and could hardly be called more than compulsory employment.... 'I found a job as, you

might say, a common laborer. I drove a truck.... There can be no talk of having liked my job.'" (p. 13.) Although not active in the revolution, he was obviously afraid of being arrested again, and he crossed the border on November 13.

A-202 (described on the face sheet as 24 years old, but probably older) had appeared to have excellent career prospects until April 1955, being both editor of a technical journal in the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Trade and also assistant professor at the College of Accountancy. In April he was arrested for illegal anti-state activities, in which he had been participating since 1948. He was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and was released by the revolutionaries. It is interesting that both these two last informants were officials in the Foreign Trade Department of the Government, which gave them unusual opportunities for contact with the West.

The third respondent who was released by the revolutionaries (A-201) describes himself as "a student and of course involuntarily a miner." The son of a shoemaker, he had been a University student for 5 semesters when in February 1951 he was arrested and imprisoned. He had been a leader of an underground group in Sopron between 1949 and 1951. After a regular trial he was sentenced to 12 years. In 1953 he was taken to a work camp at a mine where he remained until the revolution. He gives a full description of prison and work camp conditions.

Finally, A-238, aged 24, was the son of a merchant who supported the Arrow Cross movement and escaped to Germany at the end of the war. On his return in 1945, his father "was considered as a reactionary, a rightist, and a fascist" (p. 26) and was imprisoned for one year. Because of his consequent bad kader, the respondent was unable to go beyond grade school and had to be satisfied with a succession of unskilled manual jobs. Respondent was active in the revolution and left on November 6 "because my arrest at the barracks seemed imminent." (p. 15)

These ten cases epitomize the hardship suffered by real or imaginary enemies of the regime. Five of these were genuine political opponents of the Communists, the other five suffered because of their religious faith or because of the antecedents or activities of their fathers. In the event, all except two (A-206, the priest-executive and A-428, the ex-officer executive) were trying to live on impossible subsistence wages, in most cases under 1000 frt. a month. In no instance is there any difficulty in understanding why they felt it necessary to leave their country.

4. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The results reported in the Paper are concerned with the various socially imposed deprivations reported by respondents in this interview sample and with the extent to which deprivation in one respect is associated with an overall pattern of deprivation experiences.

The results show that there is a remarkable general consistency in the deprivation experiences of individuals. At least in a totalitarian society, it appears that the life experiences of the individual and the rewards and punishments administered by the regime do form a consistent whole, whether or not the selection of victims is in the first instance arbitrary or well considered.

It also seems undeniable that the political, and particularly the terroristic, interventions of the regime were much more important to the respondents than the inconveniences of living. On the other hand, the evidence does not support the belief that interference with religious life was of great importance to the majority of respondents.

Finally it is rather clear that the sample of respondents contains two radically different groups. On the one hand there are inveterate opponents of the regime, often people of mature age and accustomed to the exercise of power, whose motive for

leaving Hungary was basically one of despair. On the other hand there are the respondents who were still at an expansive stage of their careers, who had not been seriously inconvenienced by the regime, but who felt that they were approaching the limits of the potentialities offered by Hungary; their motive was basically hope and ambition rather than despair. It seems that it was primarily the 'accident' of the October revolution which opened the frontiers for the escape of these two groups, who were so different in characteristics from the normal trickle of refugees.

If these results are valid and can be generalised, their implications for political warfare are self-evident. It is clearly no good informing the citizens of a country such as Hungary about their own material conditions of life, because the audience will know about these better than the instructor, and in any case they are relatively unimportant. What would seem to be more powerful would be the demonstration, in deeds as well as words, that it is possible to run a modern state without the methods of terror and victimisation and with the minimum of political controls.

The Interview Material

The material on which the following analysis is based is derived from the 'A' Interview series. The total number interviewed in this series was about 125, but it entailed a very long and elaborate interview extending in some cases to three days and 150 pages of protocol, with the result that a proportion of interviews were abandoned incomplete.

As the proposed analysis requires the interview record to be virtually complete, only 96 cases were found to be acceptable for the present purpose, and even of these 24 were part of the pretest series which could not be used for certain analysis. The number of cases available is thus rather small.

It is also clear that the respondents who were successfully interviewed cannot be regarded as representative of any larger group. Those who left the country since October 1956 -- as all except one or two of the sample did -- cannot be assumed to be typical of the whole Hungarian population, nor even can participating respondents be assumed to be typical of Hungarian refugees as a whole. Certain comparisons have been made² and these indicate that the present sample under-represented older age-groups, and contains far too few women; it is, however,

² S. Alexander Weinstock, 'Composition of the CURFH "A" Interview Sample and Comparisons'

generally better in these respects than other sample surveys of Hungarian refugees. It also appears somewhat to redress the skew age distribution evident in the total of Hungarians paroled in the U.S. In respect of religion and ethnic distribution, the sample appears to be fairly representative. There is of course no means of comparing the CURPH sample with the whole Hungarian population in terms of their record of imprisonment and other deprivations.

To compensate for these shortcomings, the material recorded in many cases conveys a very comprehensive and vivid impression of the personal experiences and attitudes of the respondents. Even when questions were not specifically put, the extended interview situation gave respondents the chance to volunteer remarks and statements on a great variety of topics. While some protocols seem to reflect the difficulty of finding Hungarian-speaking interviewers who were sufficiently experienced and sufficiently disinterested for the highly-skilled and neutrally toned non-directive interviewing required, this is without doubt raw material of great interest and challenge to the social scientist.

These qualities of the material decided what use should be made of it. Clearly it was unsuitable for an attempt at sample census results. To estimate the peasant population of Hungary for the interview sample would obviously be absurd and it would

be equally absurd to use this material to estimate the proportion of the population as a whole who had undergone imprisonment or who had supported a particular political line.

The alternative was to use the cases available for a set of internal comparisons, to test certain ideas such as that the middle classes suffered worse economic deprivations than the lower classes.

This means that the present study is an explanatory rather than a descriptive survey. But although internal relationships can be demonstrated without necessitating a representative sample -- the only requirement is an adequate number of cases within each stratum or cell -- this does not release the analyst from the need for a representative sample if he wishes to generalize his relationships beyond the sample population. Fortunately there are some safeguards which act as partial substitution for probability sampling, and generally the quasi-experimental results which derive from an explanatory analysis are often accepted as less directly subject to sampling errors than directly descriptive results. This point has been much discussed in the literature, and although great caution is required⁶ some generalizations can frequently be established with reasonable confidence, particularly if the analysis results are internally consistent.

⁶For example Hyman and Sheatsley, in their methodological critique of 'The Authoritarian Personality,' object to the extension to some or all other populations of the correlations found in the sample studied--Christie and Jahoda 'Continuities in Social Research--The Authoritarian Personality' p. 57.

The other need is to take advantage of the richness of the protocols as case history material relating to the differential experiences of individuals. Even in a superficial overview, one striking conclusion is the very great range of experiences and backgrounds of the respondents who found their way into the sample. Within this diversity, there is an immediate impression of some grouping or patterning in the individual histories, and it was naturally part of the task to test and clarify this impression.

The last preliminary requirement is to examine as far as possible the validity and truthfulness of the recorded replies. This can only be done in a summary way. There are, however, indications of two sources of bias. One is due to the somewhat subjective stance of one or two of the interviewers. Another is due to the natural inclination of some respondents who have 'chosen freedom' to give answers that are palatable to America or American-sponsored interviewers. Thus the interviewer of A-128 comments on this respondent (p. 1), "Respondent gave the impression of not giving his honest opinion but instead what is expected of him." Some respondents showed themselves vividly aware of this difficulty. For instance, A-615 comments (p. 153), "According to his experience, even though the recent Hungarian refugees are speaking unquestionably in good faith, still, without intending to distort the facts, the majority of them falls

into one great error in direct proportion to the time which is between them and the Revolution. This happens in the case of every witness -- his imagination and desires get tangled up with the facts and he is inclined to keep silent about things which, in his opinion, would not meet the approval of Western people. Such an attitude is the more dangerous because the refugees are increasingly distrustful of others and they might think that the interview may unfavorably influence their fate, no matter what high esteem Columbia University has in their eyes and irrespective of how reliable they believe the interviewer to be. This is particularly true in the case of the refugees in the United States. In Respondent's experience, distortions tend to move the interviewees to the 'right' and this is all the more dangerous because the Hungarian events are misinterpreted by the West in the name of this 'rightist' mentality."

A third fact that has to be taken into consideration is that there was for most respondents an interval of several months between the date of leaving Hungary and the date of the interview. During these months, it is inevitable that the respondents were constantly discussing among themselves and with Westerners both their experiences in Hungary and their attitudes to these experiences. This perfectly natural behavior is confirmed by answers in the protocol and it has to be accepted that many replies contain a large element of hindsight and reinterpretation. Very many respondents report that they keep thinking of it

constantly,"; A-403 adds (p. 6), "And even if I myself would be able to forget, in the camp where I am now there is talk always about the things at home." But few were as naive as A-153 who comments (p. 16), "Yes, I've heard that we were exploited."

The interviews that are the sole basis of the present paper represent only a fraction of the total fact-finding effort of the Research Project. This would probably have reassured A-118, who reflects a fairly common anxiety about this type of polling (p. 141) "At the same time as the public-opinion-like questioning is going on, the selection and questioning of personalities of the highest intellectual level should not be overlooked. I should like to urge you also to beware of applying numerical and mechanical methods in evaluating the interviews. The material which is to be worked upon can often have no more meaning than pointing to the existence of a problem, the elucidation of which may necessitate further and supplementary information."

The Analysis

The purpose of including both a descriptive and a quantitative analysis on each point is to use the quantitative tests as a check on the descriptive extracts. There are practical difficulties in mastering the contents of a protocol which in some cases is 150 pages long. To assist assimilation, a proportion of the interviews were dissected and relevant data extracted, using one large working sheet for each interview. On this sheet a distinction is made between 10 personal roles (consumer; worker; politician and trade unionist; revolutionary; family man; intellectual and art lover; student; religious man; other roles (including social life); and social class). For each of these roles, verbatim extracts were made from the protocols of any material relevant to each of the following five aspects: the respondent's self image; his performance as recorded in the interview; his role frustrations; the sources of his frustrations; his role satisfactions; and the sources of his satisfactions. Naturally in the present sample the frustrations greatly outweigh the satisfactions.

This analysis was completed for nearly half of the A Interviews. It provides a useful synoptic account of the experiences and attitudes of each individual. Practice showed, however, that it was more satisfactory as a descriptive than as an analytical tool. It was still too long for evaluation of the history of the

individual, and for this purpose a simplified evaluatory analysis was made of all 96 cases providing an adequate coverage of the interview schedule. This continued the theoretical approach of the first analysis but included an immediate evaluation of the 'net' role frustrations of the individual. As some of the frustrations were found to be impossible to evaluate in one dimension, the scores relating to certain of the roles were broken down into two or more separate items. A total of 16 independent scores were thus made for each individual, according to which the greatest net deprivation would be scored 5 and the lowest net deprivation would be scored 1. In order to ensure consistency and to facilitate further examination, brief reference notes were attached to each score of each H.P. individual.

The individual deprivation items.

The sixteen items which were separately scored from each usable protocol are listed and briefly explained below.

1. Consumption. Material relating to food, clothing, housing and the standard of living generally. Mainly from W-6, 9, & 11 (Pretest W-9). Scored from 5 - Extreme deprivation (used for prisoners only); through 4 - Great deprivation (very poor); 3 - Moderate deprivation (e.g., Couldn't buy a tape-recorder, otherwise adequate); 2 - Some advantage (e.g., I was lucky).

2. Last job. Refers to working conditions. Mainly from W 2-3 (Pretest W-3). Scored from 5 - Extreme deprivation (used

for prisoners only); through 4 - Very bad conditions (e.g., basic-breaking manual); 3 - Moderate (e.g., quite pleasant but underpaid); 2 - ~~UNDESIRABLE~~ Favorable (e.g., liked job very much).

3. Job frustration. Refers to gap between actual job and occupational self-image. Mainly from W-5 (Pretest W-8). Scored from 5 - Extreme frustration (prisoners or very badly demotivated workers); 4 - Substantial frustration (e.g., secretary who wanted to open dress shop); 3 - Minor frustration (e.g., assistant technician who had vague idea of becoming a lawyer); 2 - Favorable (e.g., this is my life's work!)

4. Political attitude. Refers to degree of frustration occasioned by basic conflict with regime. Mainly from G-2 (Pretest G-3a). Scored from 5 - Extreme opposition to 2 - Basic agreement.

5. Political attitude change. Refers to political rethinking due to greater experience of communism, etc. Mainly from G-3 (Pretest G-3c).

6. Membership. Refers to degree of identification with regime. Mainly from G-5 (Pretest G-6,7,8). Scores from 5 - (complete rejection) through 2 (acceptance) (e.g., CP member or DISZ secretary).

7. Arrest history. Refers to extent of arrest history or of near relatives. Mainly from G-11, 12 (Pretest G-11). Scores from 5 (Extreme personal arrest history); through 4 (Moderate

personal arrest history or extreme arrest history of e.g. father);
3 (Slight personal or moderate near relative arrest history);
2 (No arrest history).

8. Participation. Refers to participation in revolution. Mainly from R-4,5,6 (Pretest R-5). Scores from 5 (Leading or very active role) through 2 (inactive).

9. Family. Refers to pejorative effect of regime on own family life. Mainly from S-5, 11 (Pretest S-26). Scores from 5 (Extremely destructive effect) through 2 (Advantageous, e.g. brought family closer together).

10. Leisure, intellectual. Refers to interference of regime with intellectual life. This question was of no great value, as there was only slight evidence of this kind of interference, and that mainly indirect, e.g. by filling up leisure with compulsory lectures on historical materialism.

11. Leisure, social. Refers to interference with normal social activities. Also an ineffective question for mainly the same reasons.

12. Student. Refers to interference with studies, e.g. by refusing admission to university, or dictating the subject to be studied. Mainly from S-2 (Pretest S-1). Scored from 5 (Extreme deprivation) through 2 (Special assistance from regime).

13. Religious frustration. Refers to interference with personal rights of religious observance. Mainly from S-20 (Pretest S-31). Scored from 5 (Extreme deprivation) through 3 (No deprivation). In point of fact, serious deprivation on this score was rare.

14. Social origin. Refers to occupational status of father. Mainly from S-5, 22a (Pretest W-1g, S-10). Scored from 5 (Aristocrat and landowner); 4 (Professional and Upper middle class); 3-4 (Lower middle class); 3 (Upper working class); 2 (Lower class and peasant).

15. Social origin frustration. Refers to difficulties occasioned by social origin. Mainly from S-5k, S-22a,b) Pretest S-16). Scored from 5 (extreme frustration) through 2 (advantaged by social origin).

16. Attitude to social change. Refers to respondents' experiences of and attitudes to the changes in social convention, social equality, etc. Mainly from S-23 (Pretest no special source). Scored 5 (Extremely hostile) through 2 (Very favorable).

The application of the above scales to individual cases is clearly subjective, and is backed by no objective procedure. Their only strength lies in the fact that they were all assessed by the same individual, and their main justification lies in their usefulness in establishing a ranking of the respondents in terms of their deprivation experiences.

Deprivation Categories.

It will have been noticed that the extreme deprivation on each item is scored as 5 and substantial deprivation is scored as 4. As the 16 items have been selected to provide a profile of the total deprivation experiences, it is possible to rank each respondent in terms of deprivation by counting the number of individual items on which he has scored 4 or 5. This gives the following distribution of the 96 respondents about which there is sufficient information.

No. of scores of 4 or 5	13	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1	0
No. of respondents	1	2	2	5	3	5	7	8	13	13	14	15	5	3

This distribution makes it possible to construct three deprivation categories:

High deprivation, applied to respondents scoring 6 or more --
33 cases

Medium deprivation, applied to respondents scoring 4 or 5 --
26 cases

Low deprivation, applied to respondents scoring 3 or less --
37 cases

The above 3 categories are those used in Tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10 and 15 of the report.

Categories used in Tables.

An explanation of the other categories used in each Table in the report follows when necessary.

Table 4 -- Job Conditions -- Item 2 --	Unfavorable	5,4
	Normal	3
	Favorable	2
Table 5 -- Job Frustration -- Item 3 --	Intense	5
	Considerable	4
	Unimportant	3
	Benefit	2
Tables 6,8 -- Consumer Frustration -- Item 1 --		
	Substantial frustration	5,4
	Unimportant frustration	3
	Some benefit	2
Table 10 -- Arrest History -- Item 7 --	Serious	5,4
	Minor	3
	None	2
Table 15 -- Participation -- Item 8 --	Very active	5,4
	Normally active	3
	Inactive	2

Respondents' Evaluations of the Deprivations.

This analysis was undertaken for 72 respondents interviewed with the revised Schedule, using Question G-3 of the Schedule which provides a prompt list from which the respondent had to select the 3 deprivation items that he considered the most important and the 3 that he considered the least important.

It was found that every one of the 15 items was mentioned at least once, both as the 'most important' and as the 'least important' grievance. The total number of mentions of each separate grievance is shown in the following Table.

Orientation	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII	XIV	XV	Total
Most important (H)	13	10	8	20	6	33	13	2	16	16	5	24	14	3	6	189
Least important (L)	15	16	20	3	21	4	1	25	1	7	6	3	5	23	15	166
H - L	-3	-6	-12	+17	-15	+29	+12	-23	+15	+9	-3	+31	+9	-19	-9	
H + L	28	26	28	23	27	37	14	27	17	23	13	27	19	26	21	

The four rows in this Table correspond with the four most obvious criteria on which the most generally important item could be selected, namely:

- a) Those most frequently mentioned as most important (H)
- b) Those least frequently mentioned as least important (L)
- c) Those in which the 'most important' mentioned exceeded the 'least important' by the greatest margin (H-L)
- d) Those which received the greatest total number of mentions whether as 'most important' or 'least important' items (H + L). This corresponded with the 'salience' and 'urgency' concepts.

For technical reasons, the upper and lower quartile respondents were selected on the basis of their total deprivation score and not on the number of 4 or 5 scores in their record.

The 'high scorers' and low scorers' described in Section 3 of the paper were also selected on the basis of their total deprivation scores.