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The Pulse of Europe (West & East Germany)

TIMES MIRROR CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
EAST/WEST POLL - GERMANY
FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE

101:104 SURVEY H
105:108 RESP ID
109
110 CADD #
111:119 BLANK

Q.101 What do you think is the most important problem facing this country today?

120:121

122:123

124:125

(See Codes at End of Questionnaire)

Q.102 If you were able to do so, would you like to go and settle in another country? If yes - Which one?

126 1 Yes (PLEASE SPECIFY) - (INTERVIEWER REFER TO COUNTRY LIST WRITE IN 2 DIGIT CODE #) - EMNID - YOU MAY ALPHABETIZE LIST BUT NOT CHANGE CODE #'S.

Country # 127:128

2 No

9 Don't know

(See attached)

Q.103 If you had a child starting out in life today, what occupation would you most like to see him or her pursue?

- | | | | |
|------------|--|----|-----------------------------|
| 129:130 01 | Lawyer | 11 | Skilled worker or craftsman |
| 02 | Doctor | 12 | Semi-skilled worker |
| 03 | Teacher | 13 | Salesman/Woman |
| 04 | Nurse | 14 | Service Worker |
| 05 | Clergyman/Nun | 15 | Musician |
| 06 | Engineer/Scientist | 16 | Artist |
| 07 | Clerical/Office worker | 17 | Actor/Actress |
| 08 | Owner of a store | 18 | Writer/Journalist |
| 09 | Manager/Executive/Official in a business | 19 | Politician |
| 10 | Farmer | 20 | Cook/Chef |
| | | 21 | Housewife |
| 22 | Other (Specify) _____ | | |
| | | 99 | Don't know |

**COUNTRY LIST FOR INTERVIEWER USE
NOT FOR RESPONDENTS**

01	ALBANIA
02	ARGENTINA
03	ASIAN COUNTRIES
04	AUSTRALIA
05	AUSTRIA
06	BELGIUM
07	BRAZIL
08	BULGARIA
09	CANADA
10	CHINA
11	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
12	DENMARK
13	FINLAND
14	FRANCE
15	GERMANY
16	GREAT BRITAIN
17	GREECE
18	HUNGARY
19	ICELAND
20	IRELAND
21	ISRAEL
22	ITALY
23	JAPAN
24	MEXICO
25	NETHERLANDS
26	NEW ZEALAND
27	NORWAY
28	POLAND
29	PORTUGUAL
30	ROMANIA
31	SOVIET UNION
32	SPAIN
33	SWEDEN
34	SWITZERLAND
35	TURKEY
36	UNITED STATES
37	YUGOSLOVIA
38	OTHER FAR EAST COUNTRIES
39	OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES
40	OTHER MIDEASTERN COUNTRIES
41	OTHER - LIST IF MENTIONS BY MORE THAN 2%

Q.104 Do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the way Helmut Kohl is handling his job as Chancellor?

- 131 1 Strongly approve
2 Approve
3 Disapprove
4 Strongly disapprove
9 Don't know

Q.105 All of us want certain things out of life. When you think about what really matters in your own life, what are your wishes and hopes for the future, if you are to be happy?

132:133

134:135

136:137

(See codes at end of questionnaire)

Q.106 Taking the other side of the picture, what are your fears and worries for the future?

138:139

140:141

142:143

(See codes at end of questionnaire)

Q.107 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD A) Here is a ladder representing the "ladder of life." Let's suppose the top of the ladder represents the best possible life for you; and the bottom, the worst possible life for you. On which step of the ladder do you feel you personally stand at the present time? (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER. RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD A THROUGH Q.112)

144:145

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DK

99

Q.108 On which step would you say you stood five years ago? (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

146:147 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 ^{DK} 99

Q.109 Just as your best guess, on which step do you think you will stand in the future, say about five years from now? (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

148:149 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 ^{DK} 99

Q.110 Looking at the ladder again, suppose the top represents the best possible situation for our country; and the bottom, the worst possible situation. Please tell me on which step of the ladder you think our country is at the present time. (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

150:151 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 ^{DK} 99

Q.111 On which step would you say our country was about five years ago? (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

152:153 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 ^{DK} 99

Q.112 Just as your best guess, if things go pretty much as you now expect, where do you think our country will be on the ladder, let us say, about five years from now? (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER)

154:155 00 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 ^{DK} 99

Q.200 Overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the unification of Germany?

- 156 1 Strongly approve (Very much for it)
2 Approve (Somewhat for it)
3 Disapprove (Somewhat against it)
4 Strongly disapprove (Very much against it)
9 Don't know

Q.201 What do you like most about the way things have changed in Germany since the unification?

157:158

159:160

161:162

(See Codes at end of Questionnaire)

Q.202 What do you like least about the way things have changed?

163:164

165:166

167:168

(See Codes at end of questionnaire)

ASK Q.203 IN THE GDR ONLY:

Q.203 I'd like your opinion about a number of changes that have occurred with the unification. First, overall, do you strongly approve, approve, disapprove or strongly disapprove of the change from a one party system to a multiparty democracy? (REPEAT FOR EACH ITEM)

		<u>Strongly Approve</u>	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Strongly Disapprove</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	Multiparty democracy	169 1	2	3	4	9
b.	The change to a free market economy	170 1	2	3	4	9
c.	The new legal system	171 1	2	3	4	9
d.	The new social welfare system	172 1	2	3	4	9

ASK ALL:

Q.204 Do you feel that Germany was unified too quickly or do you feel that it was important that Germany be unified as quickly as possible?

- 173 1 Unified too quickly
2 Important to unify quickly
9 No opinion

Q.205 Do you think that the former GDR is moving too quickly, too slowly or at about the right pace to a free market economy?

- 174 1 Too quickly
2 Too slowly
3 About right
4 Disapprove of move to free market economy (VOL)
9 No opinion

Q.206 How long do you think it will take for East Germans to achieve the same standard of living as enjoyed by West Germans?

- 175 1 Less than five years
2 Around 5 years
3 Around 10 years
4 Around 20 years
5 More than 20 years
9 Don't know

ASK Q.207-Q.213a OF GDR ONLY:

Q.207 In some ways do you feel that East Germany was overwhelmed and taken over by West Germany in the process of unification?

- 176 1 Yes
2 No ☐ — SKIP TO Q.209
9 No opinion ☐

5

East German Weight 177:180 (Divide by 100)
West German Weight 176:179 (Divide by 100)

IF ANSWERED '1' YES IN Q.207 ASK Q.208:

Q.208 Do you resent this a great deal, a little bit, or not at all?

- 211 1 Great deal
2 Little bit
3 Not at all
9 No opinion

ASK ALL IN GDR:

Q.209 Do you wish that there had been a way of reforming the GDR and maintaining at least some independence from the FRG rather than the complete unification that occurred?

- 212 1 Yes
2 No
9 No opinion

Q.210 Do you think that West German leaders care about the well being of East Germany or do you think that they mainly care about their own interests?

- 213 1 Care about East Germany
2 Care about own interests
9 No opinion

Q.211 Do you think that as a result of living in a modern capitalist country for so long that people in West Germany are not as German in values and outlook as people in East Germany or do you think they remain German in values and outlook?

- 214 1 Not as German
2 Remain German
9 Don't know

Q.212 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B) On this card are pairs of words with opposite meanings for each tell me which word best describes the people of West Germany?

					<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>
215	1	Disciplined	2	Undisciplined	3	4
216	1	Aggressive	2	Passive	3	4
217	1	Shrewd	2	Naive	3	4
218	1	Independent	2	Dependent	3	4
219	1	Patriotic	2	Unpatriotic	3	4
220	1	Intelligent	2	Dull	3	4
221	1	Arrogant	2	Modest	3	4
222	1	Lazy	2	Ambitious	3	4
223	1	Sophisticated	2	Crude	3	4
224	1	Selfish	2	Generous	3	4
225	1	Efficient	2	Inefficient	3	4
226	1	Honest	2	Dishonest	3	4
227	1	Clean	2	Dirty	3	4
228	1	Good citizens	2	Bad citizens	3	4

Q.213 Some East Germans say they feel like second class citizens in Germany today. Do you often, sometimes or never feel this way?

- 229 1 Often
2 Sometimes
3 Never

ASK OF GDR ONLY:

Q.213a How do you most often think of yourself... as a German or as an East German?

- 230 1 German
2 East German
9 Don't know

ASK Q.214-215a OF FRG ONLY:

Q.214 Do you think that as a result of living in a Communist country for so long that people in East Germany are not as German in values and outlook as people in West Germany or do you think they remain German in values and outlook?

- 231 1 Not as German
2 Remain German
9 Don't know

Q.215 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD B) On this card are pairs of words with opposite meanings for each tell me which word best describes the people of East Germany?

					<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK</u>
232	1	Disciplined	2	Undisciplined	3	4
233	1	Aggressive	2	Passive	3	4
234	1	Shrewd	2	Naive	3	4
235	1	Independent	2	Dependent	3	4
236	1	Patriotic	2	Unpatriotic	3	4
237	1	Intelligent	2	Dull	3	4
238	1	Arrogant	2	Modest	3	4
239	1	Lazy	2	Ambitious	3	4
240	1	Sophisticated	2	Crude	3	4
241	1	Selfish	2	Generous	3	4
242	1	Efficient	2	Inefficient	3	4
243	1	Honest	2	Dishonest	3	4
244	1	Clean	2	Dirty	3	4
245	1	Good citizens	2	Bad citizens	3	4

Q.215a How do you most often think of yourself... as a German or as a West German?

- 246 1 German
 2 West German
 9 Don't know

ASK ALL:

Q.216 Overall would you say that your life is better off as a result of unification, worse off as a result of unification, or haven't you been affected?

- 247
- 1 Better off
 - 2 Worse off
 - 3 Not affected
 - 9 No opinion

Q.217 Looking to the future, five years from now do you expect your life to be better off as a result of unification, worse off as a result of unification, or don't you expect your life to be affected?

- 248
- 1 Better off
 - 2 Worse off
 - 3 Not affected
 - 9 No opinion

Q.218 Do you feel that unification is worth the economic costs or do you feel that it is not worth the costs?

- 249
- 1 Worth it
 - 2 Not worth it
 - 9 No opinion

Q.219 Do you favor or oppose ending the constitutional provision that allows Native Germans (Deutch Stammig) to emigrate to Germany?

- 250
- 1 Favor repeal
 - 2 Oppose repeal
 - 9 No opinion

Q.220 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD C) I'd like your opinion of some groups, organizations and institutions in Germany. For each that I read tell me which category on this card best reflects your opinion about the kind of influence the group is having on the way things are going in this country?

		<u>Very Good Influ- ence</u>	<u>Mostly Good Influ- ence</u>	<u>Mostly Bad Influ- ence</u>	<u>Very Bad Influ- ence</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither Good or Bad</u>	<u>(VOL.) Both Good and Bad</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
a.	Newspapers	251 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
b.	The churches	252 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
c.	The police	253 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
d.	The army	254 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
e.	Environ- mentalists	255 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
f.	Trade unions	256 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
g.	Television	257 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
h.	Business corporations	258 1	2	3	4	5	6	9
i.	People who run business'	259 1	2	3	4	5	6	9

Q.221 (RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD C) And what about the following countries, how would you rate the kind of influence they are having on the way things are going in Germany?

		<u>Very Good Influ- ence</u>	<u>Mostly Good Influ- ence</u>	<u>Mostly Bad Influ- ence</u>	<u>Very Bad Influ- ence</u>	<u>(VOL.) Neither Good or Bad</u>	<u>(VOL.) Both Good and Bad</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
260	a. The Soviet Union	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
261	b. Great Britain	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
262	c. The United States	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
263	d. France	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
264	e. The EEC	1	2	3	4	5	6	9
265	f. Japan	1	2	3	4	5	6	9

Q.222 I'd like you to rate some different groups of people in Germany according to how you feel about them. For each group, please tell me whether your opinion is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable or very unfavorable?

		<u>Very Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Favorable</u>	<u>Mostly Unfavorable</u>	<u>Very Unfavorable</u>	<u>DK</u>
(a. East Germans)**	266	1	2	3	4	9
(b. West Germans)*	267	1	2	3	4	9
c. Jews	268	1	2	3	4	9
d. American GI's**	269	1	2	3	4	9
e. Soviet Forces*	270	1	2	3	4	9
f. Native Germans (Deutsch stammig)	271	1	2	3	4	9
g. Gypsies	272	1	2	3	4	9
h. Vietnamese*	273	1	2	3	4	9
i. Poles	274	1	2	3	4	9
j. Soviet emigrees	275	1	2	3	4	9
k. Turks	276	1	2	3	4	9
l. Romanians	277	1	2	3	4	9

*ASK IN GDR ONLY

**ASK IN FRG ONLY

278:280 BLANK

Q.223 What's the greater threat to the future of Germany - is it from other countries or is it from groups within the country?

- 311 1 Other countries
2 Groups inside
9 Can't say

Q.224 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD D) Have the changes that have taken place in Germany since unification had a very good effect, a good effect, bad effect or a very bad effect on the following.

		<u>Very Good Effect</u>	<u>Good Effect</u>	<u>Bad Effect</u>	<u>Very Bad Effect</u>	<u>(VOL) No Effect</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.	How hard people work	312 1	2	3	4	5	9
b.	Law and order	313 1	2	3	4	5	9
c.	Caring about other people in the society	314 1	2	3	4	5	9
d.	Family values	315 1	2	3	4	5	9
e.	Spiritual values	316 1	2	3	4	5	9
f.	The standard of living	317 1	2	3	4	5	9
g.	Public morality	318 1	2	3	4	5	9
h.	Civic pride	319 1	2	3	4	5	9
i.	How well people get along with one another	320 1	2	3	4	5	9
k.	Relations between Germans and other ethnic groups in our country	321 1	2	3	4	5	9
l.	How you think about things	322 1	2	3	4	5	9

Q.225 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD E) Of the items listed on this card, which one of these do you most worry about?

- 323 1 An economic decline as a result of European integration
2 A military attack by a neighboring country
3 A flood of refugees coming to our country
4 Political instability in the neighboring countries of Central Europe
5 The economic collapse of the Soviet Union
6 None (VOLUNTEERED)
9 Don't know (VOLUNTEERED)

ASK Q.300 IN GDR ONLY:

Q.300 Some people feel that more should be done to identify and hold accountable people who were responsible for the injustices of the old regime. Others feel that in order to make progress, we should look to the future and forget the past. Which position generally comes closer to your view?

- 324 1 Identify and hold accountable
2 Look to future and forget
9 No opinion

ASK ALL:

Q.301 Do you believe that former officials of the Stassi are still playing an important and powerful role in society or do you think that for the most part they are no longer in positions of power and influence?

- 325 1 Still important and powerful
2 No longer in position of power and influence
9 No opinion

Q.302 All things taken into account, do you think that it would be good for our society or bad for our society if the contents of the Stassi's secret files were made public?

- 326 1 Good for our society
2 Bad for our society
3 Neither (VOLUNTEERED)
4 Both (VOLUNTEERED)
9 Don't know

Q.303 What's more important in German society that everyone be free to pursue their life's goals without interference from the state or that the state play an active role in society so as to guarantee that nobody is in need?

- 327 1 Freedom
2 Nobody in need
9 Can't say

Q.304 Some people feel that in a democracy all political parties should be allowed even those that don't believe in the democratic system. Others feel that even in a democracy certain political parties should be outlawed?

- 328 1 Allow all
2 Outlaw some
9 Can't say

Q.305 Would you approve or disapprove of placing greater constraints and controls, on what newspapers print?

- 329 1 Approve
2 Disapprove
9 Don't know

Q.305a (HAND RESPONDENT CARD F) Which, if any, of these statements do you agree with about advertising? You may name as many or as few as you wish -- just call off the number of those you agree with.

ADVERTISING IS:

- 330 1 A good way for people to learn about products
- 331 2 Encourages people to buy products they don't really need
- 332 3 A good way to help pay for newspapers, radio, and television
- 333 4 Annoying and unpleasant
- 334

5	None
	No opinion

Q.305b (HAND RESPONDENT CARD G) On this card are various places where advertisements might be placed.. please call off the numbers of the places you find acceptable for advertising?

- 335 1 Magazines
- 336 2 Newspapers
- 337 3 Radio
- 338 4 Television
- 339 5 In shop windows
- 340 6 On special signs along the road
- 341 7 Shown in cinemas
- 342 8 On video cassettes of movies
- 343

0	None
	No opinion

Q.305c (RESPONDENT RETAINS CARD G) Which of these, if any would be especially unacceptable to you as places for advertising?

- 344 1 Magazines
- 345 2 Newspapers
- 346 3 Radio
- 347 4 Television
- 348 5 In shop windows
- 349 6 On special signs along the road
- 350 7 Shown in cinemas
- 351 8 On video cassettes of movies
- 352

0
9

 None
- 352

9

 No opinion

Q.305d (HAND RESPONDENT CARD H) In your opinion, which one of these listed on this card is the best way to determine how much products should cost?

PRICES SHOULD BE BASED ON:

- 353 1 How much producers can get consumers to pay
- 2 How much it costs to make the product available
- 3 How much the government feels is a fair price
- 9 No opinion

Q.306 Are you currently employed in job outside of your home?

- 354 1 Yes
2 No
9 Don't know — GO TO Q.309

Q.307 Overall, how satisfied are you with the kind of work you do? Are you completely satisfied, mostly satisfied, mostly dissatisfied or completely dissatisfied?

- 355 1 Completely satisfied
2 Mostly satisfied
3 Mostly dissatisfied
4 Completely dissatisfied
9 Don't know

Q.308 How satisfied are you with the organization that employs you?

- 356 1 Completely satisfied
2 Mostly satisfied
3 Mostly dissatisfied
4 Completely dissatisfied
9 Don't know

ASK ALL:

Q.309 In general, how would you most prefer to be paid -- on a fixed salary basis, so that you always know how much you will earn --- or on an incentive basis which will allow you to earn more if you accomplish a lot, but may result in less earnings if you don't accomplish enough?

- 357 1 Fixed
2 Incentive
9 Can't say

Q.310 If there were a parliamentary election next Sunday, would you go out to vote?

- 358 1 Yes — ASK Q.311
2 No — GO TO Q.312
9 Not sure —

Q.311 For which party would you most likely vote?

(EMNID - PLEASE PRECODE)

359:360

Q.311
East Germany:

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SPD

3 = FDP

6 = Grune/Bundnis

4 = PDS

5,7 = Other

Q.311
West German

1 = CDU/CSU

2 = SPD

3 = FDP

6 = Grune/Bundnis

4,5,7 = Other

ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.312 All things considered who has a better life in this country men or women?

- 361 1 Men
2 Women
3 Same (VOLUNTEERED)
9 No opinion

ASK Q.313 IN GDR ONLY:

Q.313 Do women now have more social and legal rights or fewer social and legal rights than they had before unification?

- 362 1 More rights
2 Fewer
3 Same (VOLUNTEERED)
9 Don't know

ASK ALL:

Q.314 Now I'd like to ask you about your preference - what kind of marriage do you think is more the satisfying way of life?

- 363 1 One where the husband provides for the family and the wife takes care of the house and children?
- 2 One where the husband and wife both have jobs and together take care of the house and children?
- 3 Other (VOLUNTEERED)
- 9 No opinion

○ NOW ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...

Q.315 What countries can Germany most rely on as dependable allies in the future? You may name as many or as few as you wish. (INTERVIEWER REFER TO COUNTRY LIST WRITE IN 2 DIGIT CODE #) - (EMNID - YOU MAY ALPHABETIZE LIST BUT NOT CHANGE CODE #'S.)

	<u>FIRST MENTION</u>	<u>SECOND MENTION</u>	<u>THIRD MENTION</u>
	<u>364:365</u>	<u>366:367</u>	<u>368:369</u>
None/Can't name any	98	98	98
Don't know	99	99	99

(see attached)

○ Q.316 What countries pose the greatest threat to Germany in the future? You may name as many or as few as you wish.

	<u>FIRST MENTION</u>	<u>SECOND MENTION</u>	<u>THIRD MENTION</u>
	<u>370:371</u>	<u>372:373</u>	<u>374:375</u>
None/Can't name any	98	98	98
Don't know	99	99	99

(see attached)

Q.102 & Q.311 & Q.312

Q.315+ Q.316 - *In Germany*
COUNTRY LIST FOR INTERVIEWER USE
NOT FOR RESPONDENTS

01	ALBANIA
02	ARGENTINA
03	ASIAN COUNTRIES
04	AUSTRALIA
05	AUSTRIA
06	BELGIUM
07	BRAZIL
08	BULGARIA
09	CANADA
10	CHINA
11	CZECHOSLOVAKIA
12	DENMARK
13	FINLAND
14	FRANCE
15	GERMANY
16	GREAT BRITAIN
17	GREECE
18	HUNGARY
19	ICELAND
20	IRELAND
21	ISRAEL
22	ITALY
23	JAPAN
24	MEXICO
25	NETHERLANDS
26	NEW ZEALAND
27	NORWAY
28	POLAND
29	PORTUGUAL
30	ROMANIA
31	SOVIET UNION
32	SPAIN
33	SWEDEN
34	SWITZERLAND
35	TURKEY
36	UNITED STATES
37	YUGOSLOVIA
38	OTHER FAR EAST COUNTRIES
39	OTHER LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES
40	OTHER MIDEASTERN COUNTRIES
41	OTHER - LIST IF MENTIONS BY MORE THAN 2%

Q.319 For economic reasons, do you think that German manufacturers should be allowed to sell weapons and other military equipment to third world countries?

- 376 1 Yes
2 No
9 Don't know

Q.320 In your opinion, how much of a chance is there that the Soviet troops will become violent and seriously disruptive before they leave our country? (READ CATEGORIES 1-4)

- 377 1 A great chance
2 Small chance
3 Hardly any chance
4 No chance
9 Don't know

Q.321 How often does the thought occur to you that you are not only German but also a European?

- 378 1 Often?
2 Sometimes?
3 Never?

379:380 BLANK

Q.400 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD I) Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me whether you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly disagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is. . . (INTERVIEWER: CIRCLE ONE NUMBER FOR EACH ITEM)

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does	411 1	2	3	4	9
b. Generally speaking, elected officials lose touch with the people pretty quickly	412 1	2	3	4	9
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think	413 1	2	3	4	9
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things	414 1	2	3	4	9
e. Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside our control	415 1	2	3	4	9
f. Hard work offers little guarantee of success	416 1	2	3	4	9
f1. I admire people who get rich by working hard	417 1	2	3	4	9
g. When something is run by the state, it is usually inefficient and wasteful	418 1	2	3	4	9
h. The state controls too much of our daily lives	419 1	2	3	4	9
i. Generally, the state is run for the benefit of all the people	420 1	2	3	4	9

CONTINUED...

		<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
j.	There should be stricter laws and regulations to protect the environment	421 1	2	3	4	9
k.	People should be willing to pay higher prices in order to protect the environment	422 1	2	3	4	9
l.	Without assistance from other countries our country will never solve its problems	423 1	2	3	4	9
m.	Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal <u>opportunity</u> to succeed	424 1	2	3	4	9
n.	It is the responsibility of the state to take care of very poor people who can't take care of themselves	425 1	2	3	4	9
o.	The state should guarantee every citizen food and basic shelter	426 1	2	3	4	9
p.	Good political leaders are willing to make compromises in order to get the job done	427 1	2	3	4	9
q.	I'm interested in keeping up with the country's affairs	428 1	2	3	4	9
r.	I'm pretty interested in following politics in my local community	429 1	2	3	4	9
s.	I am losing interest in politics	430 1	2	3	4	9

CONTINUED...

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
t. I am very patriotic	431 1	2	3	4	9
u. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	432 1	2	3	4	9
v. We all should be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	433 1	2	3	4	9
w. It's necessary for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	434 1	2	3	4	9
x. There are parts of neighboring countries that really belong to us	435 1	2	3	4	9
y. We should restrict and control entry into our country more than we do now	436 1	2	3	4	9
z. It is sometimes necessary to use military force to maintain order in the world	437 1	2	3	4	9

Q.401

(HAND RESPONDENT CARD J) Now I'd like your opinion about some people and other things using this card. As I read from a list tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of the person, place or thing that I mention. First, how would you describe your opinion of....

	<u>Very</u> <u>Favor-</u> <u>able</u>	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Favor-</u> <u>able</u>	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Unfavor-</u> <u>able</u>	<u>Very</u> <u>Unfavor-</u> <u>able</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>Heard</u> <u>Of</u>	<u>DK</u>
a. Mikhail Gorbachev	438 1	2	3	4	5	9
b. George Bush	439 1	2	3	4	5	9
c. Helmut Kohl	440 1	2	3	4	5	9
d. Henrich Boll	441 1	2	3	4	5	9
e. Gunter Grass	442 1	2	3	4	5	9
f. Willi Brandt	443 1	2	3	4	5	9
g. Pope John Paul	444 1	2	3	4	5	9
h. Wolf Beirman	445 1	2	3	4	5	9
i. Boris Yeltsin	446 1	2	3	4	5	9
j. Hans Dietrich Genscher	447 1	2	3	4	5	9
k. Vaclav Havel	448 1	2	3	4	5	9
l. Francois Mitterand	449 1	2	3	4	5	9
m. The United Nations	450 1	2	3	4	5	9
n. CDU/CSU	451 1	2	3	4	5	9
o. SPD	452 1	2	3	4	5	9
p. FDP	453 1	2	3	4	5	9
q. The EEC	454 1	2	3	4	5	9

455:457 BLANK

Q.402 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD I) Here are some statements on different topics. Please tell me how much you agree or disagree with each of these statements.

	<u>Completely Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Agree</u>	<u>Mostly Disagree</u>	<u>Completely Disagree</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a. Prayer is an important part of my daily life	458 1	2	3	4	9
b. God plays an important role in my life	459 1	2	3	4	9
c. I never doubt the existence of God	460 1	2	3	4	9
ON ANOTHER SUBJECT...					
d. Homosexuals should not be permitted to teach school	461 1	2	3	4	9
e. Books that contain ideas dangerous to society should be banned from public school libraries	462 1	2	3	4	9
f. Nude magazines and sexually explicit movies provide harmless adult entertainment for those who enjoy it	463 1	2	3	4	9
g. Freedom of speech should not be granted to fascists	464 1	2	3	4	9
h. Most people in this society are trustworthy	465 1	2	3	4	9
i. AIDS might be God's punishment for immoral sexual behavior	466 1	2	3	4	9
j. I have traditional values about family and marriage	467 1	2	3	4	9
k. There are clear guidelines about what's good or evil	468 1	2	3	4	9
l. A woman should be allowed to have an abortion in the early months of pregnancy, if she wants one	469 1	2	3	4	9

CONTINUED...

		<u>Completely</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Mostly</u> <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Completely</u> <u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't</u> <u>Know</u>
m.	Today it's really true that the rich just get richer while the poor get poorer	470 1	2	3	4	9
n.	I don't have much in common with people who have less education than I have	471 1	2	3	4	9
o.	I don't have much in common with people of other ethnic groups and races	472 1	2	3	4	9
p.	I often don't have enough money to pay my usual expenses	473 1	2	3	4	9
q.	I'm pretty well satisfied with the way things are going for me financially	474 1	2	3	4	9

475:480 BLANK

FINALLY, I'D LIKE TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS FOR STATISTICAL PURPOSES ONLY.

501:509 (SEE CARD 1)

510 CARD #

511:513 BLANK

ASK ALL:

Q.502 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD K) Are you:

- 514
- 1 Single
 - 2 Married
 - 3 Living as married
 - 4 Divorced
 - 5 Divorced but not separated
 - 6 Separated
 - 7 Widowed

Q.503 How old were you when you finished your full-time education?

- 515
- 1 up to 14 years
 - 2 15 years
 - 3 16 years
 - 4 17 years
 - 5 18 years
 - 6 19 years
 - 7 20 years
 - 8 21 years
 - 9 22 years old and older
 - 10 Still studying

Q.504 EMNID - ASK YOUR USUAL EDUCATION QUESTION HERE

516

(See attached)

Q.505 Respondents sex:

- 517
- 1 Male
 - 2 Female

EDUCATION CODES FOR EAST AND WEST GERMANY:

1. ELEMENTARY, BASIC SCHOOL EDUCATION (8 YEARS OF SCHOOLING) WITHOUT A COMPLETED APPRENTICESHIP
2. ELEMENTARY, BASIC SCHOOL TRAINING (8 YEARS OF SCHOOLING) WITH A COMPLETED APPRENTICESHIP
3. SECONDARY SCHOOL EDUCATION WITHOUT ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOL DIPLOMA (ABITUR) (10 YEARS OF POLYTECHNICAL SECONDARY SCHOOL PREVIOUSLY KNOWN AS INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL)
4. ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOL DIPLOMA (ABITUR), COMPLETION OF TECHNICAL SCHOOL (HOCHSCHULREIFE), COMPLETION OF SPECIALIZED TECHNICAL SCHOOL (12 YEARS OF SCHOOLING OF EXTENDED SECONDARY TECHNICAL SCHOOL OR OF ACADEMIC SECONDARY SCHOOL)
5. UNIVERSITY LEVEL STUDIES (UNIVERSITY, FINE ARTS ACADEMY, TECHNICAL COLLEGE STUDIES, INCLUDING ENGINEERING SCHOOL (TECHNIKUM))

Q.506 Can you tell me the year you were born ? (WRITE IN LAST TWO DIGITS OF YEAR OF BIRTH)

Write in 19 58:59

Born before 1900 (CIRCLE) > 99

Q.507 How many persons live in your household, including yourself, all adults and children?

- 520
- | | |
|---|---------------|
| 1 | One person |
| 2 | 2 |
| 3 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 |
| 5 | 5 |
| 6 | 6 |
| 7 | 7 |
| 8 | 8 |
| 9 | Nine and more |

Q.508 Are there any children under 12 living in this household

- 521
- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | Yes |
| 2 | No |

Q.509 Are you a parent of any of them?

- 522
- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1 | Yes |
| 2 | No |

Q.510 EMNID - ASK YOUR USUAL INCOME QUESTION HERE. PROVIDE DATA THAT CLASSIFIES RESPONDENT HOUSEHOLD INCOME BY QUARTILES.
523,524

Q.511 (HAND RESPONDENT CARD L) What is your occupation? (WRITE IN AND CODE)

525,526

WE WILL PROVIDE CODE SHEET

(See attached)

Q.512 Are you yourself a member or a political party?

527

1 Yes

2 No

9 Don't know

Income codes for East and West Germany:

1= under 500 DM

2= 500 up to under 1,000 DM

3= 1000 up to under 1,500 DM

4= 1500 up to under 2,000 DM

5= 2000 up to under 2,500 DM

6= 2500 up to under 3000 DM

7= 3000 up to under 3500 DM

8= 3500 up to under 4000 DM

9= 4000 up to under 4500 DM

Q.513 Are you yourself a member or a trade union?

528

1 Yes

2 No

9 Don't know

Q.514 Do you live in a house or an apartment? And for you and your family are you owners of where you live or do you rent it?

529

1 Owners of the house

2 Renters of the house

3 Owners of an apartment

4 Renters of an apartment

5 Renters in council or municipal housing

6 Other (RENT A ROOM, LIVE AS LODGER, SQUATTERS, ETC.)

9 Don't know

0= 4500 and more DM

Q.515 Would you say you live in a:

530

1 Rural area or village

2 Small or middle size town

3 Big town

- A. PROFESSIONAL WORKER: for example, lawyer, doctor, scientist, teacher, engineer, graduate nurse, accountant, programmer, systems analyst, musician, etc.
- B. WORKS AT A SKILLED TRADE OR CRAFT: for example, printer, baker, tailor, electrician, machinist, lineman, railroad engineer, plumber, or does mechanical work such as a garage mechanic, carpenter, etc.
- C. SEMI-SKILLED WORKER: for example, operates a machine in a factory, is an assembly line worker in a factory, drives a truck, taxi cab or bus, etc.
- D. MANAGER, EXECUTIVE OR OFFICIAL: in an enterprise, business, government agency or other organization
- E. RUNS OWN BUSINESS WITH TWO OR MORE EMPLOYEES: such as a store, factory, plumbing contractor, etc.
- F. A CLERICAL OR OFFICE WORKER: in an enterprise, business, government agency or other type of organization - such as typist, secretary, postal clerk, telephone operator, computer operator, keypunch operator, or bank clerk, etc.
- G. SALES WORKER: for example, a clerk in a store, or a door-to-door salesman
- H. MANUFACTURER'S REPRESENTATIVE: outside salesman/saleswoman, sales representative
- I. A SERVICE WORKER: who performs services - for example, policeman/woman, fireman, waiter or waitress, maid, nurse's aid, attendant, barber or beautician
- J. LABORING WORK: (other than farm) for example, plumber's helper, construction laborer, longshoreman, garbageman, or other physical work
- K. Is a Farm Owner or Farm Manager
- L. FARM LABORER OR HELPER
- M. RETIRED
- N. FULL-TIME STUDENT
- O. HOUSEWIFE

Q.516 Do you consider yourself as belonging to a particular religion. IF YES, which one? 531,532

(EMNID - PROVIDE CATEGORIES FOR YOUR COUNTRY)

Q.517 Apart from weddings and funerals, do you attend religious services several times a week, once a week, a few times during the year or never? (ACCEPT ONE ANSWER)

- 533 1 Several times a week
2 Once a week
3 A few times during the year
4 Once a year or less often
5 Never
9 Don't know

Religion Codes:
for East and West Germany:
1= Catholic
2= Protestants
3= Jewish
4= Moslem
5= Buddhist
6= Hindu
7= Other
8= None

Q.518 Date and time of interview.

Date: _____ 534:535 DAY
536:537 MONTH

Time of the beginning of the interview: _____

Number of minutes the interview lasted: _____

Q.519 Size of locality
SEE LOCAL CODES

Q.520 Region
SEE LOCAL CODES

Q.521 Postal codes

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538 ON

Q.519 for East + West Germany:

- 1= under 2000
2= 2000 to under 5000
3= 5000 to under 20,000
4= 20,000 to under 50,000
5= 50,000 to under 100,000
6= 100,000 to under 500,000
7= 500,000 or more

(see attached for Region Codes)

Principal City Code:

- 1= BONN (West Germany) → ³² No interviews conducted in Bonn
2= East Berlin (East Germany)

East Germany

Region : 539:40
520. Bezirk

<input type="checkbox"/>	1 Rostock	<input type="checkbox"/>	9 Erfurt
<input type="checkbox"/>	2 Schwerin	<input type="checkbox"/>	10 Gera
<input type="checkbox"/>	3 Neubranden- burg	<input type="checkbox"/>	11 Suhl
<input type="checkbox"/>	4 Potsdam	<input type="checkbox"/>	12 Dresden
<input type="checkbox"/>	5 Frankfurt/O.	<input type="checkbox"/>	13 Leipzig
<input type="checkbox"/>	6 Cottbus	<input type="checkbox"/>	14 Chemnitz (Karl-Mar Stadt)
<input type="checkbox"/>	7 Magdeburg		
<input type="checkbox"/>	8 Halle	<input type="checkbox"/>	15 Berlin



West Germany

Region : 539 : 40

~~Sp. 51-52~~ decimal

10	Schleswig-Holstein
20	Hamburg
31-34	Niedersachsen
31	RB Braunschweig
32	RB Hannover
33	RB Lüneburg
34	RB Weser-Ems
40	Bremen
51-59	Nordrhein-Westfalen
51	RB Düsseldorf
53	RB Köln
55	RB Münster
57	RB Detmold
59	RB Arnsberg
64-66	Hessen
64	RB Darmstadt
65	RB Kassel
66	RB Gießen
71-74	Rheinland-Pfalz
71	RB Koblenz
72	RB Trier
73	RB Rheinhessen-Pfalz
74	Saarland
81-84	Baden-Württemberg
81	RB Stuttgart
82	RB Karlsruhe
83	RB Freiburg
84	RB Tübingen
91-97	Bayern
91	RB Oberbayern
92	RB Niederbayern
93	RB Oberpfalz
94	RB Oberfranken
95	RB Mittelfranken
96	RB Unterfranken
97	RB Schwaben
00	Berlin

STARTING POINT FOR CODING OF:

Wishes and hopes for the future.

Q.104 Western Europe

Q.105 Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary and Poland

Q.106 Russia, Lithuania and the Ukraine

- 1 Own Personal Happiness (Own Wishes & Hopes): To be happy; More personally secure; Safety from everything bad; I'm mostly satisfied; Other mentions of psychological well being.
- 2 Job/Work Situation: Have a good job; Steady job; Bigger position on my job; Job security.
- 3 Better Housing Opportunities: Nice home; A large house with more space; If only I had my own home; Good affordable housing.
- 4 General Economic Conditions: Better economy; Stable economy; See economy prices like it use to; Strong economy; Financial prosperity; The minimum wage raised.
- 5 Family Financially Stable: Have my family remain prosperous; Security of family; Have children well established in the own life; Employment for my sons; My husband would have a good job.
- 6 Personal Economic Situation: I would have more money to invest; Fairly content, but would like more money to be able to pay medical bills; Have enough money in checking account; Money; More money for food and shelter; debt free.
- 7 Good Health: To be healthy; Good doctors the rest of my life.
- 8 Drug Free Society: To have the drug situation solved or improved; No drugs.
- 9 Lower Taxes: I would have to pay less taxes.
- 10 Family Well Being/Family Life: My family to be happy; Food, Clothing, And shelter for family; My family being taken care for; a good family life.
- 11 Equality and Respect for all People: People could get along better; All ethnic groups joined together as one; A place where people have access to opportunity without racism or prejudices.
- 12 Less Crime: Safer city and country for everyone to live in; Less violence need better laws concerning being able to protect life and property.
- 13 Religion: Trust God for direction; Good churches; Closer walk with God; Prayer in school.

16 Cost of Medical Care: Not being able to afford hospitals, doctors.

17 Pollution/Concern for Environment

18 Communism

19 Increased Government Restrictions/Government Control

20 Losing our Freedom

90 Miscellaneous

96 None: No Fears/Worries

99 Don't Know

STARTING POINT FOR CODING OF:

Fears and worries for the future.

Q.105 Western Europe

Q.106 Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary and Poland

Q.107 Russia, Lithuania and the Ukraine

- 1 Fear of War (general): There may be a war; Fighting; Involvement in Central America.
- 2 Fear of Nuclear War: Fear of nuclear warfare among nations.
- 3 Unemployment: No job; Loss of job; Not enough jobs for my children when they grow up; Unable to work and earn a living; being out of work - unable to support my family.
- 4 Lack of Financial Security: No money; Being in debt all my life; End up on welfare: If I would have enough finances to live on.
- 5 Economic Conditions: Collapsed economy; The high interest rate; Economic depression; Prices too high especially for basic needs.
- 6 Drugs: Dope among my grandchildren; Strife related to the drug problem; To be on drugs as I am.
- 7 Poor Health: Getting cancer or some other disease; Danger of AIDS; Deteriorating health; Illness; I keep thinking I'm going to get sick and there is no one to care for me.
- 8 Being Homeless: Becoming one of the homeless.
- 9 Crime/Personal Safety: The unsafeness of the streets; Unsafe in the homes.
- 10 Children's Education/Future: Our children won't be able to go to school; Lack of quality education for kids; No higher education.
- 11 Breakdown of Religion/Morals: Trouble in churches; People not having any morals or religion.
- 12 Loss of Family: Loss of wife and children; Death of children; Not to be able to see my family every again; Separation from my family.
- 13 Taxes: I worry that state taxes are going to cause a problem; Tax system should be revamped.
- 14 Old Age Insecurity: Being old and alone; Burden to children; To be alone in a nursing home; Becoming senile; I'm afraid my pension is going to be cut off.
- 15 Prejudice/Discrimination: Racism and ethnic strife.

- 16 Cost of Medical Care: Not being able to afford hospitals, doctors.
- 17 Pollution/Concern for Environment
- 18 Communism
- 19 Increased Government Restrictions/Government Control
- 20 Losing our Freedom
- 90 Miscellaneous
- 96 None: No Fears/Worries
- 99 Don't Know

Open End Codes for West Germany

Q. 101 (West-German part)

- 1: (Re-)unification: To solve the problems of the reunification, How to improve the economy in the former GDR
- 2: The costs of the Reunification: Higher taxes to finance the reunification, higher fees to finance the reunification etc.
- 3: Enviromental problems: air pollution, what to do with the garbage etc.
- 4: To many immigrants, foreigners, to become a nation of immigrants etc.
- 5: Taxes (in general)
- 6: public debts
- 7: political radicalism
- 8: housing shortage
- 9: economic problems (like unemployment, higher prices, higher interest rates etc.)

10: disagreement between the political parties

11: drugs, criminality

12: The new Common Market in Europe

13: Nuclear Power

90: miscellaneous

96: none

99: don't know

Q. 105 (West-German part)

Here I used your code plan. New categories:

20 : To solve the problems of the reunification

21 : that nothing will change

Q. 106 (West-German part)

Here I used also the categories you faxed me. Exception:

21: to become a nation of immigrants

22: social tumults

23: natural disaster

Q. 201 (West-German part)

1: The Germans are all together now, to be one country

2: without frontiers, the wall doesn't exist anymore

3: freedom for the East-German population, free speech

4: freedom for travelling now

5: personal contacts, possibility to visit members of the family in the other part of Germany

6: the livingstandard in the former GDR is rising

7: democracy in the former GDR

8: The cold war between East and West is over

90: Miscellaneous

96: None

99: Don't know

Q. 202 (West-German part)

1: Costs of reunification, how to finance the reunification

2: the demands of the East-German population are to high, don't like the attitude of the East-Germans to make heavy demands

3: there are to much immigrants

4: unemploymentrate is rising in the former GDR, social decline in the former GDR

5: the process of unification was to fast

6: politicians and businessmen are hesitate

7: people use the harmlessness of the East-German population in business

8: the economic outlook for the former GDR

9: the enviromental problems in the former GDR

10: housing shortage

11: increase of traffic

12: right wing extremism an racism in the former GDR

13: the "coolness" of the West-German population

14: the former political elite (SED) and the STASI are working till now

15: the difference in attitudes between the East- and the West-German population is too great

16: The problems about property-rights in the former GDR
aren't solved yet

17: increasing rate of criminality

90: Miscellaneous

96: None

99: Don't know

Open End Codes for East Germany

Q. 101 (East-German part)

- 1 - 13: same as West
- 14: Social security
- 15: inequality, difference between East and West
- 16: traffic problems

Q. 105 (East-German part)

- 1 - 21: same as West.

Q. 106 (East-German part)

- 1 - 23: same as West
- 24: problems of transformation from socialistic systems to a free market economy (rights and institutions) like: "Treuhand", property rights

Q. 201 (East-German part)

- 1 - 8: Same as West

Q. 202 (East-German part)

- 1 - 17: Same as West
- 18: disappointment about the West-German population

19 too much bureaucracy